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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME II.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA:

A COLLECTION OF INSCRIPTIONS

SUPPLEMENTARY TO

THE CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

OF THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY,

TRANSLATED BY ORIENTAL SCHOLARS.

EDITED BY

JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

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PREFACE.

AS remarked in the Preface to the former volume, this is properly to be regarded as one of the series of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, and practically may stand as the fifth volume of that publication : indeed, but that I had hoped the series of the *Corpus* would be resumed at an early date, these two "supplementary" volumes would also have borne the title chosen by the late General Sir A. Cunningham.

This volume completes what I had undertaken and closes my work in connexion with Indian Epigraphy. Among other papers, it contains a new and corrected edition of the Harsha inscription, first published by the Rev. Dr. Mill nearly sixty years ago, now edited by Professor Kielhorn from excellent impressions obtained for me by Colonel S. S. Jacob, C.I.E. The Badâl pillar inscription first published by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1788 has also been anew translated by the same scholar, from Mr. H. B. W. Garrick's fresh impressions. The Pillar and Rock Edicts of Aśoka have been finally revised by Professor Bühler, who has also continued the very important series of short epigraphs discovered by Dr. Führer at Mathura, along with the extensive collection of votive inscriptions made by the same scholar at Sânchi.

The very early Bauddha inscriptions discovered by Alex. Rea, Esq., of the Madras Archæological Survey, in the brick remains of a Stûpa at Bhaṭṭiprolu in the Kṛishṇâ district, have also been edited by the same able scholar. This important discovery was reported to the Madras Government by Mr. Rea on 22nd February, 1892, and his letter was printed in G. O. of 22nd April, 1892, No. 270. It will be interesting in connexion with the epigraphs to give some details of the discovery here. Mr. R. Sewell (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in Madras Presidency*, p. 77) states that this Stûpa "was greatly demolished a few years ago" (*i.e.* before 1882) for the "purpose of making a road ; and some of the marble sculptures were utilized in building a sluice on the Kṛishṇâ canal close by, where the road to Vellatûru crosses the canal. I have it direct from the officer chiefly concerned in the demolition that the mound was between 30 and 40 feet high, of a circular snape like a dome, but ruined at the top ; that there was a marble pillar standing erect, and sculpture here and there in marble . . . He found inside the dome a casket made of six small slabs of stone dove-tailed into one another measuring about 2½ feet by 1½ feet by 1 foot. Inside this was a common clay *châtti*, and inside the *châtti* a neat casket made of 'soap-stone,' which contained a crystal phial. In the phial was a pearl, a few bits of gold-leaf and some ashes. Wishing to remove his discoveries, the stone casket was accidentally broken and the remains were left at Bhaṭṭiprolu. The *châtti* was also broken. The

'soap-stone' casket was smashed during a voyage to England and the fragments thrown away. The crystal phial was presented to Dr. Burnell." . . . "The villagers of Bhaṭṭiprolu told me that they remember some railing or wall, which they described as about four feet high, surrounding the tope."*

Mr. Rea found that the building had been of solid brick work throughout, and that a portion of the base of the dome and the wall of the procession-path at the south-east quadrant, were intact From these he made out that the dome must have had a diameter of 132 feet and the base of 148 feet,—being thus about ten feet larger than the **Amarâvatî** stûpa. Outside the basement, and 8 feet below the present surface, he found a brick floor about 12 feet broad, at the outer edge of which were fragments of marble,—probably of the great enclosing rail.

"I learned," he says, in his very instructive report," that the casket had been found just above the summit of the remaining portion of the brick dome. I ascertained this point to be 15 feet above the level of the floor of the procession-path which surrounds the building. Although this casket had been found, I considered that, as the principal deposit is usually placed down in the centre near the foundation, or at the level of the procession-path, there was a great probability of there being another. After having found the centre of the circular brick-work, which, through the demolition, is not now in the middle of the mound but considerably towards the north, I saw that the bricks there had not been touched. In the centre was a narrow well, 9½ inches in diameter, filled with earth. This hole, it appears, was open when the top of the stûpa was removed, and was then sounded with a rope to a depth of about 15 feet from the present surface. Around it were courses of eight bricks radiating from the centre to a diameter of 3 feet. These bricks I removed to a depth of 14 feet 6 inches.

"At that depth I came on a large, irregular, triangular slab of black stone laid on the outside of the excavated shaft. The two inner sides of the stone radiated from the centre, its outer side was curved concentric with the brick-work, and extended a foot into the wall of the shaft. It would have lain clear, had another ring of brick-work been removed, making the shaft 5 feet in diameter, but I did not expect to find more than one casket, in the centre On removing it, I found a rectangular cutting on the under surface of the stone measuring 11 inches by 8 inches and ½ inch deep: the length was placed east and west. Below it was another similar but thicker stone with a raised rectangular rim on its upper surface cut to fit into the hollow in the upper stone. The inner sides of this rectangle slope down into a circular cavity 5 inches deep. The

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* Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I, pp. 153, 374; vol. III, p. 124; *Madras G. O.* 1st Nov. 1878, No. 1620, pp. 33, 34.

upper surface of the lower stone is smooth, and cut on it, round the four sides of the casket chamber, are two lines of an inscription in characters similar to those of the Aśoka inscriptions" (see Nos. i and ii, pp. 326, 327)

In the cavity, was a small globular black stone relic-casket. Around the casket, and mixed with some earth which filled the cavity, were the following objects:—2 small hemispherical hollow copper or bell-metal (?) cups, $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches in diameter: they fit into each other, and one bears traces of some sort of resin having been inside; on the apex of one is a gold bead, $\frac{3}{16}$ inch in diameter; the other has had a gold bead also, which was found in the earth alongside; 1 copper finger ring and several bits of copper; 1 small bead; 2 double pearls; and the following articles in gold, weighing collectively $\frac{3}{4}$ tola and 13 grains (*i.e.*, 148 grains) *viz.*, 1 single and 1 double gold bead; 7 small triangular pieces; 4 lotus flowers in thin sheets with eight bent petals, each $1\frac{3}{16}$ inches across; 2 triśûlas in thin plates each $1\frac{3}{16}$ inches by 1 inch; 1 hexagonal crystal with slightly convex sides, $2\frac{9}{16}$ inches by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch, pierced with a hole through its axis. On each of the sides of the prism is lightly traced an inscription in the same character as that on the stone (see No. x, p. 329).

"The two hemispherical vessels lay on the west side of the casket; the crystal prism, gold flowers and other articles on the east. The relic-casket is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The lid fits by a groove into the lower portion. Inside was a cylindrical crystal phial $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. It is moulded on the sides, flat on the top and bottom, and has its lid fitted in the same manner as the stone receptacle. Inside is a flat piece of bone, half an inch across, smooth on the one side and celled on the other: it seems to be a piece of a skûll bor

"In the stone casket, below the phial were,—9 small lotus flowers in gold-leaf; 6 gold beads over an eighth of an inch in diameter, and 8 smaller; 4 small lotus flowers in thin copper; 19 small pierced pearls; 1 slightly blue coloured amethyst bead; and 24 small coins or tokens of a light coloured metal, somewhat resembling bell-metal. They are plain on the reverse: and on the obverse have lotus flowers, *triśûlas*, feet with a snake coiled round, and other emblems more or less legible. They were laid on the bottom of the casket—with the smooth sides down—in the form of a *svastika*, and had become fixed to the stone by oxidation. In the *svastika*, nine of the coins were in the central rectangle; three on each of the four arms, and the other three over the centre. The flowers and beads seem also to have been originally arranged symmetrically. An example of this symbolical use of the *svastika* was found in the centre of the stûpa at Pedda Ganjâm.

"At a depth of 17 feet, was another black stone, on the north side of the well, and, like the first, sunk a foot into the wall It is roughly triangular in form, with rounded corners, and measures about 2 feet across, by 10 inches thick. On the top is a circle, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, raised half an inch. The under-side is smooth with a circular hollow 12 inches in diameter and half an inch deep. The circle is filled in with an inscription in 18 lines (No. iii, p. 327), while around it, are two others in two lines (Nos. iv and v, p. 328). All had the letters filled in with white. Below it was a stone, roughly rectangular, with rounded corners. In it is a circular cavity $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter at the top and 4 at the bottom. Round the top is a raised rim $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad; and on the upper surface, round the hole, are inscriptions in two lines (Nos. vi and vii, p 328). The characters are the same as those of the inscription first described. The letters were filled with *chunam*, evidently that they might show distinctly in the black stone. The cavity was nearly filled with earth and had no inner stone casket. In it was a crystal phial $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches high. Its lid is moulded like a *dâgaba*. The top and bottom were lying separate and filled with earth. There was no sign of a relic inside. Mixed with the earth in the stone cavity were,—164 lotus leaves and buds, 2 circular flowers, a *triśûla*, and a three-armed figure like a *svastika*,—all in gold leaf; 2 gold stems for the lotus flowers—one of them attached; 6 gold beads; and 1 small coiled gold ring. The lotus leaves (or petals) are of different sizes, having been fitted inside each other as in the flower itself. The beads represent the opening buds. These articles weigh collectively close on $1\frac{3}{4}$ tolas (315 grs.). Also, two pearls; 1 garnet; six coral beads and one bit of the same material; 1 slightly blue, flat, oval, crystal bead; one pointed, oval, white crystal bead; and two green tinged, flat, hexagonal beryl drops: one is $\frac{9}{16}$ and the other $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in length; a number of bits of corroded copper leaf, including lotus flowers, stems, a miniature umbrella, and one or more thin sheets of silver folded flat into about eight thicknesses. The metal of the latter is much corroded and extremely brittle: it will be impossible to unfold the sheets. One side is broken but the fragments remain. The largest piece measures 2 inches by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and shows some letters or symbols pricked on with a metal point.

"At a depth of 18 feet another black stone lay sunk a foot into the wall on the east side of the shaft. It is an irregular circular stone measuring about 2 feet 3 inches across, by 10 inches thick. On its under-surface is a circular space sunk half an inch with an inscription in eight lines (No. viii, p. 328). The letters were whitened. This stone lay on the top of another, roughly square in shape, and measuring 2 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 3 inches by 11 inches thick. On the upper side is a circular cavity $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep

$7\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad at the top and 5 inches at the bottom. On the top is a rim $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad which fits into the hollow in the upper stone. On the upper surface of the stone, round the rim, is an inscription in one line, with letters whitened (No. ix, p. 329).

"The cavity was nearly filled with earth. In it were: 1 crystal phial of the shape of that found inside the second stone receptacle but slightly larger. It measures $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter by 3 inches high. The two pieces were filled with earth and lay apart.

"Close to the phial, was found the actual relic casket with the relics inside. It is made of a large beryl measuring $\frac{7}{16}$ inch in length, by $\frac{15}{32}$ inch, by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. A cylindrical hole, $\frac{9}{32}$ inch in diameter, is drilled in its axis, in which are the relics,—three small pieces of bone. The hole is closed by a small white crystal stopper with hexagonal bulbous top. The necking is covered with gold leaf, and another sheet of the same material is fixed outside on the bottom. This unique casket had been originally placed inside the crystal phial, but had been displaced probably by shaking of the stone when it was laid. There was also in the cavity:—1 amethyst bead $\frac{5}{8}$ inch long; another smaller; and 1 yellow coloured crystal bead; 1 small hexagonal crystal drop of a slightly yellowish colour, and another flat one of white crystal; 1 bone bead; 6 pearls, and 32 seed pearls, all pierced; 30 lotus flowers, a bent two-armed figure, and a quatre-foil in gold leaf; a piece of seemingly decomposed quartz having the appearance of salt but insoluble in water; a few bits of copper, and an iron (?) cinder.

"The inscriptions are of importance, as, being found in connection with the relics, they must be contemporaneous with the foundation of the stûpa, and shew it to have been an early one."

This report by Mr. Rea is a model of accurate and careful detail such as is seldom met with in such papers, and throws all the light possible in the circumstances on the discovery of these early Bauddha inscriptions. The whole of the objects found have been delivered by Mr. Rea to the Central Museum at Madras.

The volume concludes with a paper supplementary to that given in the previous one by Professor H. Jacobi of Bonn University, completing his ingenious method of computing accurately Hindu dates found in ancient documents. The table of contents will show the list of other papers and the names of the respective contributors: to all of them my best thanks are tendered. To Dr. A. Führer, Ph.D., as assistant editor, I am deeply indebted for much valuable assistance in many ways, ever readily rendered.

JAS. BURGESS.

22, Seton Place, Edinburgh:

August, 1894.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

I.—JABALPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF YASAHKARNADEVA.
[A. D. 1122.]

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, of which I am unable to say where[1] or by whom it was discovered, was engraved on two plates. Both plates were deposited in the Nâgpur Museum, where a Devanâgarî transcript of the whole inscription was made which seems to exist still and which will be referred to below. Subsequently the second of the two plates was either lost or stolen. But the first plate is still in the Museum; and, since the inscription even in its fragmentary state is of some importance, being the only one of the Chedi king Yaśaḥkarṇadeva hitherto discovered, I edit it now from five rubbings and impressions which during the last two or three years have been kindly supplied to me by Dr. Burgess, Mr. Fleet, and Colonel J. A. Temple.[2]

The plate is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 1′ 6½″ broad by 1′ high. At the bottom it has a round hole, about ⅝″ in diameter, for a ring which has probably disappeared together with the missing plate. The writing has suffered a good deal from corrosion, and there are in consequence several *aksharas* which cannot be read with absolute certainty. But, fortunately, everything of historical importance is clear and distinct, and there is no doubt about the purport of any part of the inscription. The size of the letters is between ⅜″ and $\frac{7}{16}$″. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskṛit. Excepting the introductory *oṁ oṁ namo Vrahmaṇe* and a few words at the end, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 24, of which 16 occur also in the Kumbhî copper-plate inscription of Gosaladevî.[3] As regards orthography, the letter *b*

[1] I call the plate the Jabalpur plate, because it is so called by Sir A. Cunningham. The district of 'Jâvalipattana or Jâuli-patan' was apparently mentioned in the lost portion of the inscription. See the references in note 2, below.

[2] See Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd edition, Introduction, pp. li and lii; and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 87 and 88. Several of the statements which have been made regarding this inscription, on the basis of the Nâgpur Museum transcript, are very incorrect. Thus, according to one account, the inscription is one of Karṇadeva, according to another it belongs to Gayakarṇa, and the transcript is said to read *Srî-mahesa-Karṇa*; but there can be no doubt that the inscription belongs to Yaśaḥkarṇa and that, what the copyist had before him in the now lost plate, was *Srîmad-Yaśaḥkarṇa*. Karṇadeva is said to have built a fort named Karṇa Meru from which flowed the river Karṇavatî; in reality Karṇa built a temple at Banâras, which the poet describes as Karṇa's Meru, and he founded the town of Karṇâvatî. The same Karṇa is said to have conquered Bhîmeśvara, king of Andhra, who is identified with Bhîma II, one of the eastern Châlukyas. What the inscription really says is, that Yaśaḥkarṇa defeated the king of Andhra, and that he subsequently presented the holy Bhîmeśvara (or Śiva) with many ornaments. [See page 7, note 48.—E. H.]

[3] Edited and translated in the *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VIII, pp. 483—495; and re-edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, *ib.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 116—123. It will be seen that the present inscription, in verses 3, 5, 8, 12, 14, and 20, furnishes decidedly better readings than those given by Dr. Hall, and that in verse 21 it supplies certain words which have been either omitted or given quite wrongly in the published versions of the Kumbhî inscription.

is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal; besides, *ś* is used for *s* in the word *śârddhaṁ*, in line 21, and *j* for *y* in *trijâmâ*, in line 15.

The metrical portion of the inscription, after mentioning, like the Kumbhî and other Chedi inscriptions, a number of divine and semi-divine beings, gives the usual genealogy of the Kalachuri (or Chedi) kings of Tripurî, from Yuvarâjadeva down to the reigning king Yaśaḥkarṇadeva (Yuvarâjadeva; Kokalla; Gâṅgeyadeva, also called Vikramâditya; Karṇadeva, who married the Hûṇa princess Âvalladevî; and Yaśaḥkarṇadeva). And, in addition to the well-known facts that Gâṅgeyadeva with his hundred wives obtained final salvation at Prayâga, and that Karṇadeva founded the town of Karṇâvatî, it only records (in verse 13) that Karṇa also built a magnificent temple at Kâśi or Benares, where evidently verse 13 was composed; and (in verse 23) that Yaśaḥkarṇa defeated the ruler of Andhra, in the vicinity of the river Godâvarî.

Of the prose portion of the inscription only a few words remain. But from these words—'and this...*Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Parameśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vâmadeva,'[4]—it is clear that the inscription must have recorded a grant made by, or during the reign of, the king who in the metrical portion is mentioned last, *i.e.*, Yaśaḥkarṇadeva. And it is fortunate that the Nâgpur Museum transcript, inaccurate as it is in other respects, enables us to ascertain the time when this grant was made, in my opinion, with certainty. We know that Yaśaḥkarṇa was succeeded by his son Gayakarṇadeva, and we possess an inscription of this Gayakarṇa[5] which must have been put up towards the end of his reign and which bears a date corresponding to the 17th June, A. D. 1151. Yaśaḥkarṇa would therefore have ceased to reign some time before, and probably at such a distance from, A. D. 1151, as would suit the relation to each other of father and son. Now according to the Nâgpur Museum transcript of the present inscription[6] the grant recorded in it was made 'at the time of the Makara-saṁkrânti, on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Mâgha.' And during the sixty years preceding A. D. 1151, the only year which fulfils these conditions is A. D. 1122. For in that year[7] the 10th of the dark half of Mâgha fell by the *pûrṇimânta* scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 *h.* 39 *m.* after mean sunrise; and in the same year the Makara-saṁkrânti took place 15 minutes before mean sunrise of, or for religious purposes on, the same Monday. And I have no doubt that Monday, the 25th December A.D. 1122, corresponding, with my epoch of the Chedi era, to Mâgha-badi 10 of Chedi-saṁvat 874, is the true date of the grant, and that this is a reliable date for Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, whose reign probably ended shortly afterwards.

[4] Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 225.

[5] See *ib.*, vol. XVIII, p. 210.

[6] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88.

[7] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p 218. After I had made the necessary calculations regarding the above date for my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era and found the above result, I learnt from Mr. Fleet that, according to Mr. Sh. B. Dîkshit's calculations, in the century Śaka-saṁvat 1000 to 1100 (A. D. 1078—1178) the only year in which the Makara-saṁkrânti occurred on a Monday, which was the 10th lunar or solar day of the month Mâgha, was Śaka-saṁvat 1044 expired (A. D. 1122—23).

TEXT.[8]

L. 1. ओं[9] [॥×] ओं नमो ब(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥
जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानज(ब्ज)सूतिः ॥(।)
अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमत्रिस्तदक्ष्णस्तदनु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवा-

2. नब्धिवन्धुः[10] ॥[11]—[1].
अथ वो(बो)धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृहजामातरमब्जवान्धवस्य[12] ।
तनयं जनयांव(ब)भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥[13]—[2].
पुत्रं पुरूरवसमौरसमाप सू-

3. नुर्देवस्य सप्तजलरासि(शि)रसायनस्य ।
आसीदनन्यसमभाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वसी(शी) च सुकलत्रमिहोर्व्वरा च ॥[14]—[3].
अ[त्रा]न्वये किल शताधिकसप्तमेधयूपोपरुद्धयमुनो-

4. त्तविविक्तकीर्त्तिः ॥(।)
सप्ताब्धि(ब्धि)रत्नरस(श)नाभरणाभिरामविस्वं(श्वं)भ[रा]सु(शु)भरतो भरतो व(ब)भूव ॥ —[4].
हेलागृहीतपुनरुक्तसमस्तस(श)स्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य स कार्त्तवीर्यः ॥(।)
अ-

5. त्रैव हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपुंसि राजेति नाम स(श)शलक्ष्मणि चक्रमे यः ॥ —[5].
स हिमाचल इव कलचुरिवंस(श)मसूत क्षमाभृतां भर्त्ता [।×]
मुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तैः पूतं महीप-

6. तिभिः ॥[15]—[6].
तत्रान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो नरेन्द्रः पौरन्दरीमिव पुरीं त्रिपुरीं पुनानः ॥(।)
आसीन्मदान्धनृपगन्धगजाधि[राज]निर्मांथकेसरियुवा युवराजदेवः ॥[16]—[7].
सिंहासने नृप-

7. तिसिंहममुष्य सूनुमारूरुपन्नवनिभर्त्तुरमात्यमुख्याः ॥(।)
कोकल्लमर्णवचतुष्टयवीचिसंघसंघट्टरुद्धचतुरङ्गचमूप्रचारं ॥ —[8].
इन्दुप्रभां निंदति हारगुच्छं जुगुप्सते

8. चंदनमाक्षिपन्ती [।]
यत्र प्रभौ दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्त्तिः ॥[17]—[9].
मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढवक्षाः स्मिताक्षो[18] नगरपरिघदैर्घो(र्घ्यं) लंघय[न्दो]र्द्वयेन ।
[शिर]सि

9. कुलिस(श)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥[19]—[10].
सवीरसिंहासनमौलिर[त्नं] स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः ।
य[स्माद]कस्मादप[वर्ग ?]-

[8] From impressions supplied to me by the Editor and by Mr. Fleet.

[9] Expressed by a symbol.

[10] Read °नब्धिबन्धुः.

[11] Metre, Mâlinî.

[12] Read °मब्जबान्धवस्य.

[13] Metre, Aupachchhandasika.

[14] Metre of verses 3—5, Vasantatilakâ.

[15] Metre, Âryâ.

[16] Metre of verses 7 and 8, Vasantatilakâ. As the noun *nirmâtha* does not seem to occur anywhere else, I suspect it to have been put wrongly for *nirmâthi* (*nirmâthin*).

[17] Metre, Upajâti.

[18] This word is quite clear in the rubbings.

[19] Metre, Mâlinî.

L. 10. मिच्छन्नकु[च्छ]ल[:][कुं स्वजि?]तां व(ब)भार ।(॥)[20]—[11].
प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेस(श)व(ब)न्धौ सार्द्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्तिं ।
पुत्रोऽस्य खड्गदलि[तारि]करीन्द्रकुम्भमुक्ताफलैः
11. स्म[21]ककुभोर्च्चति कर्ण्णदेवः ॥[22]—[12].
कनकसि(शि)खरवेश्महैजयन्तीसमीरव्यपितग[ग]नखेलत्खेचरीचक्रखे[द]: ॥(।)
किमपरमिह कास्यां(श्यां) य[स्य] दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वीचीवल[यव(ब)?]-
12. हल[कीर्त्तिः] कीर्त्तनं कर्ण्णमेरुः ॥[23] —[13].
अग्र्यं धाम स्रे(श्रे)यसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकंदः स्वःस्रवन्त्याः किरीटं [।×]
व्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तंभो येन कर्ण्णावतीति प्रत्य[ष्ठापि] क्ष्मातलव्र(ब्र)ह्मलो[कः]
13. ॥[24]—[14].
अजनि कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हूणान्वयजलनिधिलक्ष्म्यां श्रीमदावल्लदेव्यां ॥(।)
यशश्चदुदयस(श)ल्लाल्लुव्ध(ब्ध)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरितयस(श):श्रीः श्रीयस(श):कर्ण्ण-
14. देवः ॥[25]—[15].
[चंद्रार्क्कदीप]वति पर्व्वतराजपूर्व्वकुम्भावभासिनि महा[व्धि(ब्धि)]चतुष्कमध्ये[।×]
चक्रे पुरोहितपुर[स्कृ]तिपूत[कर्म्मा] धर्म्मात्मनोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेकं ॥[26]—[16].
न
15. खलु स[मदगो]ष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पात्रं ।[27]न खलु कलुषचर्याकज्जलो[ल्लावकस्य?] ॥(।)
कलयति कलिनामन्युद्गमं यस्त्रिजा(या)मातमसि जयति जम्बू(म्बू)द्वीपरत्नप्रदीपः ॥[28]—[17].
चिन्ता-
16. मणि[कृष्ण?]सु(शु)क्तियु[ग्म]क्रोडे स्याद्यदि कामधेनुदुग्धं [।×]
दृस्ये(श्ये)त दृशोस्तस्य दातुः सादृस्यं(श्यं) [ध]वलाक्षिलक्षणस्य । (॥)[29]—[18].
यः ककुप्कुञ्जरालानस्तंभसव्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिणः ।
17. [ग्रामा(शा)न्ते]षु जयस्तम्भानुदस्तंभयदुच्चकैः ॥[30]—[19].
यो व्र(ब्र)ह्मणां पाणिषु पंचषाणि दाता[31]निधत्ते पयसः पृषन्ति [।×]
तैरेव तृष्णामवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रथयन्त्यव[ज्ञां ॥][32]—[20].
18. महीभर्त्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः [।]
गरिम्णा [मे]रुरत्यर्थं कृतार्थयति योर्थिनः । (॥)[33]—[21].
स्वर्म्मराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिसं(शं)खसु(शु)चीनि ।
सा(शा)ङ्गिं-
19. [वेष?]फणिकंचुकभांसि स्फीततां दधति यस्य यसां(शां)सि ॥[34]—[22].
पञ्चाधीस(श)मरज्युदोर्व्विलसितं स्वच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता
येनाभ्यर्च्चत भूरिभिः स भगवान्भीमेस्व(श्व)रो

[20] Metre, Upajâti.
[21] This word is quite clear in the rubbings.
[22] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[23] Metre, Mâlinî.
[24] Metre, Śâlinî.
[25] Metre, Mâlinî.
[26] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[27] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[28] Metre, Mâlinî.
[29] Metre, Bhadravirâj. The third Pâda wants one short syllable, between *driśos* and *tasya*. I would suggest reading *tadâsya*.
[30] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[31] This is quite clear in the rubbings.
[32] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[33] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[34] Metre, Svâgatâ.

L. 20. [भूष]णै: ॥(।)

यस्या[व]र्ण्ण[यदात्त?]नृत्यलहरीद्रुवल्गिगोदावरी

[वीर्याम्बु?]मदहंसनादमधुरै: स्रोत:स्वरै: सप्तभि ।(॥)[35]—[23].

कुर्व्वंनार्ह्यां व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसा-

21. दरिच्चत्वनिव(ब)र्हण: [।*]

ग्रा(सा)र्ई परसु(शु)रामेण य: स्पर्द्धामधिरोहति ॥[36]—[24].

स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीवामदेवपा-

. . . .

TRANSLATION.

Oṁ!

Oṁ! Adoration to Brahman!

(*Verse* 1.) Glorious is (*the god*) whose navel is a lotus, glorious is the lotus which is his navel, (*and*) glorious is (*the god*) born from that lotus! Glorious also is his offspring Atri, and glorious is the friend of the ocean who took his birth from Atri's eye![37]

(2.) Now the king[38] who is the swan in the lake of the expanse of heaven begat as his offspring Bodhana, the son of (*that*) primeval king (*and*) son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses.

(3.) This son of the god[39] who is the elixir produced from the seven seas obtained, as the son of his own body, Purûravas, who had both Urvaśî and the earth here for his faithful wives, to be enjoyed by him with their hundreds of unrivalled blessings.

(4.) In this family forsooth was born Bharata, whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Yamunâ, hemmed in by more than hundred posts of horse-sacrifices (*offered by him*),—Bharata, who delighted in the welfare of the earth, made lovely, as by a pearl-ornament, by the girdle of the seven seas.

(5.) Highly glorious is in his family that Kârtavîrya who, though he had no need of them, wielded with ease every weapon, (*and*) who allowed the title of king[40] only to the Moon, the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes.

(6.) Resembling the Himâlaya, the lord of mountains, that lord of princes begat the Kalachuri race which is purified by rulers of spotless conduct, as with pure round pearls.

(7.) In this family was a prince, foremost of the prudent, who purified the town of Tripurî so that it was like Indra's city,—Yuvarâjadeva, who destroyed the lords of princes blinded by passion, as a young lion does powerful infuriated elephants.

(8.) The chief ministers of that ruler of the earth placed on the throne his son Kokalla, a lion-like prince, the progress of whose armies, comprising elephants, chariots, horsemen and soldiers on foot,[41] was checked (*only*) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.

[35] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[36] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[37] This first verse glorifies the god Vishṇu, his navel, the god Brahman, Atri, and the Moon. Further on we are told that the Moon's son Bodhana (or Budha, *i.e.*, Mercury) married (Iḷâ or Iḍâ) a daughter of the Sun (or Mitra-Varuṇa), and that their son was Purûravas. 'The friend of the ocean' is the moon; 'the friend of lotuses,' the sun.

[38] *i.e.*, the moon.

[39] *i.e.*, again the moon, under the name of Soma confounded with the Soma plant.

[40] For the same idea, compare *ante*, vol. I, p. 313, verse 16. Dr. F. E. Hall's reading *chakrame* in the Kumbhî copper-plate (instead of *chakshame*) yields no sense.

[41] The original has only the word *chaturaṅga*.

(*V.* 9.) That lord having gone far away, his fame shows like a forsaken woman; deriding white sandal, it reproves the lustre of the moon, and is a reproach to a string of pearls.

(10.) His son was Gâṅgeyadeva, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of enemies (*and*) the lord of the fortune of heroes, with a chest broad like an emerald tablet, (*and*) with smiling eyes, (*and*) with his two arms surpassing the length of a city bar.

(11.) The crest-jewel of crowned heads, he has become famous under the name of Vikramâditya; for, striving after final beatitude (*and*) free from wicked deceit, he ruled the earth which he had himself conquered all of a sudden.

(12.) When, fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig tree of Prayâga, he had found salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son Karṇadeva honoured the quarters with the pearls from the frontal globes of the majestic elephants of his enemies, cleft by his sword.

(13.) Of him whose great fame is like the circle of waves of the milky ocean, need we say more than that here, at Kâśi, there is a temple (*erected by him*), Karṇa's *Meru*,[42] (*so lofty*) that the wind of the flags which wave from its golden spires lessens the fatigue of the damsels of heaven, when playing in the sky?

(14.) He set up the pillar of piety, called Karṇâvatî, the foremost abode of bliss, the root of the creeping plant—knowledge of the Vedas, the diadem of the stream of heaven, the world of Brahman on the surface of the earth.

(15.) That lord of the Kalachuris begat on the illustrious Âvalladevî, (*another*) goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the Hûṇa family, the illustrious Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, the glory of whose fame is co-extensive with the billows of the milky ocean which rose (*when he arose*), mistaking him to be the rising moon.

(16.) Of this law-abiding (*son*) the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he paid to the family priests, performed himself the great inauguration ceremony in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent, as by a full jar, by the king of mountains, and illumined by the moon and the sun.[43]

(17.) Glorious is that jewel-lamp[44] of Jambûdvîpa which sends forth its rays in the darkness of night of the Kali age, never filled with partiality for the assemblies of the arrogant, and never displaying the lampblack—base conduct.

(18.) If the milk of the cow of plenty were (*put*) within the two black shells of the gem which grants every desire, then there would be seen a likeness with the eyes of that bountiful (*king*) whose eyes are both white and red.[45]

(19.) He erected high pillars of victory near the confines of the regions, as companions of the posts to which the elephants of the quarters are fastened.

(20.) This bountiful (*lord*) puts five or six drops of water into the hands of the

[42] *Meru* denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances; *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, lvi, 20), and the word is chosen here because it is also the name of the well-known fabulous mountain of enormous height, the summit of which is the residence of Brahman. A similar temple is said to have been built by Gâṅgeyadeva; see v. 9 of the next inscription.

[43] At an ordinary *abhisheka* water from all the oceans, golden jars, etc., should be used. To show the magnificence of Yaśaḥkarṇa's *abhisheka*, the poet says that the ceremony here was performed in the midst of the four oceans, and that the Himâlaya took the place of the ordinary golden jars, etc.; and he implies that Y. was inaugurated in the sovereignty of the whole earth, bounded by the oceans.

[44] *i.e.*, a lamp in which jewels give out light. Jambûdvîpa is the central division of the world, including India.

[45] The general meaning of this verse is that the king possesses the properties of both the fabulous cow of plenty and the gem which grants every desire.

Brâhmans[46]; and they with these already quench their thirst, and afterwards show their contempt even for the ocean.[47]

(*V.* 21.) In weight (*like the mountain*) Meru, this ruler of the earth exceedingly gratifies suppliants by bestowing on them (*gold*) equal to his own weight and by other great gifts.

(22.) Bright like the tusks of the elephant of the king of heaven, pure like the shells of the ocean of milk, (*and*) lustrous like the snake's skin in which Vishṇu is clad, his fame has become superabundant.

(23.) Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (*even though*) the play of (*that king's*) arms disclosed no flaw, he reverenced the holy Bhîmeśvara[48] with many ornaments. The Godâvarî, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo.

(24.) Crushing the power of his enemies and making over the earth to the Brâhmans, he engages in a course of rivalry with Paraśurâma.

And this . . . the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Parameśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vâmadeva . . . .

II.—BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE QUEEN ALHANADEVI.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 907.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall, in 1857, at Bhera-Ghâṭ on the Narmadâ, in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, and subsequently presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is a plain block of greenstone, of a soft texture and easily cut, 2′ 9½″ broad by 1′ 10½″ high.[1] The inscription was first edited, with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Hall in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499-532; and Dr. Hall's text was afterwards reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, pp. 107-9; and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 91-94. I now re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions and a rubbing kindly prepared for me, at Professor Lanman's request, by Mr. Herbert C. Tohwan, of Yale University, New Haven.[2]

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2′ 7½″ broad by 1′ 9″ high. With the exception of two *aksharas* each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost entirely broken away, and about half a dozen other damaged *aksharas*,

[46] *viz.*, at the time when he is making donations to them

[47] The word translated by 'ocean' means originally 'a mine of precious stones.'

[48] *i.e.*, the god Śiva. [I take this to refer to the Bhîmeśvara temple at Drâkshârâma in the Godâvarî district.—E. H.]

[1] See the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499 and 534; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 73.

[2] It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Hall's text and translation were prepared with his usual care and scholarship. Nevertheless, a few slight errors of his were pointed out already by the Committee of Publication of the American Oriental Society while his paper was passing through the press; and I have had occasion to differ still further from Dr. Hall, as regards both the text and the translation.

the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between $\frac{9}{16}$ and $\frac{11}{16}$". The characters are Nâgarî, carefully drawn and engraved; and they include the sign of the *jihvâmûlîya* in *mahîpâlaḥ=Karṇṇaḥ*, in line 9, and that of the *upadhmânîya* in *Hûṇaḥ=praharshaṁ*, in line 10. The language is Sanskṛit, and excepting the introductory *oṁ oṁ namaḥ Śivâya* and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse.[3] The language is not quite free from mistakes.[4] For, in line 10, we find the perfect form *chakape*, instead of *chakampe* (which would not have suited the metre), and, in line 25, the imperative *vyadhattâm*, possibly an error of the writer or engraver, instead of *vidhattâm* which would suit the metre equally well. Besides we have, in line 9, the wrong abstract noun *chaṇḍimatâ*, and, in line 2, the adjective *valgu*, used in the sense of the participle *valgat*. And the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed in *kim=vâ*, line 2, and in *yushmân=śarîraiḥ*, line 3. As regards orthography, the consonant *b* is seven times denoted by its own proper sign, but just as often by the sign for *v*. Thus, in lines 7 and 10 we read *bibhrat*, but in line 6 *vibhrat;* in line 16 *buddher*, but in line 1 *vuddhim*, &c. The sibilants are generally employed each in its proper place; but in line 14 we have *śaṭâla*, instead of *saṭâla* as the word is correctly written in line 27. Instead of the sign of *anusvâra* the dental *n* has been wrongly employed in the word *sinha* (in the proper names *Vairisinha*, *Vijayasinha*, &c., in lines 16, 17, 21-23, and 29), in *vanśa*, line 20, and in *sudhânśuḥ*, line 18 (properly written *sudhâṁśu* in line 4); and even at the end of a word before an initial sibilant, in *sansatsu*, line 5, and *etân=sûriḥ*, line 28. And, generally, it may be noted that out of about 60 cases where the use of the *anusvâra* would have been optional, at the end of a word before a following initial consonant, and where it would now be usually employed throughout, it has been actually employed only about 25 times, while in the rest of the cases the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs has been used instead; and that the sign of *anusvâra* never occurs, instead of the sign for *m*, at the end of a verse or half-verse.

The inscription was composed by Śaśidhara, a younger son of Dharaṇîdhara[5] and grandson of Maheśvara, of the Mauna *gotra;* written on the stone by his elder brother Pṛithvîdhara; and engraved by Mahîdhara, a son of the artizan Bâlasiṁha (verses 32-35 and 37). And its object is, to record that the queen Alhaṇadevî, the wife (or rather, widow) of the king Gayakarṇadeva, and mother of the reigning king Narasiṁhadeva and his younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva, founded a Śiva temple, with a *maṭha* or cloister, a hall of study, and gardens attached to it; that, probably for the maintenance of these buildings and their occupants, she assigned the income from the two villages of Nâmaüṇḍî, in the Jâulî *pattalâ*, and of Makarapâṭaka, on the right bank of the Narmadâ in the land adjoining the hills; and that the management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pâśupata ascetic, named Rudrarâśi, of Lâṭa lineage (vv. 27-31). The inscription also records (in verse 36) that all the buildings, etc., aforesaid, at one of which the inscription may be supposed to have been put up, were designed or executed by the architect Pîthe.

[3] The second half of verse 20 grossly offends against a well-known metrical rule.

[4] Similar mistakes are found in other Chedi inscriptions of the same period.

[5] Dharaṇîdhara, Pṛithvîdhara and Mahîdhara are mentioned also in the Tewar stone inscription of Gayâkarṇadeva, of the Chedi year 902. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 210, note 2

By way of introduction the inscription, after the words "oṁ oṁ, adoration to Śiva!", and six verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Sarasvatî, furnishes the following meagre account of the royal family into which Alhaṇadevî had married, and of her own descent:—

From a prince of the lunar family, named Arjuna (or Sahasrârjuna, v. 7), was descended the king Kokalladeva (v. 8). From him sprang Gâṅgeyadeva (vv. 9-10); and his son was king Karṇa who is represented as having held in check the Pâṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Kîras, and Hûṇas (vv. 11-13). Karṇa's son was Yaśaḥkarṇa, said to have become famous by devastating Champâraṇya (v. 14); and his son again was Gayakarṇa (vv. 15-16). Gayakarṇa married Alhaṇadevî, a daughter of the king Vijayasiṁha (a son of Vairisiṁha who was a son of the prince Haṁsapâla, a descendant of the son of Gobhila or Gobhilaputra,) and his wife Śyâmaladevî, a daughter of the king Udayâditya of Mâlava (vv. 17-23). And Alhaṇadevî bore to Gayakarṇa two sons, Narasiṁhadeva, who in the inscription is represented as the reigning king, and his younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva (vv. 24-26). Nearly all this is stated also in the Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva, and I may therefore, for the present, refer the reader to my remarks on that inscription, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 215.

Our inscription is dated, at the end of the last line, in the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha,—a date which must of course be referred to the Kalachuri or Chedi era. When writing on the epoch of that era, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, I felt inclined to accept Mr. Fleet's suggestion, based on an examination of the photozincograph of this inscription in No. 10 of the *Archæol. Survey of Western India* which alone was then available, that the figures for the day of this date were intended to be 10 (and not 11). But now my excellent impressions have shown me that the figures after all are 11, and that they are quite distinct and cannot be read in any other way. And accordingly the probabilities regarding the corresponding European date are as follows. With my epoch of the Kalachuri era, as to the general correctness of which there can now be hardly any doubt, and according to the way in which the other Kalachuri dates yield satisfactory results, our date should fall in A.D. 1155. But in A.D. 1155 the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha *commenced* 2 *h.* 12 *m.* after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 6th November, and ended 0 *h.* 43 *m.* after mean sunrise of Monday, the 7th November, apparently causing sudi 11 to correspond, civilly, to the Monday. In the following year, A.D. 1156, on the other hand, the same 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha *ended* 1 *h.* 46 *m.* after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 25th November, and consequently, in that year, sudi 11 was, civilly, really a Sunday. Now, that the day intended by the original date is either Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, or Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156, appears to me certain; but I am not at present prepared to say confidently which of these two Sundays is the true date. Supposing all the other Kalachuri dates to cite current years, the present date might be taken to quote, exceptionally, an expired year, and in that case its equivalent would be Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156. But a more careful examination of the practice of other eras has shown that it is rather the *current* years which are quoted exceptionally. And assuming that, what is true of other eras, must hold good also of the Kalachuri era, one would rather be inclined to look upon Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, as the proper equivalent of the date, and to assume that the *tithi*, in this instance,

was joined with the weekday on which it commenced, and which was almost entirely filled by it.

The two villages Nâmaüṇḍî and Makarapâṭaka, mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify. The Jâulî *paṭṭalâ*, which apparently was mentioned also in the lost portion of Yaśaḥkarṇa's copper-plate,[6] must have been the country around Jabalpur.

TEXT.[7]

L. 1 ओं[8][॥*] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥

कल्याणितामविकलां भवतां तनोतु भाले कलानिधिकला शशिशेखरस्य ॥(।)

एकैव या प्रमथसार्थगतां द्वितीयावु(बु)द्धिप्रदोषविरहेपि करोति नित्यम् ॥[9]—[1].

2 किं माला: कुमुदस्य किं शशिकला: किन्धर्म्मकर्म्मांकुरा:[10]

किम्वा[11]कञ्चुकिकञ्चुका: किमथवा भूत्युद्गमा भास्वमी ।

इत्थन्नाकिवितर्क्किता: शिवशिर:सञ्चारिनाकापगा-

रिङ्गद्वल्गुतरङ्गभङ्गिततय: पुष्णप्र-

3. पा: पान्तु व: ॥[12]—[2].

भूतं सद्विभु यद्विभाति भुवनं यद्विभ्रमाद्यज्जग-

न्नेत्रानन्दकरं धराश्रयरसाद्यन्यत्वहेतुश्च यत् ।

यद्गन्धोद्धुरधाम यच्च यजते शीतं यदेकान्तत:

सस्पर्शं यद्रूपमेभिरवतादष्टान्श(ष्ट)रीरै:

4. शिव: ॥ —[3].

शक्तिहेतिपरप्रीतिहेतुश्चन्द्रकचर्च्चित: ।

ताण्डवाडंव(ब)र: कुर्य्यान्नीलकण्ठ: श्रियाणि व: ॥[13]—[4].

विघ्नौघसन्तमससंहरणाय शक्तं मुक्तं कलंककलया शकलं सुधांशो: ।

कुन्दावदाततरदन्तमिषाद्दधा-

5. न: श्रेय: परन्दिशतु व: सदयं द्विपास्य: ॥[14]—[5].

रूपैरनेकैर्व्यवहारजातमातन्वती पातु सरस्वती व: ।

यल्लेशलालित्यलवादपि स्यात्सन्मत्सु[15]पुंसाङ्गरिमा गरीयान् [॥*][16] ※ —[6].

गोत्रे रात्रिकरस्य भूपति-

6. रभूद्दि(द्वि)भ्रत्सहस्रं करा-

न्प्रत्येकन्त्रिजगन्मनोविनयने रात्रिन्दिवं जागृवि: ।

तेजोभिर्ज्जगतीभृताम्परिभवी नाम्नार्ज्जुन: मंस्मते-

र्यस्याद्याप्यधिगम्यते वस्तु गतनीतं च चाराचरम् ॥[17] —[7].

तस्या-

7. न्वये समभवत्प्रथित: पृथिव्या नाथ: कथाद्भुततमापि वृथा न यस्य ।

कोकल्लदेव इति बिभ्रदु[दार]रूपनाम त्रिलोकसुखसंजननैकधाम ॥[18]—[8].

निर्ज्जित्योर्ज्जितगर्व्वपर्व्वतभृत: प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वी-

[6] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88.

[7] From the impressions.

[8] Expressed by a symbol.

[9] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[10] The sign of *anusvâra* in the last word is very faint, but it is there.

[11] Read किं वा.

[12] Metre of verses 2 and 3, Śârdûlavikrîḍita

[13] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh)

[14] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[15] Read स्वात्संसत्सु.

[16] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[17] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[18] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

L. 8. भुज:

प्राप्तानन्तयशा बभूव नृपतिर्गाङ्गेयदेवस्ततः

पृथ्वी येन विधाय मेरुमतुलं कल्पद्रुमेण[ार्]थिनां

स्वर्गादूर्द्ध्वमधःस्थितापि विबुधाधारे [स?]मापादिता ॥[19]—[9].

पुण्यामृतेन संसिक्ता शुभ्रसत्त्वप्रवर्द्धि-

9. [त]ा ।

यत्कीर्त्तिव्रततिः सर्व्वं व्याप ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपम(म्) ॥[20]—[10].

तेनाजनि महीपालः कर्ण्णः स्वर्ण्णेन कुर्व्वता ।

पूर्ण्णंतृष्णार्ण्णवानर्थिसार्थानर्थितकीर्त्तिना ॥ —[11].

पाण्ड्यश्चण्डिमतांमुमोच मुरलस्तत्याज गर्व्व[ग्र]हं[21]

10. [कु]ङ्गः[22] सद्गतिमाजगाम चकपे[23]वङ्गः कलिङ्गैः सह ।

कीरः कीरवदास पञ्जरगृहे हूणःप्रहर्षं जहौ

यस्मिन्राजनि शौर्य्यविभ्रमभरं बिभ्रत्यपूर्व्वप्रभे ॥[24]—[12].

अस्मद्भर्त्तृपराभवेन सकला-

11. भुंक्ते [भुवं] यामसौ

तामेतान्तनवामहे तनुतराकारामितीव श्रियः ।

यत्प्रत्यर्थिमहीभुजामयनजैर्व्वाष्पैः पयोधीन्वधूः

स्फारान्नवमहोर्म्मिभिः पुनरमी तं वर्द्ध[याञ्च]-[25]

12. क्रिरे ॥ —[13].

चम्पारण्यविदारणोद्गतयशःशुभ्रांशुना भासय-

न्नाशाचक्रमवक्रभावहृदयः क्ष्मापालचूडामणिः ।

तस्माज्जन्म समाससाद विशदं श्रीमान्यशःकर्ण्ण इ-

त्यौदार्य्याद्व[निकी]-[26]

13. चकार विबुधान्यः प्रेक्ष्य सर्व्वानपि ॥ —[14].

तस्मादशेषगुणरत्ननिधेरगाधाद्गवल्लभः समभवन्नयकर्ण्णदेवः ।

यस्य प्रतापतपनोप्यरिसुन्दरीणां शोकार्ण्णवोदयनिदानपदं प्रपेदे ॥[27]—[15].

14 द्युतिजितहरितालः श्रीलताकल्पशालः पृथुतरगुणमालः शत्रुवर्गैककालः ।

विमलितरणभालः कान्तकीर्त्त्या श(स)टालः शिततरकरवालः सोभवद्भूमिपालः ॥[28]※—॥[16].

अस्ति

[19] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The *akshara* put in brackets in the last line of this verse is almost entirely broken away.

[20] Metre of verses 10 and 11, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[21] Of the *akshara* in brackets only the consonant *r* is absolutely certain. What the author meant to say, was probably गर्व्वग्रहं.

[22] The *akshara* in brackets is so much damaged that only part of the letter *k* remains. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol xviii, p. 217, line 10.

[23] This reading is absolutely certain चकपे is grammatically incorrect, for चकम्पे.

[24] Metre of verses 12-14, Śârdûlavikrîḍita

[25] The word तं of this line is quite certain Of the *aksharas* in brackets only the first is partly visible.

[26] Of the *aksharas* in these brackets only the vowel *i* of the first remains; the rest had been already supplied by Dr. Hall.

[27] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[28] Metre, Mâlinî.

L. 15. प्रसिद्धमिह गोभिलपुत्रगोत्रन्तत्राजनिष्ट नृपतिः किल हंसपालः ।
शौर्यावसज्जितनिरर्गलसैन्यसंघनम्रीकृताखिलमिलद्रिपुचक्रवालः ॥[29] —[17]
तस्याभवत्तनुभवः प्र-

16. णमत्समस्तसामन्तशेखरशिरोमणिरञ्जितांह्रिः[30] ।
श्रीवैरिसिन्हवसुधाधिपतिर्व्विशुद्धबुद्धेर्न्निधिर्व्व परमर्थिजनस्य चोच्चैः ॥ —[18].
स [31]वैरिसिन्होप्यनयद्रिपूणां कुलानि गम्भीरगुहागृ-

17. हाणि ।
स्वयञ्च तेषामधिशय्य चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥[32]—[19].
तस्मादजायत समस्तजनाभिवन्द्यसौन्दर्यशौर्यभरभङ्गुरिताहितश्रीः ।
पृथ्वीपतिर्व्विजयसिन्ह[33]इति

18. प्रवर्द्धमानः सदा जगति यस्य यशःसुधान्शुः[34] ॥[35]—[20].
तस्याभवन्मालवमण्डलाधिनाथोदयादित्यसुता सुरूपा ।
शृङ्गारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदारचरित्रचिन्तामणिरर्च्चितश्रीः ॥[36]—[21].

19. मेनायामिव शंकरप्रणयिनी क्षोणीभृतान्नायका-
द्वीरिण्यामिव शुभ्रभानुवनिता दक्षात्प्रजानां सृजः ।
तस्मादल्हणदेव्यजायत जगद्रक्षाक्षमाद्भूपते-
रेतस्यान्निज-

20. [37]दीर्घवन्शविशदप्रेंखत्पताकाकृतिः ॥[38]—[22].
विवाहविधिमाधाय गयकर्ण्णनरेश्वरः ।
चक्रे प्रीतिम्परामस्यां शिवायामिव शंकरः ॥[39]—[23].
शृङ्गारशाला कलशी कलानां लावण्यमाला गु-

21. णपण्यभूमिः ।
असूत पुत्रद्वयकर्ण्णभूपादसौ नरेशन्नरसिन्हदेवम्[40] ॥[41]—[24].
अस्य श्रीनरसिन्हदेवनृपतेः[42]प्रोद्यन्यशश्चन्द्रमा
दिग्भित्तीर्व्विदधातु व(ब)न्धुरसुधासम्भारगर्भा इव ।
भूर्भर्त्तारम-

22. वाप्य चैनमुचितं प्रीतिन्तथा प्राप्नुया-
त्पूर्व्वेषान्न यथा मनागपि महाक्षोणीभृतां ध्यायति ॥[43]—[25].
अस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिन्हदेवः[44] सौमित्रिवत्प्रथमजेङ्गितरूपसेवः ।
यो मेघनादव(ब)हु-

23. मायमहातिकायसैन्यं द्विषामभिभवन्नह[ह] प्रहस्तः ॥[45]—[26].
अकारयन्मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलेरिदम्मठेनाद्भुतभूमिकेन ।

[29] Metre of verses 17 and 18, Vasantatilakâ.

[30] Originally °ह्रि: or ह्रि:, but altered to °ह्रे:. At the commencement of the next line read श्रीवैरिसिंह°.

[31] Read वैरिसिंहो.

[32] Metre, Upendravajrâ.

[33] Read °सिंह.

[34] Read °सुधांशुः.

[35] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[36] Metre, Upajâti.

[37] Read दीर्घवंश°.

[38] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[39] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[40] Read °सिंहदेवम्.

[41] Metre, Upajâti.

[42] Read श्रीनरसिंह°.

[43] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[44] Read जयसिंह°.

[45] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

सहामुना श्रीनरसिन्हदेवप्रसूरसावल्हणदेव्युदारा[46] ॥[47]—[27].
व्याख्यानशा-

L. 24. लामुद्यानमालामविकलाममूम(म्) ।
अकारयत्सुयं शम्भुप्रासादालीढयश्मिजैः ॥[48]—[28].
देवायास्मै वैद्यनाथाभिधाय प्रादाद्देवी जाउलीपत्तलायाम् ।
ग्राममान्ना नामउण्डीति सर्व्वादायैः[49]स्था-

25. र्ध्यं चाचन्द्रार्कप्रसिद्ध्यै ॥[50]—[29].
नर्म्मदादक्षिणे कूले पर्व्वतोपत्यकाश्रये ।
तथापरमदाद्ग्राममान्ना मकरपाटकम् ॥[51]—[30].
लाटान्वयः पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्रराशिर्व्विधिवद्यधत्ताम्[52] ।
स्थानस्य रक्षावि-

26. धिमस्य तावद्यावन्निमीते भुवनानि शम्भुः ॥[53] ꙮ ॥—[31].
मौन्या(ना)न्वये[54]भार्गववैतहव्यसावेतसेतिप्रवरत्रयाढ्ये ।
महेश्वराख्याद्धरणीधरोभून्नाम्ना गरिम्णा यशसा श्रिया च ॥[55]—[32].
कोमल-

27. कान्तिसटालेनोच्चैःस्नेहातिभारभरितेन ।
दीर्घमनोज्ञदशेन त्रिभुवनदीपायितं येन ॥[56]—[33].
पृथ्वीधरस्तस्य सुतः समस्तगभीरशास्त्रार्णवपारदृश्वा ।
प्रशस्तिमेतामलिखद्यदीयैर्ह्हि-

28. ड्मण्डली शिष्यगणैर्व्विजिग्ये ॥[57]—[34].
एतस्यावरजस्तर्कनिष्णातोद्भुतनैपुणः[58] ।
प्रशस्तिमकरोदेतान्सूरिः[59]शशिधराभिधः ॥[60]—[35].
[61]असूत्रयदिदं सर्व्वं विश्वकर्म्मविधानवित् ।
पीथेसमभिधः सूत्र-

29. धारः पृथ्वीम्पृथुर्यथा ॥ —[36].
सूत्रधाराग्रणीवा(बा)लसिन्हसूनुर्म्महीधरः[62] ।
शिलान्तथाकरोद्वर्णैर्व्योमभस्तारकितं यथा ॥ —[37].
संवत् ९०७ मार्ग्गसुदि ११[63]रवौ ॥ ꙮ ॥ ꙮ ॥

[46] Read श्रीनरसिंह°.
[47] Metre, Upendravajrâ.
[48] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[49] This sign of *visarga* is superfluous.
[50] Metre, Śâlinî.
[51] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[52] The correct form would of course be विधत्ताम्.
[53] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[54] The correction may have been made already in the original.
[55] Metre, Upajâti.
[56] Metre, Âryâ.
[57] Metre, Upajâti.
[58] Of the *akshara* तो the superscript line which turns *â* into *o* is rather faint, but it undoubtedly is there.
[59] Read °तां सूरिः.
[60] Metre of verses 35-37, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[61] Originally आसू°, altered to असू°.
[62] Read °बालसिंह°.
[63] There is no doubt whatever about these figures.

TRANSLATION.

Oṁ!

Oṁ! Adoration to Śiva!

(*Verse* 1.) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (*god*) provide for you unstinted bliss,—(*that digit*) which, only one (*and the first*), ever makes the troop of Śiva's attendants, even in the absence of the evening-twilight, think it to be (*joined by*) the second (*digit*)![64]

(2.) May those founts of holiness, the lines of the creeping and leaping[65] tortuous waves of the river of heaven, meandering on Śiva's head, guard you,—(*those waves*) about which the celestials are doubting whether they be lotus-garlands, or lunar digits, or sprouts of righteous deeds, or serpents' skins, or (*the god's*) majesty bursting into view!

(3.) (*That body*) which, being a gross element, is all-pervading; (*that*) by whose revolution the world comes to light; (*that*) which gladdens the eyes of the creatures; and (*that*) which causes the diversity of savour and other (*qualities*) residing in earth; (*that*) which is the vast substratum of odour; (*that*) which sacrifices; (*that*) which is characterized by cold; (*and that*) which, colourless, is sensible to the feel;—may Śiva with these (*eight*) bodies[66] (*of his*) protect you!

(4.) May Nîlakaṇṭha, who fills with delight men eager to wield spear and missile, when decorated with the young moon he exults in his dance, grant whatever is dear to you![67]

(5.) May the Elephant-faced (*god*) in his mercy bestow on you supreme felicity,—who, under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, bears the piece of the moon which is freed from the dark digit, able to dispel the profound darkness of crowds of obstacles!

(6.) May Sarasvatî guard you,—who by manifold forms (*of speech*) brings about all intercourse (*of men, and*) by partaking of even a small portion of whose elegance in trifles (*even*), men may secure greater weight in assemblies!—

(7.) In the Moon's family was a prince with thousand hands, day and night watching to guide one by one the minds of (*the dwellers in*) the three worlds, (*and*) by his splendour eclipsing the rulers of the world,—(*a prince*) named Arjuna, by the (*mere*) remembrance of whom[68] is recovered even now what has been lost and carried off by thieves long ago.

(8.) In his lineage was born a renowned ruler of the earth of whom even the most marvellous tale is not untrue, bearing the name Kokalladeva, an illustrious name, eminently fit to give pleasure to the three worlds.

(9.) From him sprang the prince Gâṅgeyadeva who, by vanquishing hostile rulers

[64] *Viz.*, because the first lunar digit, by itself, is altogether invisible. The noun *kalyâṇitâ* is not given by the dictionaries.

[65] *Valgu*, ordinarily 'handsome, beautiful', is here used in the sense of the participle *valgat*, opposed to *riṅgat*.

[66] These eight bodies of Śiva are the ether, the sun, the moon, fire, the earth, the sacrificing priest, water, and air. It will be sufficient to refer the reader to the opening verse of Kâlidâsa's *Śakuntalâ*.

[67] The two compounds of the first half of the verse would be applicable also to the dancing peacock (*nîlakaṇṭha*) which causes great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (*i.e.*, to the god Kârttikeya or Skanda, also called Śaktidhara 'the spear-bearer', to whom the peacock is sacred), and the tail of which is covered with spots similar to the moon. Compare the very similar verse No. 1737 of Vallabhadeva's *Subhâshitâvali*, which will show that the translation of the word *chandraka* by 'the young (or small) moon' is correct.

[68] Dr. Hall quotes a verse found by him in an extract from the *Brahmâṇḍapurâṇa*, which expresses the same idea.

supporting huge mountains of pride, secured endless fame; a tree of paradise to suppliants, who made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods, by raising (*on it*) a *Meru*[69] without equal.

(*V.* 10.) The creeping-plant of his fame, sprinkled with the nectar of his religious merit and made to grow by his stainless character, overspread the whole bower of the universe

(11.) He who, seeking good renown, so behaved to the crowds of suppliants that the ocean of their desires became replenished with gold, begat the prince Karṇa.

(12.) While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pâṇḍya relinquished violence,[70] the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing,[71] the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga, the Kîra staid at home like a parrot in the cage, (*and*) the Hûṇa left off being merry.

(13.) When the wives of hostile princes enlarged the seas with the tears streaming from their eyes, intending as it were to reduce the size of the earth, because he had it all subjected to his rule by the defeat of their husbands, those same seas again did homage to him with large waves of precious stones.

(14.) From him took his spotless birth the illustrious Yaśaḥkarṇa, a crest-jewel of rulers, with a heart free from guile, who illuminated the circle of the regions with the moon of his fame which had risen from the devastation of Champâraṇya, (*and*) whe in his generosity enriched all the learned without exception, as soon as he set eyes on them.

(15.) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all excellencies, was born the favourite of the earth, Gayakarṇadeva. In his case even the sun,—the sun of his prowess,—took upon itself the function[72] of causing the rising of the sea,—the sea of sorrow of the wives of his adversaries.

(16.) That prince surpassed by his lustre yellow orpiment,[73] was a tree of paradise for the creeping-plant fortune, wore a broad garland of noble qualities, was the one god of death to the host of the enemies, adorned the van of battle, abounded in pleasing renown, (*and*) wielded indeed a sharp sword.—

(17.) Well known on the earth is the family of the son of Gobhila. Therein was born forsooth the prince Haṁsapâla, who with the host of his valorous irresistible troops humbled the circle of all his foes combined.

(18.) He, whose feet were irradiated by the crest-jewels of the diadems of all the tributary chiefs prostrating themselves (*before him*), had a son, the lord of the earth, the illustrious Vairisiṁha, a treasure-house not merely of purified understanding, but also, eminently, (*one*) for suppliants.

(19.) That Vairisiṁha, too, drove the clans of his foes to seek the shelter of deep caverns, while he himself, occupying their towns, made these far surpass the residence of Kuvera.[74]

[69] See note 42 of the preceding inscription.

[70] The abstract noun *chaṇḍimatâ* of the original is incorrect; the correct form of the word is *chaṇḍiman*.

[71] Properly 'his inclination to arrogance.'

[72] This function belongs properly to the moon.

[73] This is described as the seed or seminal energy of Vishṇu, *Haror-viryam*, (see M. Williams' *Dictionary*); and the poet, who immediately afterwards has the word *Sri*, undoubtedly was thinking of the god Hari or Vishṇu. A proper rendering of this verse in which everything depends on the sound of the words employed is impossible, at least, to myself.

[74] Literally 'Alaka' (the residence of Kuvera, the god of riches)

(*V.* 20.) From him was born the lord of the earth Vijayasiṁha, whose beauty was justly celebrated by all men, who by the vigour of his heroism made his adversaries' fortunes totter, (*and*) the moon of whose fame (*accordingly*) was always waxing in the world.

(21.) His loving wife was the handsome daughter of Udayâditya, the ruler of the realm of Mâlava,—Śyâmaladevî, a gem granting the desires of the nobly-conducted, (*and herself*) a votary of Fortune.

(22.) As Menâ bore to the chief of mountains the beloved of Śaṁkara, (*and*) Vîriṇî to Daksha, the creator of beings, the wife of the Moon, so she bore to that prince, able to protect the world, Alhaṇadevî, in appearance the unsullied fluttering pennon of her long pedigree.[75]

(23.) Having wedded her with due rites, the king Gayakarṇa bestowed on her the most ardent affection, as Śaṁkara did on Śivâ.

(24.) And she, a mansion of amorous passion, a beaker (*brimful*) of accomplishments, a garland of the graces, a store-house of excellent qualities, bore to king Gayakarṇa a son, the prince Narasiṁhadeva.

(25.) May the rising moon of the fame of this illustrious king Narasiṁhadeva richly saturate as it were the walls of the quarters with a pleasing whitewash; and may the earth, having secured in him a suitable lord, experience such delight as never to think, however little, of its former great rulers!

(26.) May victory attend his younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva, who in marvellous ways serves the first-born as Sumitrâ's son[76] (*did Râma*); who, behold!, when he lifts his hand, overpowers the enemies' most gigantic host, though it roars like thunder-clouds[77] and practises many wiles!—

(27.) That noble Alhaṇadevî, the mother of the illustrious Narasiṁhadeva, ordered this temple of the Moon-crested (*god*) to be built, together with that cloister with wonderful floors.

(28.) She too made her people construct that hall of study, (*and*) lay out that long line of gardens, in two ranges (*adjoining*) Śambhu's temple.

(29.) To make known her good report, the queen gave to this god, styled Vaidyanâtha, the village named Nâmaüṇḍî together with every income (*thereof*), in the Jâulî *pattalâ*.

(30.) And on the right bank of the Narmadâ, in the land adjoining the hills, she gave to him another village, named Makarapâṭaka.

(31.) May the Pâśupata ascetic, the holy Rudraśiva of Lâṭa lineage, arrange conformably to rule for the management of this place, so long as Śiva pervades[78] the worlds!—

(32.) In the Mauna lineage, possessed of the triple *pravara* Bhârgava, Vaitahavya, and Sâvetasa,[79] there was born from one named Maheśvara Dharaṇîdhara, (*a mountain*)[80] by name, by weight, by fame, and by fortune.

75 Or, 'of a lofty flag-staff (*vaṁśa*)'.

76 *I.e.*, Lakshmaṇa.

77 *Meghanâda* and *Atikâya* are also the names of two sons of the demon Râvaṇa; and *Prahasta* was one of Râvaṇa's generals.

78 Or rather, 'is coextensive with'.

79 Compare the *Âśvalâyana-śrautasûtra*, Calcutta ed., p. 872.

80 The word *dharaṇîdhara* has this meaning.

(*V.* 33.) Who, shedding a pleasing lustre, filled to overflowing with kindness, long enjoying a gratifying position, acted the part of a lamp[81] to the three worlds.

(34.) His son Prithvîdhara, who has seen the further shores of all the deep oceans of learning, (*and*) by whose crowds of disciples the circle of the regions has been conquered, wrote this eulogy.

(35.) Of him the younger brother, the sage named Śaśidhara, well versed in logic and wondrously clever, composed this eulogy.

(36.) The architect named Pîthe, who knows the rules of Viśvakarman,[82] planned all this, as Prithu did the earth.

(37.) Mahîdhara, a son of the chief of artizans Bâlasimha, so wrought this stone with letters that it is like the star-covered sky.

The year 907, on Sunday the 11th of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha.

III.—TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 928.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this short inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall at Tewar, a village about six miles to the west of Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces, and presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited.[1] It is said to be of like character with that of Alhaṇadevî's inscription.[2] Dr. Hall also first edited the inscription, with a translation, in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 512-13; and his text was subsequently reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, p. 119, and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 95-96. I now re-edit[3] the inscription from an impression and a rubbing, kindly prepared for me by Mr. Herbert C. Tolman, of Yale University, New Haven.

The inscription contains 9 lines of writing, the last of which is engraved along the proper left margin, and which together cover a space of 11″ broad by 7″ high. The writing is on the whole well preserved, but it is somewhat roughly and irregularly cut, and there are several *aksharas* in line 5 and one at the end of line 8, the true reading of which cannot be made out with absolute certainty. The size of the letters is between ½ and ¾″. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the symbol for *om* at the commencement of line 1, lines 1-6 are in verse; the rest of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* in *vrahma Brahmadi*-(the only words in which *b* would occur), in line 1; and the dental sibilant is

[81] The adjectives of this verse would of course be also applicable to a lamp; *sneha* also means 'oil', and *daśâ* 'the wick of a lamp'.

[82] The architect of the gods. The adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work'.

[1] See *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 509 and 536; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 487.

[2] *Ante*, No. II

[3] I merely have had to verify Dr. Hall's text, which, so far as one may speak with confidence, is substantially correct.

used instead of the palatal in *naresvarah*, line 3, *Kesavah* and *aisvaram*, line 6, and *Kesavasya*, line 8; and *n* instead of *anusvára* in *Jayasinha-*, line 4, (but not in *Narasiṁha-*, line 3). Besides, the text twice offends against the rules of *saṁdhi.*

The inscription, which opens with a verse in honour of Mahâdeva (Śiva), records the erection of a Śiva temple by the *náyaka* Keśava (the son of the Brâhman Âladeva, named Astaka (?)), a member of the Kâtyâyana *gotra* and resident of the village Sîkhâ in Mâ[la]vaka; during the reign of the king Jayasiṁhadeva, a younger brother of the king Narasiṁhadeva whom he had succeeded, and son of the king Gayâkarṇa. And it is dated in the year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta. Referring this date again, to the Kalachuri or Chedi era, the corresponding European date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1177. In that year, the month Śrâvaṇa was intercalary, for the solar Śrâvaṇa lasted from the 26th June, 12 *h.* 3·2 *m.*, to the 27th July, 23 *h.* 20 *m.* after mean sunrise, and there were new moons on the 27th June, 18 *h.* 30 *m.*, and on the 27th July, 2 *h.* 8 *m.* after mean sunrise. Now, the 6th of the bright half of the first lunar Śrâvaṇa corresponded to Sunday the 3rd July, when the 6th *tithi* ended 7 *h.* 35 *m.* and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta up to 16 *h.* 25 *m.* after mean sunrise; and the 6th of the bright half of the second Śrâvaṇa corresponded to Monday the 1st August, when the 6th *tithi* ended 18 *h.* 12 *m.* after mean sunrise and the moon entered the *nakshatra* Svâtî about sunrise. And, accordingly, there can be no doubt that the true equivalent of the date is Sunday the 3rd July, A.D. 1177, and that the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, put down in the date, belonged to the first (or intercalated) Śrâvaṇa.[4]

The village Sîkhâ which, if the adopted reading is correct, was situated in Mâlavaka or Mâlava, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[5]

L. 1. ओं[6] [॥×] ज्ञानानंदं[7] परं ब(ब्र)ह्म ब(ब्र)ह्मादिसुरसंवितं । वंदेम-

2. हि महादेवं देवदेवं जगद्गुरुम् ॥ श्रीमद्गयाक-

3. र्णनृपस्य[8] सूनुर्न्नरेस्व(श्व)रः श्रीनरसिंहदेवो[9] । जिग्ये धरि-

4. त्रीमनुजोस्य सम्राट्[10] जीयाच्चिरं श्रीजयसिन्हदेवः[11] ॥

5. [12]वि[प्रो योस्त]्[13]कना[माभू]दालदेवस्तदात्मजः ।

6. केस(श)वः कारयामास प्रासादममुमैस्व(श्व)रम् ॥

7. सम्वत्[14] ९२८ श्रावणसुदि ६ रवौ हस्ते ॥

8. नायककेस(श)वस्य गोत्रं कात्यायनं स्थानं मा[ल?]-[15]

9. वके सीखाग्रामः ॥[16]

[4] For two similar dates compare the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p 212, and vol. XIX, p. 36, No. 62.

[5] From the impressions.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

[8] Metre, Upajâti.

[9] Read °देवः.

[10] Read सम्राड्.

[11] Read °सिंहदेवः.

[12] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[13] The reading of the *aksharas* in these and the following brackets is not quite certain, because some of them look as if they had been partly erased and recut. The intended reading may possibly be विप्रस्यास्तकनाम्नाभूदा°.

[14] Read संवत्.

[15] The *akshara* in these brackets is so peculiarly shaped that it is impossible to say what it is meant to represent. I adopt Dr. Hall's reading of it, but am not certain of its being correct.

[16] This line is on the proper left margin.

TRANSLATION.

Oṁ!

(*Line* 1.) Let us adore (*him*[17] *who is*) knowledge and bliss, the supreme Brahma, waited upon by Brahmâ and the other gods,—Mahâdeva, the god of gods, the parent of the world!

The son of the illustrious king Gayâkarṇa, the illustrious lord of men Narasiṁhadeva, conquered the earth: may his younger brother, the sovereign lord, the illustrious Jayasiṁhadeva, long be victorious!

(5.) Keśava, the son of the late Brâhman Âladeva, named Astaka (?)[18], caused that temple of Îśvara to be built.

The year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, (*the moon being*) in (*the nakshatra*) Hasta.

(8.) The *nâyaka* Keśava's *gotra* is that of Kâtyâyana, his place of residence the village of Sîkhâ in Mâ[la ?]vaka.

IV.—THREE LAND-GRANTS FROM SANKHEDA.

BY H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B.

The Subâ of the Baroda or Central Division of the Gaikavâḍ's State has sent me for decipherment three detached copper-plates, two of which belong to the Gurjaras of Bharoch, and one to an unknown line of kings. The two former are only second plates of the grants, and therefore do not contain genealogical and other personal details, while the last is a first plate and contains no information as to the date, donee, object of the grant, officers, &c.

No. I.—*A Gurjara grant of Saṁvat 346.*

This document is written on a plate, measuring about 8 inches by 3⅝, and is well preserved. It contains ten lines giving the usual injunctions and quotations from the *Smṛiti* regarding the inviolability of grants. The plate does not contain the name of the king or of the donee, nor a description of the object granted. But we have sufficient materials to identify the donor. The writer is the *sâṁdhivigrahika* Âditya-Bhogika. *Bhogika*, Dr. Bühler informs me, is "a small man not more than a Ṭhâkur of one or a few villages; for *bhogika* occurs frequently in the list of the persons to whom commands are addressed, *e. g.* in the Kâvî grant of Jayabhaṭa (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 110). In the *Deśîkosha* its Prâkrit equivalent *bhoio* is explained by *grâma-pradhâna*.[1]

[17] *I.e.*, Mahâdeva or Śiva to whom all these epithets are applied.

[18] Or possibly: 'The Brâhman, named Astaka, had (*a son*) Âladeva; his son Keśava.' See note 13, above.

[1] Dr. Bühler's *Pâiyalachchhînâmamâlâ*, v. 104 (*gâmaṇî bhoio ya gâmavai*, p. 32). Dr. Bühler translates it in the glossary as "headman or lord of a village," and quotes *bhogika* from inscriptions. The Gujarâtî for *bhogika* or *bhoic* is *bhiyo*, and *grâmapati* or *gâmavai* is *gâmetâ*. The word *bhoga*, from which *bhogika* is derived, means *pâlana* or "protection,"—see Amara, III, 23, and Maheśvara's commentary on it, also *Viśvakosha*, v. 268; *Medinîkosha*, v. 15 of words ending in *ga*; and *Trikâṇḍaśeshakosha*, III, 120 (पालनं ऽभ्यवहारे च निर्वेशे पक्षयोषितां । भोगः सुखे धने चाहेः शरीरफणयोरपि ॥ Thus भोगिक according to these authorities would be an equivalent of पालक or "protector;" as an official term it may have subsequently acquired a technical meaning.

Of course such a man cannot be a great ruler." If there were nothing else to connect this grant with the Gurjaras, the title *bhogika* of the minister for war and peace Âditya would be sufficient; for this appellation of an officer is not known to have been employed by any other line of kings. Again, the characters of this grant so closely resemble those of No. II, an admitted Gurjara grant, and other published grants of the family, that there can be no doubt about it.

The date is given in words as well as figures. It is "three hundred years exceeded by forty-six" and 346. The figures are not written in the usual manner, with the symbols for three hundred, forty, and six, but as they would be now, *i.e.* with the symbols for three, four and six. As the later Gurjara kings used the Chedi era, Saṁvat 346 probably corresponds with A.D. 595-96. This date exactly agrees with that of Dadda III., circiter 580 A.D., as given by Dr. Bühler.[2] Hitherto we had no copper-plate grant or any other inscription of that monarch, which renders this plate an interesting find.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. आचन्द्रार्काणंवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यमुदकातिसर्गेण

2. प्रतिपादितं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये यतोस्य ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या [3]क्षिषत × करि-

3. षापयतो[4] वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिराजभिरस्मद्वङ्श्यैर्व्वा[5] सामान्यं भूमि-

4. दानफलमवेत्यायमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य: पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च भगवता व्या-

5. सेन ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि: [6]सागरादिभि: यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य

6. तदा फलं ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद: आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-

7. व नरके वसे[7] ॥ विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन: कृष्णसर्प्पा भिजायन्ते[8]

8. ब्रह्मदेयापहारका[:] ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि निर्म्मा-

9. ल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु × पुनराददीत ॥ लिखितं चात्र सान्धिविग्रहिकेना-

10. दित्यभोगिकेन संवत्सरशतत्रयं[9] षट्चत्वारिङ्शोत्तरके[10] ॥ ३४६

No. II.—*A grant of Raṇagraha, dated Saṁ. 391.*

The plate measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{4}$ and contains ten lines of well preserved Gurjara characters, resembling those of the Umetâ, Ilâo and Bagumrâ grants. There are two holes at the top, showing where the rings originally were. The language of the grant is faulty Sanskrit.

The donee of the grant (l. 1) is the Brâhmaṇa Adityaśarma (*sic*), the *dûtaka* (l. 9) the *bhogika* Pâlakaṭujñâna, and the writer (l. 10) the *saṁdhivigrahâdhikṛita* Mâtribhaṭa. According to ll. 9-10 the donor appears to be a son of Vîtarâga, called Raṇagraha, who is characterised as a worshipper of the sun (*Dinakarakiraṇâbhyar-chanarata*) and as "the close relative of the illustrious Dadda" (*śrî-Dadda-pâdântar-jñâti*); for it is his sign-manual which was attached to the grant. The date is (l. 8) *Saṁ.* 391, *Vaiśâkha bahula* 15, *i. e.* the new moon of Vaiśâkha.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 191.

[3] Read क्षपत:.

[4] Correctly कर्षयतो.

[5] Read °श्यैरन्यैर्वा.

[9] Read सगरादिभि:.

Read वसेत्.

[8] Read हि जायन्ते.

[9] Read °त्रये.

[10] Read °रिंशदुत्तरके.

No. 1. SANKHEDA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF DADDA III. Ch. Sam. 346. (2nd plate).

From impressions by H.H. Dhruva.

Size of original

No. 2. SANKHEDA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF DADDA IV. Ch. Sam. 391 (2nd plate).

Size of original.

Though the details about the family of the donor have been lost, the last two statements permit us to recognise that the document was issued during the reign of Dadda IV.—Praśântarâga II.[11] and that the donor was the brother of the latter; for, as the two Kheḍâ grants of Dadda IV. were issued in Saṁ. 380 and 385,[12] it follows from the new date, Saṁ. 391, that the same person must be meant here by the expression "the illustrious Dadda." Further, as Raṇagraha is called both a son of Vîtarâga and a relative of Dadda, and as the latter was a son of Jayabhaṭa II.—Vîtarâga II., Raṇagraha must have been Dadda's brother or cousin. Our grant shows, therefore, that the reign of Dadda IV. lasted at least until Saṁ. 391, or, as the Gurjaras used the Chedi era of A.D. 249, until A.D. 640.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. ब्राह्मणादित्यशर्म्मायां[13] उदकातिसर्ग्गेणोच्छिष्टं[14] यतोस्यास्मद्वङ्शैरन्यैर्व्वागामिभोगपतिभि अय-[15]

2. [16]मस्मादायोनुमन्तव्य[17] पालयितव्यश्च यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला[18]व्रितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिन्द्यमान[19] वा-

3. नुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकै[:] संयुक्त[:] स्या[20] इत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन षष्टिवरिष-

4. सहस्राणि[21] स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भुमिदा[22] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[23] विन्ध्याटवीष्व-तोयासु शुष्क-

5. कोटरवासिन[:] [24]क्रिष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारका[:] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि

6. धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को णाम[25] साधु[:] पुनरादधीत[26] स्वदत्ता[27] परदत्तां वा

7. यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्टिर[28] मही[29] महिमता[30] श्रेष्ठ दातातुच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति[31]

8. संवत्सरशतत्रये एकनवत्ये[32] वैशाखबहुलपञ्चदश्यां सं ३९१ वैशाख व १५

9. दूतकोत्र भोगिकपालकट्ठान[:*] दिनकरकिरणाभ्यर्च्चनरतस्य स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवीतरागसूनो

10. रणग्रहस्य श्रीदद्दपादान्तर्ग्गाति[33] लिखितमिदं संन्धिविगहाधिक्रित[34]माखिभटेन

No. III.—*A grant of Śántilla, general of Nirihullaka.*

The plate measures $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and contains 12 lines in characters closely resembling those of the early Chalukya plates and of the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription edited by Mr. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, pp. 7 ff. The plate is slightly damaged at the top and on both sides at the bottom. Two holes on the lower side show where the rings were originally placed. The language of the grant is slightly incorrect Sanskrit.

[11] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 191.

[12] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. VII, pp. 908 ff.; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. I, pp. 247 ff.; *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

[13] Read °शर्म्मणे.

[14] Read °णोत्सृष्ट:.

[15] Read °पतिभिरय°.

[16] Read °मस्मद्दायो°.

[17] Read °मन्तव्य:.

[18] Read °वृतमतिरा°.

[19] Read °दाच्छिद्यमानं.

[20] Read स्यादि°.

[21] Read षष्टिं वर्ष°.

[22] Read भूमिद:.

[23] Read वसेत्.

[24] Read कृष्णा°.

[25] Read नाम.

[26] Read °दधीत.

[27] Read °दत्तां.

[28] Read युधिष्ठिर.

[29] Read महीं.

[30] Read महीमतां.

[31] Read दानाच्छ्रेयो°.

[32] Read एकनवत्यां.

[33] Read °र्गति:.

[34] Read °विग्रहाधिकृत°

Its contents are as follows. Writing from the victorious camp (*vijayakaṭaka*), located at Nirguṇḍipadraka (l. 1), Sântilla, the general (*balâdhikṛita*, l. 5) of the *bhogikapâla* and *mahâpalupati* (*mahâpallapati*) Nirihullaka (l. 4), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Śaṁkaraṇa (*Śaṁkaragaṇa*, l. 3), son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarâja (whose feet were worshipped by the whole circle of the earth, ll. 1-2), grants to Bhajikanantasvâmi (*Bhajika*[35] *Anantasvâmin*, l. 7), an inhabitant of Pâshâṇihrada (l. 6), a member of the Kautsa *gotra* and a student of the *Vâjasâneya* (*Saṁhitâ*), a field requiring for seed-corn one *piṭaka* of rice (l. 10), and situated in the western *sîm* of Śrî-Parṇâkâ, which belonged to (*the district of*) Taṇḍulapadraka (ll. 8-9). The purpose for which the grant was made is the usual one, the provision for the expenses of the five *mahâyajñas*. It is added that the donation was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun "for the increase of the spiritual merit and fame of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka's* feet, *i.e.* probably of Śaṁkara[ga]ṇa.

As regards the persons named in the document, Sântilla's position is sufficiently clear. His master Nirihullaka must have been a Bhîl chieftain; for the title *mahâpallapati* means "the great lord of a settlement or of settlements of an aboriginal tribe."[36] It agrees with this that his name is not Sanskṛit, but a barbarous Deśî word. The phrase "who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Śaṁkara[ga]ṇa" means, therefore, here merely that he was a vassal or servant of the latter, not that he was his successor. *Pâdânudhyâta* is frequently used in the former sense.[37] With respect to the question to which dynasty the two kings Kṛishṇarâja and Śaṁkara[ga]ṇa belonged, it is possible only to offer a conjecture. Dr. Bühler has suggested to me that, assuming the correction *Śaṁkaragaṇa* for *Śaṁkaraṇa* to be certain, the two kings may be Haihayas or Kalachuris of Chedi. I am inclined to accept this, as the Chedi era was used by the Gurjaras, which is a certain sign of their power having extended to the province. Moreover, the Chalukya inscriptions[38] mention a Kalachuri king, Buddharâja, the son of Śaṁkaragaṇa, from whom Maṅgalîśa took his wealth. And it is not at all improbable that the Śaṁkaragaṇa of the Chalukya inscriptions is identical with that of our plate; for, as has been pointed out already, its characters closely agree with those of the earlier Chalukya inscriptions, and show also some affinity with those of Dadda's Kheḍâ plates. They may well belong to the period of Maṅgalîśa's reign, which, as the latest researches of Mr. Fleet show, fell between Śaka Saṁvat 519 and 531, or A.D. 597-98 and 610-11. There is also another detail in our grant which, I think, may be adduced in favour of this view.

Professor R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar, in his *Report on the Search for Sanskṛit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, 1883-84, remarks (pp. 31-32) that "it is a remarkable circumstance that the names of most of the famous writers on the sacrificial rites should have the title *Svâmin* attached to them. No writer later than the thirteenth century seems to have it. We have Bhaṭṭas, Achâryas, Yajvans, Dîkshitas and Yâjñikas during the last six centuries, but no Svâmin. The title appears to have been in use at a

[35] *Bhajika* might be *bhajaka*, "a worshipper, votary, devotee;" V. S. Apte's *Sanskṛit-English Dictionary*, p. 807. Compare a similar use of the word *bhaṭṭa* in Bhaṭṭa Kumârila, Bhaṭṭotpala, Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, etc.

[36] See Dr. Bohtlingk's *Abridged Sanskṛit Dictionary*, s. v. *palla*. Mr. V. S. Apte (*Sanskṛit-English Dictionary*, p. 687) assigns to the same word the meaning "a large granary." On a local enquiry I find that the country about Sânkheḍâ goes by the name of Palla (Gujarâtî *Pâla*). Thus, *mahâpallapati* would mean "the lord of the great Palla or Pâla."

[37] See *e. g.* l. 33 of Mr. Fleet's No. 1, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, pp. 10 and 17, note 2.

[38] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIX, p. 16.

NO. 3. SANKHEDA GRANT OF BALÂDHIKṚITA ŚÂNTILLA. (plate 1).

From impressions by H H Dhruva

Size of original.

certain period and been given to Mîmâṁsakas or men conversant with the sacrificial lore." Then he cites the instances of Śabarasvâmin, the author of the *Bhâshya* on Jaimini's *Mîmâṁsâ Sûtra*; of Agnisvâmin, the commentator on Lâṭyâyana's *Śrauta Sûtra*; of Bhavasvâmin, the author of a *Bhâshya* on Baudhâyana; of Keśavasvâmin, the writer of an introduction to the *Baudhâyana-prayoga-śâstra*; Devasvâmin, quoted in the *Trikâṇḍa-maṇḍana* and author of a comprehensive *Bhâshya* on Âśvalâyana; Dhûrtasvamin, Kapardisvâmin and others. Kumârila is both a *Svâmin* and a *Bhaṭṭa*. The title *Svâmin* was used in some of the early Chalukya inscriptions and one of the Valabhî inscriptions, up to the seventh century. An undated grant of Vikramâditya I., who ceased to reign before A.D. 680, gives as donees Nandisvâmin, Lohasvâmin, and Bhallasvâmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 771). Another grant, dated 700 A.D., gives Dâsasvâmin, son of Janasvâmin and grandson of Revâsvâmin Dîkshita, and one of 705 A.D. gives Devasvâmin, Karkasvâmin, Yajñasvâmin, Rudrasvâmin and others (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, pp. 128 and 136), while a Valabhî grant, dated Saṁvat 326 (A.D. 645), has got Maṅkasvâmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 16). Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar assigns the seventh century to Agnisvâmin, Devasvâmin and Bhavasvâmin, and places Śabarasvâmin two or three centuries earlier (*vide* p. 32 of his *Report*). The general inclination is towards the seventh century for the age of names bearing such titles. The records above noted were of rulers or families that were perhaps close neighbours of the recorders of the present grant. The grant mentions Bhajikanantasvâmin, and with the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar, it cannot be later than the seventh century.

With respect to the geographical names occurring in our grant, it may be noted that Nirguṇḍipadraka, the place from which it is dated, would be in modern Gujarâtî Nâgaravâḍâ or something like it. And the *Dehezâda of Gaikavâḍî Villages* (published at the Hitechchhu Press, Ahmadâbâd) does give a Nâgaravâḍâ, 6 kos from Dabhoî. Further, the native place or home of the donee is Pâshâṇihrada, which would be Saṇiâdarî, 14 kos from Dabhoî (given in the *Dehezâda*, p. 5). *Hrada* would be masculine *dharo* and feminine *dharî*, changeable to *darî* in Gujarâtî, and *Pâshâṇi* would drop its initial *Pâ*, as Bagumrâ has done with its *Ba* in having Gumrâ, and give Saṇiâ, and thus we get Saṇiâdarî. From the same Pâshâṇihrada we would get Sâṅkheḍâ if *hrada* were replaced by *kheḍâ* for *kheṭaka*, meaning 'town,' and *Pâ* were dropt as in the other case. Taṇḍulapadraka is obviously Tâṇḍaḷajâ, also 14 *kos* from Dabhoî (as given in the *Dehezâda*); and Śrî-Parṇâkâ is Paniu, now desolate (as noted in the same authority), 5 kos from Dabhoî. The map of the Baroda territory does give Tanḍaljâ and Saṇiâdarî quite close to each other.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. श्रीं स्वस्ति निर्गुण्डिपद्रकावस्थितविजयकटकात् स — — [षिति। — — —[39]

2. ञ्चितचरणकमलः श्रीक्रिशराजः[40] तन्सूनुरनेकस[म]रविजय — — —[41]

3. न्निरहितवधूवदनपङ्कजम्लानिकरः श्रीशंकरणः स्तत्यादानुध्यास्सकल-[42]

4. महीमण्डलतलप्रथितकोर्त्तिभ्र्भोगिकपालमहापलुपतिनिरिङ्ग-[43]

[39] Restore सकलक्षितिमण्डला°.

[40] Read °कृष्णराजः.

[41] Restore °लब्धकी°.

[42] Read शंकरगणस्त° ; °नुध्यातस्स°.

[43] Read °कीर्त्तिर्भोगिक°; महापद्मपति.

L. 5. कस्तद्दलाधिक्कितशान्तिल्ल[44] सर्व्वानेव परमपादीयास्त्वांश्चावेदयति[45]
6. यथा पाषाणिह्नद[46]वास्तव्यकौत्ससगोत्रवाजिसनेयमब्रह्मचारिणो[47]
7. भजिकनन्तस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञधर्म्मक्रियोत्पर्प्पणाय[48] परमभट्टा-
8. रकपादानां पुण्ययशोभिव्रिद्दये[49] तण्डुलपद्रकान्तर्भकत[50]श्रीपर्स्वाका-
9. यां पश्चिमसीमनि अचाटभटप्रावेश्यं [51]पत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं आदि-[52]
10. — परागकालमुदकातिसर्ग्गेण व्रीहिपिटकवापक्षेत्रं आञ्चाद्दि-[53]
11. — — वच्चिति[स्थि]तिसमकालीनं प्रतिपादिष्ठ अतुस्या —[54]
12. — — ररानुव्र्याथा भतृनिपतिभि:[55]

V.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTHERN GUJARAT.

BY J. KIRSTE, Ph.D., VIENNA.

The subjoined inscriptions collected by Mr. H. Cousens, in Gujarât, were entrusted to me for decipherment by Professor Bühler, who assisted me with his advice. They were found in the following places:—

1. Bhilri (Nos. i—iii),
2. Dilmal (iv—vii),
3. Mandal (viii),
4. Munjpur (ix),
5. Palanpur (x, xi),
6. Roho (xii—xvi),
7. Sarotra (xvii—xxvi),
8. Sonak (xxvii, xxviii),
9. Taraṅga (xxix).

All are written in Devanâgarî characters, with the exception of No. viii, where the first six lines are in Arabic and the last in Gujarâtî. They are mostly injured and defaced. The language is a crude mixture of Sanskṛit and Gujarâtî. Hence the readings are not always certain, and I am not sure that I have succeeded in fully making out the sense of all.

The generally interesting information which they furnish may be arranged under the following heads: —

1.—They yield some notice of the political history of Gujarât. No. viii furnishes a date from the reign of Sultân Ahmad and the names of his father Sultân Muhammad, and of his grandfather Sultân Muzaffar Shâh. It also mentions a Malik Kâmachanda, who seems to have been the Musalman governor or minister in charge of Maṁḍalî (the modern Mandal) in the Viramagâm Taluka, and that of a local chief called Raṇaka (?). No. xi records the death of a Rajput, possibly a local chief Vanarâja, of the Geḍîâ family, in Saṁvat 1282. Nos. xvii—xix speak of two local

[44] Read °धिक्कतशान्तिक:.

[45] Read °याम्मां°.

[46] Read °ह्रद°.

[47] Read °वाजसनेयि°; °चारिणे.

[48] Read °त्सर्पणाय.

[49] Read °भिवृद्धये.

[50] Can °न्तर्भकत° be for °न्तर्भक्ति ;

[51] Read पुत्र°.

[52] Restore °त्योपराम°.

[53] Restore °माचन्द्रार्कार्णव°.

[54] Read प्रतिपादित. The remaining words I am unable to restore.

[55] This line too is unintelligible. [Restore भर्तास्यै?चितया-बहारस्थित्या भद्रनपतिभि: ?—E. H.]

chiefs of Sarotra—(1) Arajuṇajî, who ruled in Saṁvat 1678, and (2) his son Haradâaji, who ruled in Saṁvat 1685 and 1689. No. xxvii makes us acquainted with a Mahârâṇa Khetala (?) who held the village of Sûṇaka, the modern Sonak, in Saṁvat 1356.

2.—We obtain the following information regarding the spiritual heads of the Tapâgachchha:—No. xxix tells us that Hîravijaya was Bhaṭṭâraka in Saṁvat 1642. This inscription mentions also Vijayasena, who succeeded him (see Klatt, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, p. 256). Vijayadeva, the successor of the latter, is alluded to six times in the inscriptions Nos. xx—xxiii, xxv, and xxvi, which are all dated in the year Saṁvat 1689; while his appointed successor Vijayasiṁha is mentioned once (inscription xx). Inscription No. ii makes us acquainted with a Guru of the Mahideśvarîya Maṭha called Jirâja, *i.e.* probably Jerâja or Jayarâja.

No. I.[1]

L. 1. सं[व]त १[३]५ [८] वर्षे [आ]श्विन वदि [द] १५ सोमे

2. ॥ प्र[ग्व]ाटज्ञातीय श्रे[ष्ठ] — — [पा]सुत

3. समयकेन मूर्ति कारापि[त][2] . . .

Translation.

In the year Saṁ. 1358, on the 15th (*day*) of the dark half of Âśvina, a Monday, a figure was caused to be made by the Śreshṭhin Samayaka, son of . . . of the Prâgvâṭa gotra.

No. II.[3]

L. 1. [श्री] महिदेश्वरीयमठाधिप-

2. जिराजगुरु[श्रीध्यान]गणाचार्य-

3. स्य ॥

Translation.

(*The image*) of the venerable Dhyânagaṇâchârya, the guru Jirâja, the lord of the Mahideśvarîya monastery.

No. III.[4]

L. 1. श्रीं ॥ श्रावण सुदि १५ चवण ज्येष्ट वदि
८ जन्मा । फागुण [श्रा]

2. सुदि १२ दिक्षा । फागुण वदि १३ नाणं ।
ज्येष्ट वदि ६ मुक्तो स्वामि

Translation.

Hail! The conception (*chyavana*) on the 15th (*day*) of the bright half of Śrâvana; birth on the 8th (*day*) of the dark half of Jyeshṭha; consecration (*dîkshâ*) on the 12th

[1] At Bhilri: on the base of an image in the Jaina temple.
[2] Read मूर्त्तिः कारापिता.
[3] At Bhilri: on the base of an image in Mahadeva's temple.
[4] At Bhilri: in an old well outside the village.

(*day*) of the bright half of Phâlguna; enlightenment (*jñâna*) on the 13th (*day*) of the dark half of Phâlguna; liberation (*moksha*) on the 9th (day) of the dark half of Jyeshṭha . . . .

The stone bearing this must have been taken from a Jaina temple, and the inscription refers to the career of one of the Tîrthaṁkaras.

No. IV.[5]

L. 1. संवत् १[२]८५ वर्षे पौषे वदि ८ गुरौ गाभलाग्रामे डीलविक-
2. भंगानंतरं श्रीपार्श्वनाथबिंब[6] मातृपितृमूर्त्तिश्च कारिता श्रे:
3. सोहडसुतकुमरभदेन[7]

TRANSLATION.

In the year Saṁ. 1295 (?) on the 8th (*day*) of the dark half of Pausha, a Thursday, an image of the venerable Pârśvanâtha and a figure of his parents were made by the Śreshṭhin Kumarabhadra (?), son of Sohaḍa, in the village of Gâbhalâ, in the district (?) of Ḍîlavika.

No. V.[8]

L. 1. [ओं] सिद्धि: । — — । सज — समु-
2. द्रो । याव [च] — — [त]डि[त]ो मे[क:] ।
3. यावत्त — — — — गे । ताव-
4. द्दि — — — — — — ष — ॥ स्व-
5. ॥ स्ति [संवत् १५१२]वर्षे वै-
6. षाष शुदि १० उगोकला
7. ॥ उत दा[गा]सुत वादार्कन द्दि
8. जेयक: करापित: ॥ नुत [भरव]
9. अस्मिन — [ग्रे]लके क्रते मति उ-
10. भय कुला नद्ये [भवत] मूटप दृ-
11. षद प्रतिमूल मागा क्षत [ट]क ४००
12. कश्रप°[डाहु] ख्यो वश्रव

Nothing can be made out of this with certainty except the words :—" on the 10th (*day*) of the bright half of Vaiśâkha . . . . was caused to be made . . . ."

No. VI.[9]

L. 1. संवत १५३२ वैसाष वदि ११
2. रवौ के॰ लषासुतदेवा-
3. केन स्थापितो नारायण: ।

TRANSLATION.

In (*the year*) Saṁ. 1532, on the 11th (*day*) of the dark half of Vaiśâkha, a Sunday, (*an image*) of Nârâyaṇa was placed by Ke. Devâka, son of Lakhâ.

[5] At Dilmal: on the base of an image of Pârśvanâtha.

[6] Read बिंब.

[7] May also be °चदेन.

[8] At Dilmal: on a pillar of the Kîrtistambha to the west of the large temple of Limbu Mâtâ

[9] At Dilmal: on the seat of an image in a small temple on the west of the large temple of Limbu Mâtâ

No. VII.[10]

L. 1. स्वस्ति संवत १५३२ वर्षे वैसाष वदि ११
2. रवौ के° रा[घ]ासुत मा° सादाझांटा
3. [यए]तयी भार्या ठा° नरसिंग-
4. तनया बाइ रूपाइ मा° सादास[ह]
5. तथा ठा° गोपालतनया बाई मांई
6. मा° झांटासह अहर्निशि श्रीलक्ष्मी-
7. नारायणाभ्यां प्रणमत: ॥ प्रति-
8. मा पिंडी [तत]: कारापिता शिव-
9. मस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु शुभं भवतु ॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the year Saṁ. 1532, on the 11th (*day*) of the dark half of Vaiśâkha, a Sunday, Bâî Rûpâi, daughter of Ṭhâ(kura) Narasing (Narasiṁha), wife of Mâ(ṇḍalika) Sâdâjhâṁṭâ, son of Ke. Râghâ(?) (and) mother of Sàdâsaha (?)—likewise Bâî Mâṁî, daughter of Ṭhâ(kura) Gopâla and mother of Jhâṁṭâsaha, bow day and night to Lakshmî and Nârâyaṇa. An image (*and*) then a base (*for it*) was caused to be made.

No. VIII.[11]

L. 1. بتاریخ پانزده یوم ماه ذی القعده سنة عشرین و ثمانمئه
2. در عهد سلطان سلاطین احمد بن محمد بن مظفر شاه
3. السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان . . . . عمل کا مجند . . . . . این کتابت[12]
4. . . . .
5. . . . .
6. . . . .
7. [स्व]स्ति संवत् १४७४ वर्षे पौष वदि
8. — क्रे[13] अद्येह मंडल्यां मलिक श्री [का]-
9. मचंद्रप्रतिपत्तौ राण श्रीरण[क]-
10. विजयराज्ये समस्तमांडलिनि[वा]-
11. [सी]ल्येकविद्यमान मांडवी [हद] खप
12. [त]निश्चल कीधी ते पूर्वंम[दनी] [14]को
13. ल[खद]निहरदिपू[क]ीयाहिजेपा
14. पवर्त्तदाननिलाविलाय [दपं तप]

[10] At Dilmal: on the base of the image of Lakshmî Nârâyaṇa in a small shrine.
[11] At Mandal: on a stone in the Chauki.
[12] The transcription of the Persian text I owe to the kindness of Prof. Karabacek at Vienna Lines 4 to 6 are illegible
[13] L. 8. Probably शुक्रे is to be read.
[14] Corrected below the line to पुर्वं [मह]—नो. The third letter may be सु and the fifth seems to have been intentionally effaced.

TRANSLATION.

Persian Text.—At the date on the 15th day of the month Dhu-l-Qa'de, in the year eight hundred and twenty (of the Hijra, *i.e.* the 24th December of 1417 A.D.), during the reign of the Sultân of Sultâns Ahmad, son of the Sultân Muhammad, son of the Sultân Muzaffar Shâh . . . business(?) of Kâmajand . . . . this writing . . . .

Sanskṛit Text.—Hail! In the year Saṁ. 1474, in the dark half of Pausha, on a Friday (Friday, 24th December 1417 A. D.), to-day, here in Maṁḍalî, during the administration of Malik, the illustrious Kâmachanda, in the victorious reign of Râṇa the illustrious Raṇaka (?),—the business of the limits of the custom-house was settled in the presence of all the inhabitants of Maṁḍalî . . . . . .

No. IX.[15]

L. 1. । संवत् १२११ वर्षे वैशाखे शुदि ५ वर—
2. ङडा [थानभ]मा — तथा माय — — [थरि]सो [क]स
3. मताल सा — — धव — श्रीवि[पुर] सदेव कारापित . . .

Much defaced and probably mutilated on the right side. Nothing can be made out except the date Saṁvat 1211, Vaiśâkha śudi 5.

No. X.[16]

L. 1. संवत् १२१७ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि १०
2. क्रे[17] खीवाणास्थाने श्रीमहावीर
3. त्ये[18] योसा पेदिकायां [ख]ाविका प
4. [थ]ा स्थंजमेकं कारापितं ॥ [ये]चि

This inscription seems to refer to a donation in the temple of Mahâvîra at Khîṁvâṇâ, made in Saṁvat 1217, on the tenth day of the bright half of Kàrttika, a Friday. Hence this stone, too, must have been removed from its original site.

No. XI.[19]

L. 1. । संवत् १२८२ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ शुक्रे गेडीआ
2. राउत्त [मे]घां [सुत्त] वणरां । [धा]रातीर्थे पतित: ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1282, on the fourth (*day*) of the bright half of Pausha, a Friday, fell the Geḍiâ Râutta (*Râjaputra*) Vaṇarâṁ (*Vanarâja*), the son of Meghâm.

The stone must be a so-called Pâliâ.

No. XII.[20]

L. 1. संवत् १२५८
2. र्षे कार्त्तिक सुदि १
3. शुक्रे । [ज]सदेवसुत

[15] At Munjpur: in the Jâmi Masjid, on a beam.
[16] At Palanpur: on the side of a well.
[17] Read शुक्रे.
[18] Read चैत्ये.
[19] At Palanpur: on a loose stone lying near the railway.
[20] At Roho: on a pillar of the Chhattri of Pârśvanâtha, much defaced.

L. 4. [तो]जी गा — — — श्चे
5. यं — पं — — — कं
6. — — कारापिता ॥

TRANSLATION.

. . . . caused to be made by . . . . son of Jasadeva in Saṁvat 1259, Kârtika sudi 1, a Friday.

No. XIII.[21]

L. 1. संवत् १२६[९] — ती
2. — — — — वदि १४
3. — — — देव —र्य सि
4. रीहा — — व — ता
5. — — — प्रदत्ता ॥

No. XIV.[22]

L. 1. संवत् १२९९ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि १३ सोमे ऋषभदेवीचैत्ये निर्वृतिगच्छे गौरदेविसुते[न वाला]केन मातानिमित्तं नेमिनाथबिंबं कारा[पितं] शुभं भवतु ॥

TRANSLATION.

In the year Saṁ. 1299, on the 13th (*day*) of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, a Monday, an image of Neminâtha was caused to be made, for his mother's sake, by Vâlâka (?), son of Gauradevi of the Nirvṛiti-Gotra in the temple of Rishabhadevî (?)

No. XV.[23]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । संवत् १६[७४]
2. वर्षे । पोममास । कृष्णपक्षे । पंचम्यां ति-
3. थौ । गुरुवासरे । [डाभी]वंशे । भट्टेसरी [—][24]
4. शाषायां । रांत श्रीमांडणजी । भार्या बाइ
5. श्रीचांपा वापी करापिता । प्र[ा]साद द्वी सहि-
6. ता प्रतिष्टा करापिता । बाई पुत्री श्रीमज्ज-
7. बाई सहितेना पीरोजो ५१००० एकावन्न
8. सहस्रव्ययो कृता । आ चंद्रार्कं नंद्यात्
9. मासं ११ कार्य वी प्रासाद द्व सहिता कृता ।
10. वंशो विस्तरंबायातु । यातु पुण्यं मह-[25]
11. यश । आयुविपुलतां यातु । यस्यषा वा-[26]
12. पिका कृता ॥ ॥ — [धरनेना] ढाला कृतं ॥
13. पं° — — — — — — श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

[21] At Roho: on a pillar in the third storey of an old well,—much defaced.
[22] At Roho: on the arch over the old well,—first storey.
[23] At Roho: on a pillar in the third storey of the old well.
[24] L. 3 · Probably [जी].
[25] L. 10 Read °तरमा° । °महद्यश.
[26] L. 11. Read °विपु° । यस्यैषा.

TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1674 (?), on the 5th lunar day of the dark half of Pausha, a Thursday, a well was caused to be made by Râṁta Mâṁḍaṇajî, (*whose*) wife (*was*) Châṁpâ, and together with two temples it was consecrated. He, together with his daughter Sajja Bâi, spent 51,000 *Pirojî* (*Rupees*) (*for this purpose*). May it rejoice as long as sun and moon endure! In 11 months the work (*i.e. the well*), together with the two temples, was completed. May the race extend! May great merit and fame come (*to him*)! May the life of him be lengthened who built this well! The Ḍhâlâ was made by Paṃ(ḍita) . . . .

No. XVI.[27]

L. 1. श्री संवत १६७६ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ दने [वारगरु श्रा][28]

2. — मानचत्व रात श्रीमडणजी भारय श्रीचप बाइ पूत्री सज्जनजे — पू — [प]ाल

3. सूत्र ना[बा] म — — — — — — श्रीगणेश न — — — —

4. म श्रीनराश्र[न] — — — — — —

The same persons seem to be mentioned as in the preceding inscription.

No. XVII.[29]

L. 1. संवत १६७८ वर्षे फागणमासे शू पक्षे नवम्यां तथौ शनिवसरे रो [ह]-[30]

2. ॥ णीनक्षत्रे । धंन्या श्रयोध्यादसरथनृपा साप मातापि धांन्या

3. ॥ धंन्या वाणी कविवरमुखे रांमनांमप्रवृता । ध्यन्या देसो रघ-

4. पतिभवांन्[31] जत्र रांमाश्रवतारा धन्यो लोको नोश्रातमगुंणा रांम

5. ॥ वाच्यं शृणोति ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीश्ररजुणजी: । बाई श्रीपदमां वाई । बाई[32]

6. ॥ श्रीश्रमरी ॥ पुत्र श्रीहरदासजी वेजयराज्ये:[33] । छत्री कारापिता

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1678, on the 9th lunar day of the bright half of Phâlguṇa, a Saturday, under the Rohiṇî Nakshatra, during the reign of Arajuṇajî, whose wives were Padamâṁ and Amarî, and whose son was Haradàsajî, a Chhatrî was caused to be erected.

No. XVIII.[34]

L. 1. सं १६८५ वर्षे श्रवण सुदि ११ दने [हरदास लषना][35]

[27] At Roho: on the base of an image in a ruined shrine near the old well.

[28] Perhaps वारगुरु.

[29] At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

[30] L. 1. Read शु(क्ले) । तिथौ । रोहिणी?.

[31] *Bhavân* is meant for *bhagavân*.

[32] The metre of the verse in ll. 2—5 seems to be Mandâkrântâ. It may be restored as follows:—

Dhanyoyodhyâdaśarathanṛipaḥ sâpi mâtâpi dhanyâ,
Dhanyâ vâṇi kavivaramukhe râmanâmapravṛittâ,
Dhanyo deśo raghupatibhavân yatra râmâvatâro,
Dhanyo loko nijatamagunâṁ râmavâchaṁ śṛiṇoti.

[33] L. 6. Read विजयराज्ये.

[34] At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

[35] L. 1. Read श्रावण.

TRANSLATION.

In the year Samvat 1685, Śrâvaṇa Sudi 11, Haradâsa . . . . .

No. XIX.[36]

L. 1. संवत १६[८८] वर्षे आषाढमा[सि] [ब]हुलप[क्षे]एकादोर्सा ११ तथ[ि][37] रविवासरे — —
2. ॥ धान्या अर्याध्यादमरथनप सा मातापं धान्या धान्या वांणो कविवरमुखे
3. ॥ रामनामप्रवृत्ताः । धन्या देसो [ऋघु]पतिभवान् जित रोमाअवतारा धन्या
4. ॥ [लो] का नीअतमगुणा रामवाच्य शृणोती: ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीहरदासजी । बा-
5. ई श्रीजिवंती ॥ बाई राजू ॥ सबक ॥ वषञ्च नाम संवत्सरो । पूत्र श्रीतोग[बी] व-
6. ॥ जयराजे ॥ छत्री करापित:[38] ॥ २ ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Âshâḍha, a Sunday, during the reign of Haradâsajî whose wives were Jivantî and Râjû and whose son was Togabi (?), a Chhatrî was caused to be erected. (Regarding the verse see inscription No. xvii.)

No. XX.[39]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः आचार्य श्रीविजयसिंह-
2. सूरीश्वरगुरुर्भ्या[40] नमः ॥ सं० १६८९ वर्षे श्रावण व०११ दिने देहरीनीपजतइं सं [घप]
3. लाडण भार्या नाथी सुत सं० हरदास । सं० सांपा । सं० तेजा । सं० देवकरणई रूपईय [— —][41] । आप्या छइं [॥]

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Śrâvaṇa Sam . . . Lâdaṇa, whose wife was Nâthi and his son Saṁ. Haradâsa, Saṁ. Sâṁpâ, Saṁ. Tejâ, Saṁ. Devakaraṇaî, gave silver Thapas (?) on the completion of the temple, while Bhaṭṭâraka Vijayadevasûri and Vijayasiṁhasûri were [*living*].

No. XXI.[42]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः[43] ॥ संवत १६८९ वर्षे [वदि]
2. [ना] सं० लाडण भार्या ना[थ]सुत सं० हरदास सं० सांपा सं० तेजा सं० [देवकरण]
3. — — — — [सुत याब] — क — — — स्वपति[वुका] — दि[सर्वेषां] श्रेयो-
4. र्थं । श्रीमहावीरप्रासाद — ॥ देवकुलिका — रूप्यैः [कारिता] ॥:

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, in the dark half of . . . Saṁ. Lâḍaṇa, whose wife was Nâtha (?), and his son Saṁ. Haradâsa, Saṁ. Sâṁpâ, Saṁ. Tejâ, Saṁ. Dev4. karaṇa, erected a chapel in connection with the temple of Mahâvîra.

[36] At Sarotra: in an old chhattri.
[37] L. 1. Read एकादश्यांतिथौ.
[38] L. 6. Read विजयराज्ये । कारापिता
[39] At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
[40] Read °गुरुभ्यो.
[41] Looks like थप.
[42] At Saiotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple. Preservation bad and most letters indistinct.
[43] Read गुरुभ्यो.

No. XXII.[44]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ [45]भटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरूभ्यो नमः ॥
2. सं०१६८६ व० सं लाडण [भा० वा०] [46]नाथी [त्व पूग] मं० हर-
3. दास सं० तेजादिकुटुंब श्रेपार्श्वदेहरी कारापिता ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, in the dark half of . . . a temple of Pârśva was caused to be made by Saṁ. Lâḍana, whose wife was Nâthî, and his son (?) Saṁ Haradâsa, and by the family of Saṁ. Tejâ.

No. XXIII.[47]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ तपागच्छाधिराजभट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरुभ्यो न°
2. सं० १६८६ वर्षे फागु° शुदि १३ दिने ए देहरीनीपजतइ वुः हरदास—
3. बु[प]नावु माडण तथा भोज — देभइ रूपए [— —][48] आप्या छ

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, on the 13th day of the bright half of Phâlguna, on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by Haradâsa, whose father (?) was Maḍaṇa (Lâḍana?)

No. XXIV.[49]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ सं० १६८६ वर्षे फागुण शुदि १० दिने वु[प] — करणइ ए देहरी [नीपजतइ]
2. रूपइआ [— —] [50]आप्या छइ ॥ इति मंगलम् ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phâlguṇa, on the completion of this temple, silver were given by Karaṇa (?).

No. XXV.[51]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ श्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुर[ा]भ्यो नमः ॥ सं १६८६ वर्षे फागुण शु
2. दि १० दिने वुहरा-[वस्ता]कोकरे ए देहरीनीपजतइ रूपईआ — — आप्या छे — — — —:
3. . . . .

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phâlguṇa, on the completion of this temple, silver . . were given by the son of . . . . . .

[44] At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
[45] Read भट्टार°, °गुरु°.
[46] Possibly for भार्या बाई.
[47] At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
[48] Looks like थवा.
[49] At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
[50] Looks like पप.
[51] At Sarotra over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

No. XXVI.[52]

L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरु-

2. भ्यो नमः सं० १६८९ वर्षे फा° वदि ११ दिने ए

3. देहरीनीपजतइ रु मा[ता] ताणा [रा]ज पालि रूप [य बच]

4. थाप्या छइ ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Phâ(lguna), on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by . . . .

No. XXVII.[53]

L. 1. । संवत् १३५६ वर्षे चैत्र व ११

2. मम । यचेह सूणकग्रामे म-

3. हाराण श्री[खे]तलप्रतिपत्ती

4. लीष ° मह्यिपाकेन देवीश्री-

5. शिवलीयात्रायां भाट [पूजाय]

6. प्रदत्त पा[द्र] सं दि[न] पूमि—

7. [य]नं — — ना माता [वियो]—

8. पोलक [ब्रह्मपुरि] सहित [सक]

9. लमपि धा[मं] ॥ श्रीः ॥

ABSTRACT.

The inscription refers to some gift made by one Lîsha (?) Mahipâka in Saṁ. 1356, on the 11th day of the dark half of Chaitra, during the administration of the Mahârâṇa, the illustrious Khetala (?) in the village of Sûṇaka, on the occasion of the Yâtrâ of Devî Śrîśivalî.

No. XXVIII.[54]

L. 1. । संवत् १५८६ वर्षे

2. श्रावण वदि १३ सोमे — — —

TRANSLATION.

In the year Saṁ. 1596, Śrâvaṇa vadi 13, a Monday . . . .

No. XXIX.[55]

L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६४२ वरखे आसाढ शुदि १०

2. दने पातसा श्रीअकबर राजि

3. गढीया° महेस गढी सजा

4. पगी श्री° गोवंद पगी श्रीरांम

[52] At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja Temple.
[53] At Sonak: on a pillar in an old temple.
[54] At Sonak: on the base of an image in the same temple.
[55] At Taranga: on the side of the great temple.

L. 5. अर्हमनु पातया अंगमतोर-
6. य श्रीहीरविजयसूरि: ॥
7. श्रीवजयसे । नसूरि: ॥
8. तेहना धरमं साचा जांधी
9. श्रीवीसलनगरि संघिमूषि
10. साह° गणांपति चादर
11. करी गुरय ठामठामयक
12. गरय चाचीनि प्रासादनु
13. मवो चाधार कीधो छि: ॥
14. सो° सवसी कूरीचा
15. उपरि रही कबाड़ु करा छ
16. सूत्र° गोवाल वडनगर
17. सूत्र° भूपा वीसलनगर
18. कबाड़ुकर: ॥ सू° गो [पा]
19. रात° साहवपासरठा

Seems to refer to the restoration of the temple in Saṁvat 1642.

VI.—THE JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM ŚATRUMJAYA.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined editions and abstracts of 118 inscriptions, found in the Jaina temples on the hill of Śatruṁjaya near Pâlitâṇâ, have been prepared according to the impressions, taken by Mr. Cousens during the working season of 1888-89, and made over to me by the Editor. They consist of two great series, the first comprising Nos. i-xxxii which range between Saṁvat 1587 and 1710, and the second, Nos. xxxiii-cxv, which run from Saṁvat 1783 to 1943 or 1887 A.D.[1] As the latter series of course possesses in general little historical interest, I have thought it inadvisable to publish them *in extenso*, and I believe the abstracts given below will satisfy all requirements. I have, however, made an exception with No. cv, because it contains a tolerably complete account of the heads of the Añchala *gachchha*, regarding which hitherto very little has become known. Moreover, it furnishes a good sample of the Sanskṛit, written by the Yatis of our days, and it may be useful for settling the controversy regarding the origin of the "mixed" dialects found in older books and inscriptions, as well as that regarding the advisability of bringing, by conjectural emendations, the language of somewhat older Jaina authors such as Merutuṅga, Râjaśekhara and Jinamaṇḍana, into harmony with the rules of Sanskṛit grammar. The transcript of this document as well as those of Nos. i-xxxiii and No. cxviii have been prepared by Dr. J. Kirste, Privat-Docent in the Vienna University, and to him belong also the footnotes appended to the same.

As regards the historical information contained in the 118 inscriptions, it falls under the following heads :—(1) notes regarding the political history of Western India;

[1] The dates of Nos. cxvi-cxvii are not certain. No. cxviii ought properly to stand after No. xii.

(2) notes regarding the schools of the Jaina monks; (3) notes regarding the subdivisions of the Jaina laymen.

As regards the first point, No. I is the most important document; for it names (l. 1) three Sultâns of Gujarât: (1) Mahimûda, (2) Madâphara, and (3) Bâhadara, and states that the latter was alive in Vikrama Saṁvat 1587, and (l. 2) that his minister was Shâna (Khân) Majhâdashâna or Majhâdaka (l. 26). It further enumerates (ll. 8-10) four rulers of Chitrakûṭa—(1) Kumbharâja, (2) Râjamalla, (3) Saṁgrâmasiṁha, (4) Ratnasiṁha, which latter ruled in Saṁvat 1587, and adds (l. 23) that Karmasiṁha or Karmarâja, who made (l. 27) the seventh restoration (*saptama uddhâra*) and re-built the temple of Puṇḍarîka, was his prime minister. We are further told (l. 26) that he did so with the express permission of Sulṭân Bâhadara, and obtained from him a *sphuranmâna*, *i.e.* a *fermân*, for this purpose. The negotiations were conducted by a *mantrî* Rava (*ravâkhya*) Narasiṁhaka, probably also a Jaina, who was in the employ of Sulṭân Bâhadara's prime minister.

With respect to the list of the sovereigns of Gujarât, it deserves to be noticed that Sulṭâns Sikandar and Mahmûd, the two brothers of Sulṭân Bahâdur, who reigned each for a short period after Sulṭân Muzaffar II., have been left out. I am unable to identify Khân Majhâd or Majhâdaka, who, according to our inscription, was Bahâdur's vazîr in Saṁvat 1587. According to the *Mirât-i-Sikandarî*,[1] that dignity was bestowed on Tâj Khân in A.D. 1526; nor is Karmarâja or Karmasiṁha mentioned in Tod's account of the history of Mevâḍ. But there is no reason for doubting the veracity of the document. The list of the four Râṇâs agrees with Tod's. The statements of the *Mirât-i-Sikandarî* (*op. cit.*, p. 350) prove that Ratnasiṁha really ruled in Saṁvat 1587, and that his relations with the Sulṭân of Gujarât were of a friendly nature.

Next come the dates from the reigns of the third and fourth Mughal Emperors—

1. Jahângîr is mentioned as Nûradîna J. Savâi in Nos. xv, xvii—xx, xxiii, xxiv, which are all dated in Saṁvat 1675, as well as in No. xxvii of Saṁvat 1683. Nos. xvii-xx mention also prince Khosrû (*Shâhijâdâ Suratâṇa Shosaḍû*) and the governor (*sobat*) of Ahmadâbâd (*Râjanagara*), Sulṭân Khurme (*Sahiyâna suratâṇa Shurame*).

2. Shâh Jihân (*Śâhajyâhâṁ*) occurs once in No. xxx, which is dated in Vikrama Saṁvat 1686 and Śaka Saṁvat 1551. The two dates agree perfectly with the facts. And it is also correct that Suratâṇa Khurme, *i.e.* Sultân Khurram or Shâh Jihân, was viceroy of Gujarât in Saṁvat 1675. For the Muhammadan historians inform us that the latter province was added to the other governments held by him in A.D. 1617. Of interest, too, is the mention of Shâhijâda Suratâṇa Shosaḍû, *i.e.* prince Khosrû, (Nos. xvii—xx), who no doubt was alive in Vikrama Saṁvat 1675, but had been a prisoner ever since the second year of his father's reign.

Among the local chiefs of Kâṭhiâvâḍ, the inscriptions mention—

(1) Jâm (*Yâma*) Śatruśalya and his son, Jasavanta, which latter, according to No. xxi (l. 4) ruled at Navînapura, *i.e.* Navânagar, in Hâllâra, *i.e.* the Halâr Prânt, in Vikrama Saṁvat 1675;

(2) Some of the Gohel chieftains of Pâlitâṇâ, *viz.*,—

(*a*) Khâṁdhujî and his son, Śivâjî, in No. xxvii. ll. 38-9, of Vikrama Saṁvat 1683;

[1] *The Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarât*, by Sir E. C. Bayley, p. 334.

(b) Unadâjî in No. li, of V. S. 1861;
(c) Khaṁdhâji; his son, Noghaṇaji, and his grandson, Pratâpasiṁghajî, in Nos. lxviii and lxix, dated V.S. 1891 and 1892;
(d) Noghaṇajî and his son, Pratâpasiṁghaji, in No. xcvi, of V.S. 1910; and
(e) Pratâpasiṅgajî, V.S. 1916 (No. ciii).
(f) Sûrasiṁghaji, in No. cxi, of V.S. 1940.

The information of the inscriptions agrees perfectly with the notes on the history of Navânagar and Pâlitâṇâ, given in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. viii, p. 559). According to the latter work, Jâm Jasojî, the son of Jâm Satâjî, ruled from A.D. 1608 to 1624. It is not difficult to recognise Jasavanta in Jasojî. Satâji is a very considerable abbreviation of Satrsâl, the more usual form for the Sanskrit Śatruśalya, "an arrow for his enemies." As regards the Gohels, we read (*op. cit.* pp. 604f.) that Khândojî II. was succeeded by Shavajî II. This is no doubt the pair of the inscription, as Shavajî is placed five generations before A.D. 1766. The other chiefs mentioned in the inscriptions are called in the *Gazetteer*, Unadjî, A.D. 1766—1820, Khandojî IV., 1820—1840, Noghaṇajî IV., A.D. 1840—1860, Pratâpsinghjî, 1860, Sûrsinghjî, since 1860. It is amusing to note that in No. xcvi, Noghaṇaji receives the proud titles *râjarâjeśvara* and *mahârâjadhirâja*, though the Pâlitâṇâ State pays tribute to several masters and ranks among the second class states of Kâṭhiâvâḍ. Besides, Thakur Noghaṇajî was, according to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by no means as well off as his successors, who have a gross revenue of five lakhs of rupees; for his state was held under Government guarantee in farm by Vakhatchand, the Nagarsheṭh of Ahmadâbâd, from A.D. 1821—1831, when prince Pratâpsinghjî managed to get it out of the hands of the banker. None of the numerous donors from Ahmadâbâd, Bombay, and other towns in the British territory, has thought it necessary to mention the British Government. But Harashachaṁda, *i.e.* Harakhchand of Damaṇa-bandira or Daman, gratefully mentions, in No. xlv of V.S. 1860, that he was honoured by the *Phiraṁgijâti Puratakâla pâtaśâhi*, *i.e.* by the king of Portugal. Compared with this, the forgetfulness of the family of the Nagarsheṭh of Ahmadâbâd is, to say the least, remarkable.

The next point which claims attention is the copious information which the inscriptions furnish regarding several schools of Jaina monks, the Kharatara, Tapâ, Añchala, and Sâgara gachchhas. Lists of the spiritual heads of the former two sects have been published by Dr. Klatt in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 245 ff, and a Kharatara *paṭṭâvali* from the *Praśasti* of the temple of Vâdipura Pârśvanâtha has been given, *ante*, vol. I, p. 319. The other two *paṭṭâvalis* have not, as far as I know, been made known before:—

I.—Paṭṭâvali of the Kharatara gachchha.

The following list is given in No. xvii—

1. Ud(d)yotanasûri,
2. Vardhamânasûri, *vasatimârgaprakâśaka*,
3. Jineśvarasûri I.,
4. Jinachandrasûri I.,
5. Abhayadevasûri, composer of the *Navâṅgî vṛitti*, and discoverer of the Pârśvanâtha of Stambhana,
6. Jinavallabhasûri,
7. Jinadattasûri, to whom a *devatâ* gave the title *yugapradhâna*,[3]
8. Jinachandrasûri II.,

[3] The first seven Sûris are mentioned also in No. xviii.

9. Jinapattisûri,[4]
10. Jineśvarasûri II.,
11. Jinaprabodhasûri,
12. Jinachandrasûri III.,
13. Jinakuśalasûri,
14. Jinapadmasûri,
15. Jinalabdhisûri,
16. Jinachandrasuri IV.,
17. Jinodayasûri,
18. Jinarâjasûri,
19. Jinabhadrasûri,[5]
20. Jinachandrasûri V.,
21. Jinasamudrasûri,
22. Jinahaṁsasûri,
23. Jinamâṇikyasûri,

24. Jinachandrasûri VI,[6] who awakene d the Pâtisâhi of Delhi, Akabara, received from him the title *yugapradhâna*, and obtained an edict not to kill during 8 days in all countries, who appeased the angry Jahâṁgîra and protected the Sâdhus banished by him.

25. Jinasiṁhasûri, who caused the *mantrin* Karamachandra to institute[7] a *rûpanandi* festival at an expense of 12,500,000 (*sapâdakoṭi*), wandered through Kaṭhina, Kaśmîr and other countries, pleased Akabara-Sâhi, stopped for a year the slaying of aquatic animals, caused an edict of not killing to be proclaimed in Śrîpura,[8] Golakuṁḍâ (Golkonda), Gajjaṇâ (Ghazni), and other countries, and received the title of *yugapradhâna* from Jahâṁgîra-Nûradî-Mahammada.

26. Jinarâja,[9] whose parents were Sâ Dharmasî and Dhâralade, who belonged to the Bohittha race, received a boon from the goddess Ambikâ, and in consequence deciphered the *praśasti* on an ancient image at Ghaṁghâṇîpura. In No. xxvi there is a second date, Saṁvat 1682 for him.

The later inscriptions mention:—

Jinachandrasûri, Saṁvat 1794,[10] (No. xxxix); Jinaharshasûri,[11] Saṁvat 1887 (No. lx), Saṁvat 1888, Saṁvat 1891 (No. lxviii), Saṁvat 1892 (No. lxix); Jinamahendrasûri, successor of the preceding, Saṁvat 1893 (No. lxxx), stated to belong to the Pippalîya branch (Nos. lxxxii-v),[12] Saṁvat 1903 (No. lxxxviii).

Jinasaubhâgyasûri, successor of Jinaharsha, Saṁvat 1910 (No. xvi).

Jinamuktisûri, Saṁvat 1922 (No. cvi). The statements of the latest inscriptions show that there were several heads of the Kharatara *gachchha*, which fact is known to everybody personally acquainted with the sect. I met Jinamuktisûri at Jesalmîr in 1874, and at Bikânîr another head of the Kharataras called Hemasûri. The pupils of a third Yugapradhâna of the same community visited me in 1876 at Surat, when he passed through the town.

II.—Paṭṭâvali of the Tapâ gachchha.

No. xii mentions first Vardhamâna (verse 2), Sudharma (verse 3), Susthita and Supratibuddha, the founders of the Koṭikagaṇa (verse 4), Vajra, the founder

[4] This form, which is found also in the Pâtaṇ *Praśasti*, *ante*, vol. I, p. 319, seems to be preferable to Dr. Klatt's Jinapati, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, pp. 245ff.

[5] Mentioned also in No. xviii.

[6] Mentioned also in Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii, xxxiv.

[7] Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii—xxiv, add "before Akabarasâhi."

[8] According to No. xviii Śrîkâstîpura, according to No. xix Śrikâra-Śrîpura, according to No. xxiii Śrîpura.

[9] Mentioned in the same way in Nos. xiv—xx, xxiii-xxiv, xxvi.

[10] Klatt has a Jinachandra (No. 69) in S. 1834.

[11] This is the last on Klatt's list, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, pp. 245ff.

[12] Nos. lxxxii—lxxxv have a note speaking of a Jiṇachaṁdasûri, successor of Jinadeva, being alive. Regarding the Pippalîya Kharatara gachchha, see Klatt, *ut sup.*, under No. 56.

of the Vajrâ śâkhâ (verse 5), Vajrasena and his pupils Nâga, Indra, Chandra, Nirvṛiti and Vidhyâdhara, the third of whom founded the Châandra kula (verses 6-7), Jagachchandra, who obtained in Saṁvat 1285 the *Tapâbiruda* (verse 9), and then begins the enumeration with—

(1) Ânandavimala (Klatt No. 56), who reformed the conduct of the Yatis in Saṁvat 1582 (verses 10-11).

(2) Vijayadâna (Klatt No. 57), verses 12-13.[13]

(3) Hîravijaya (Klatt No. 58), verses 14—24, who was called by Sâhi Akabbara to Mevâta, and persuaded the emperor in Saṁvat 1639 to issue an edict forbidding the slaughter of animals for six months, to abolish the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, the *Sujîjia*-tax, and a *śulka*;[14] to set free many captives, snared birds and animals, to present Śatruṁjaya to the Jainas, to establish a Jaina library (*paustakaṁ bhâṁḍâgâram*), and to become a saint-like king Śreṇika, who converted the head of the Luṁpâkas. Meghajî,[15] made many people adherents of the Tapâ gachchha, caused many temples to be built in Gujarât and other countries, and made many natives of that country, of Mâlava and so forth, undertake pilgrimages to Śatruṁjaya. No. cxviii commemorates one of these pilgrimages, which was undertaken by Vimalaharsha and 200 others. The same inscription states that Hîravijaya belonged to the *Sâpha* race. He died, according to No. xiii, by starvation, at Unnatadurga, in Saṁvat 1652, Bhâdrapada śukla 10, and his *pâdukâs* were erected in the same year, on Mârga vadi 9, Monday, by Udayakaraṇa of Stambhatîrtha (Cambay) and consecrated by Vijayasena.

(4) Vijayasena (Klatt No. 59), (verses 25—34), who was called by Akabbara to Lâbhapura (Lahor), received from him great honours, and a *phuramâṇa*, forbidding the slaughter of cows, bulls and buffalo-cows, to confiscate the property of deceased persons and to make captives in war, who, honoured by the king, the son of Cholî-begam (*Cholî Vegama*), adorned Gujarât. Latest date Saṁvat 1650.

(5) Vijayadeva (Klatt No. 60) is mentioned in No. xxv, Saṁvat 1676, No. xxxi of Saṁvat 1696, Nos. xxxii and xxxiii of Saṁvat 1710. According to the same he received from Pâtiśâhi Jihâṁgîra the title *mahâtâpa*. His appointed successor, Vijayasiṁhasûri, who, according to Klatt (*op. cit.*) died before him (Saṁvat 1709), occurs in No. xxxii, which is dated Saṁvat 1710. It is stated there that the Sahasrakûṭa *tîrtha* had been dedicated at his request.

(6) Vijayaprabha (Klatt No. 61) is mentioned in No. xxxiii, dated Saṁvat 1710. He receives the titles *âchârya* and *sûri*, and seems, therefore, not yet to have been the actual head. Vijayadeva, on the other hand, is there called *bhaṭṭâraka*. This goes against Klatt's *Paṭṭâvali*, which places Vijayadeva's death in Saṁvat 1709.

In the later inscriptions are named—

Vijayakshamâsûri, No. xxxviii.

Vijayadayâsûri, No. xxxvii, *bhaṭṭâraka*, in Saṁvat 1788 (Sumatisâgara, *ibid.*, also *bhaṭṭâraka*), and in No. xxxviii, Saṁvat 1791.

Vijayajinendrasûri, No. xliv, Saṁvat 1843, Nos. xlvi—xlix, Saṁvat 1860.

Vijayadhaneśvarasûri, No. lxxviii, Saṁvat 1893.

[13] Mentioned as head of the gachchha in Nos. iv, vi—x, all dated in Saṁvat 1620.

[14] Possibly a tax on Jaina pilgrims, visiting their holy places, may be meant,—see also Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 339 (6th edition). The *Sujîjia* tax is, of course, the *jizya*, or capitation tax on infidels.

[15] Regarding the Luṁpâkas see Bhâṇḍârkar, *Report on Sanskrit* MSS. *for 1883-84*, p. 153.

Vijayadevendrasûri,[16] No. lxxxvi, Saṁvat 1897, No. lxxxix, Saṁvat 1905, No. xlii, Saṁvat 1908, No. xcvii, Saṁvat 1911, No. civ, Saṁvat 1916, No. cvii, Saṁvat 1924.

Vidyânandasûri, successor of Dhaneśvara, No. ciii, Saṁvat 1916.

A Saṁvijñayamârgîya Tapâ gachchha, belonging to the line of Vijayasiṁhasûri, is mentioned in No. lxxvi of Saṁvat 1893 and in No. cxiii of Saṁvat 1940.

III.—Paṭṭâvali of the Añchala or Vidhipaksha gachchha.[17]

The first seventeen teachers are named in Nos. xxi of Saṁvat 1675 and xxvii of Saṁvat 1683, the remainder mostly in No. cv of Saṁvat 1921:

(1) Âryarakshita,[18]
(2) Jayasiṁha,
(3) Dharmaghosha,
(4) Mahendrasiṁha,
(5) Siṁhaprabha,
(6) Devendra or Devendrasiṁha,
(7) Dharmaprabha,
(8) Siṁhatilaka,
(9) Mahendra,
(10) Merutuṅga,
(11) Jayakîrti,
(12) Jayakeśari,
(13) Siddhântasamudra or Siddhântasâgara,
(14) Bhâvasâgara,
(15) Guṇanidhâna or Suguṇaśevadhi,
(16) Dharmamûrti,
(17) Kalyâṇasâgara or Kalyâṇasamudra, Saṁvat 1675 and 1683,
(18) Amarodadhi,
(19) Vidyâsûri (Vidyâbdhi),[19]
(20) Udayârṇava, or Udayasâgara,[20]
(21) Kîrtisindhu or Kîrtisâgara, No. li, Saṁvat 1861,
(22) Puṇyodadhi or Puṇyasâgara, (No. li, of S. 1861),
(23) Muktisâgara, Saṁvat 1905,[21]
(24) Ratnodadhi, Saṁvat 1921;
(25) Vivekasâgara, Saṁvat 1940, No. cxi

IV.—Paṭṭâvali of the Sâgara-gachchha.

This list is given chiefly in No. xci, where the latest date is Saṁvat 1905:

(1) Râjasâgara,
(2) Vṛiddhisâgara,
(3) Lakshmîsâgara,
(4) Kalyâṇasâgara,
(5) Puṇyasâgara,
(6) Udayasâgara,
(7) Âṇandasâgara,
(8) Śântisâgara, Saṁvat 1886, No. lv, No. lix; Saṁvat 1889, No. lxii, No. lxv; Saṁvat 1893, No. lxx, No. lxxi, No. lxxii, No. lxxix.

Teachers of two other *gachchhas* are named:—

(1) Râjasâmasûri of the Laghuposâla *gachchha* in No. xlii, dated Saṁvat 1815.

(2) Paṇḍit Aṇandakuśala of the Pâyachanda *gachchha* in No. xcv, dated Saṁvat 1908. One is tempted to conjecture that *Pâyachanda* is a

[16] Spelt also Vijayadeviṁdra and Vijayadevîdra.

[17] The name Vidhipaksha gachchha occurs in No. xxvii, verse 6, and in No. cv.

[18] Regarding this Âryarakshita, see Bhâṇḍârkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* of 1883-84, p. 152. The *Paṭṭâvali* described by Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar (*op. cit.*, pp. 14, and 319ff.) is that of the Âñchara-*gachchha*, and in the main agrees with the earlier part of the above text.

[19] This form is required according to the metre.

[20] No. li.

[21] No. xc. Before him appears Râjendrasâgara, Saṁvat 1886 in No. lvi.

mistake for *Pásachanda* or *Páśachanda*, regarding which sect see Bhâṇḍârkar's "Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, p. 135".

V.—Digambara Paṭṭâvali.

No. xxx, dated Saṁvat 1686, gives (ll. 2 *et seq.*) the list of the spiritual heads in the line of Kuṁḍakuṁḍa (*read Kundakunda*) Âchârya in the Balâtkâragaṇa, the Sarasvati *gachchha* and the Mûlasaṁgha, *i.e.* the community of the Digambaras, as follows:

(1) Sakalakîrti,
(2) Bhuvanakîrti,
(3) Jñânabhûshaṇa,
(4) Vijayakîrti,
(5) Śubhachandra,
(6) Sumatikîrti,
(7) Guṇakîrti,
(8) Vâdibhûshaṇa,
(9) Râmakîrti,
(10) Padmanandi, the actual head of the sect in Saṁvat 1686.

The list is, of course, a mere fragment of the *Paṭṭâvali* of the Kundakundânvaya, which dates from much earlier times.

Next to the subdivisions of the Jaina monks, those of the laymen deserve notice, and it is interesting that our inscriptions furnish a good deal of valuable information on this point, regarding which hitherto little has become known. Among the various tribal names of the laymen which are mentioned in the great majority of the documents, that of the Osvâls occurs most frequently, as might be expected from the fact that this section of the Jaina community is not only generally considered the most noble, but possesses also the greatest wealth. The name appears in various forms, (1) Upakeśa *jñâti*, No. xxi; *vaṁsa*, No. xxvi; (2) Ûkeśa or Ukeśa, Nos. xxxiii and lx; (3) Oiśa *vaṁsa*, No. xxxix; (4) Ośa or Osa, mostly with the addition of the termination *vâla* in a great many inscriptions; and (5) Uśa, Nos. i—iii, or Usa, No. cii.

It is not in the least doubtful that *Upakeśa* is the original Sanskrit word from which the other forms have been derived.[22] The processes by which the forms *Ûkeśa*, *Ukeśa*, *Uśa* and *Usa* were obtained, will be clear to everybody. With respect to *Oiśa*, *Ośa* and *Osa*, it may be noted that, according to the rules of the Jaina and Mahârâshṭrî Prakrits, the preposition *upa* may be represented by *o* (see Hemachandra, *Prâkṛita vyâkaraṇa*, i, 173).

In addition to the correct form of the name of this famous tribe, the Pâlitâṇâ inscriptions furnish also a traditional account of its origin. We read in No. i—

(Verse 8). "Further—on the hill called Gopa, there was born a most worshipful (*ruler*) called the illustrious Âmarâja, whom glorious Bappabhaṭṭi awakened. His wife was some daughter of a trader."

(Verse 9). "In her womb were born the following men belonging to the Râjakoshṭhâgâra family, the sole vessel of piety, and the pure illustrious Uśa race."

The meaning seems to be that both the Uśa tribe and the Râjakoshṭhâgâra family, which latter is evidently a subdivision of the former, owe their origin to the king Âma and his consort of the Vaiśya caste. According to the *Paṭṭâvalis* and the *Prabandhas*, Âma, whose existence is not proved by really historical documents, is said to have lived about Vikrama Saṁvat 800.[23] I may add that the genealogy of Karmarâja, which is

[22] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, pp. 233ff.

[23] See S. P. Paṇḍit, *Gauḍavaho*, pp. cxxxviiff.

given in verses 10—20, cannot be complete. It names only ten ancestors who cannot possibly fill the seven centuries and a half which intervene between the traditional date of king Âma and that of the inscription, Vikrama Saṁvat 1587.

The inscriptions mention also a good many other subdivisions of the Osvâl tribe, *viz.*—

I.—A Vṛiddhaśâkhâ, which is subdivided into the following *gotras* or families, —(1) Ûhâḍa, No. xxxiii; (2) Châjeḍâ, No. cvi; (3) Nâḍûla, Nos. xxxviii, xxxix; (4) Nâhaṭâ, No. lxxx; (5) Muṁmiyâ, No. xcvi; (6) Râjakoshṭhâgâra, Nos. i, ii, iii; (7) Yadugaḍa, No. lxviii; (8) Lâlaṇa, No. xxi; (9) Luṇîyâ, No. lx; (10) Loḍhá, No. xvi.

II.—A Laghuśâkhâ, to which belongs (1) the Nâgaḍâ *gotra*, No. xc; (2) the Shota *gotra*, No. xi.

III.—An Addaiśâkhâ, to which belongs the Kuṁkumalola *gotra*, Nos. xci, xcviii-xcix. The members of this *śâkhâ* and *gotra*, as represented by the family of the Nagarsheṭh of Ahmadâbâd, besides claim kinship with the Sîsodiâ Rajputs of Mevâḍ, — see No. xci. Visâ Osavâlas are mentioned in No. cxv.

The tribe next in importance is that of the Śrîmâlîs, called after the town of Śrîmâla or Bhillamâla, the modern Bhînmâl in the extreme south of Marvâḍ. It includes—

I.—A Vṛiddhaśâkhâ, Nos. xxxvii, cxii, of which no subdivisions are given;

II.—A Laghuśâkhâ, Nos. xxix, xxxiv, lxxvi, to which belongs, according to No. xliv, the Kâśyapa *gotra*, the members of which claim kinship with the Paramâra Râjputs.

A Vîsâ Śrîmâlî occurs in No. xcv.

About the same importance belongs to the Prâgvâṭa tribe, called also Prâgavaṁsa, Nos. iv, vi and viii, or by its modern name Poravâḍa or Poravâla, (pronounce Porvâḍ and Porvâl). It seems, too, to have an elder and a junior branch, as Nos. xv, xvii, xxv, and xli mention its Laghuśâkhâ. Vîsâ Poravâḍas or Poravalas are named in Nos. l and xcvii; Dasâ-Porvâḍas in cvii. A few other tribes occur each in single inscriptions, *viz.* Gûrjara *jñâti*, No. x; Dîsâvâla *jñâti*, No. vii; Dûgaḍa *gotra*, No. liv; Niṁma *jñâti*, No. ciii; Mohotâ *gotra*, No. cv; Saṁghavâla *gotra*, and Kâchara *saṁtâna*, No. xiv.

The native places of the donors are:—

(1) Ajamera, *i.e.* Ajmîr in Râjputânâ,
(2) Aṇahillapura, also called Pattana,
(3) Antarapura in Vâgvaradesa or Duṅgarpur,
(4) Ahmadâbâd, called eleven times by its Sanskrit name, Râjanagara, 'the capital,'
(5) Ugrasenapura,
(6) Kapaḍavaṇaja in the Kheḍâ Collectorate,
(7) Kâśî, or Benares,
(8) Koṭhârâ in Kachh,
(9) Khambanayara, *i.e.* probably Cambay,
(10) Ghandhâra in the Bharoch Collectorate,
(11) Chitrakûṭa, or Chiṭor in Mevâḍ

(12) **Cheula**, probably Chaul, near Bombay,
(13) **Jesalamera**, *i.e.* Jesalmîr in Marvâḍ,
(14) **Damaṇa bandira**, *i.e.* Daman in Gujarât,
(15) **Dîvabaṁdira** or Diu in Kâṭhiâvâḍ,
(16) **Devagiri** or Daulatâbâd in the Dekhan,
(17) **Dhaṇapura**,
(18) **Nabhînpura**, in Kachh,
(19) **Nalinapura**, in Kachh,
(20) **Navânagara**, in Kâṭhiâvâḍ,
(21) **Pâlaṇapura**, in Northern Gujarât,
(22) **Bâluchara**,
(23) **Bhâvanagara**, in Kâṭhiâvâḍ,
(24) **Makasudâvâda**—Bâluchara or Makśudâvâda,
(25) **Mumbâi**, or Bombay,
(26) **Mesâṇa**, in Gujarât,
(27) **Râdhanapura**, in Northern Gujarât,
(28) **Vîkaṇera**, or Bikâner, in Northern Râjputânâ,
(29) **Vîsalanagara**, in Northern Gujarât,
(30) **Sirohi**, in Southern Râjputânâ,
(31) **Surata baṁdira**, in Gujarât.

The name of Ahmadâbâd or Râjanagara occurs most frequently.

For those who care to verify Hindu dates the Pâlitâṇâ inscriptions will be a perfect mine; for every single date can be calculated, as the weekdays are invariably mentioned.

No. I.[24]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीगूर्जरधरित्र्यां पातसाहश्रीमहिमूदपट्टप्रभाकरपातसाहश्रीमदाफरसाह-
पट्टोद्योतकारक ।

2. पातसाहश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीबाहदरसाहविजयराज्ये ॥ संवत् १५८७ वर्षे राज्यव्यापारधुरधरखान-
श्रीमझादखानव्या-

3. पारे श्रीशत्रुंजयगिरौ श्रीचित्रकूटवास्तव्य । दो॰ करमाकृतसप्तमोद्धारसत्का प्रशस्तिर्लिख्यते ॥
स्वस्ति श्रीसौख्य-

4. दो जीयात युगादिजिननायकः ।
केवलज्ञानविमलो विमलाचलमंडनः ॥ १[25]
श्रीमेदपाटे प्रगटप्रभावे [।]
भावेन भ-

5. व्ये भुवनप्रसिद्धे ।
श्रीचित्रकूटो मुकुटोपमानो [।]
विराजमानोस्ति समस्तलक्ष्म्याः ॥ २[26]

[24] In the porch of the east or main entrance of the great temple of Âdîśvara Bhagavân;—see *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, &c. (Bombay, 1885) p. 188.—J. B.

[25] Metre of verse 1 Anushṭubh. Read °जीयात्. A good many of my corrections have been given between brackets in the text.—J. K.

[26] Metre of verses 2–4, Upajâti. Read °क्ष्म्याः.

सन्नंदनो दातृसुरद्रुमश्च [।]
तुं-

L. 6. ग: सुवर्णोपि विहारसार: ।
जिनेश्वरस्नात्रपवित्रभूमि: [।]
श्रीचित्रकूट: सुरशैलतुल्य: ॥ ३
विशालमालस्थिति-

7. लोचनाभो [।]
रम्यो नृणां लोचनचित्रकारी [।]
विचित्रकूटो गिरिचित्रकूटो [।]
लोकस्तु यत्राखिलकूटमुक्त: ॥ ४
तत्र श्रीकुं-

8. भराजो ऽभूत् कुंभोद्भवनिभो नृप: ।
वैरिवर्ग: समुद्रो हि येन पीत: क्षणात् क्षितौ ॥ ५[27]
[त] त्पुत्रो राजमल्लोभूद्राज्ञां म-

9. ल्ल इवोत्कट: ।
सुत: संग्रामसिंहो ऽस्य संग्रामविजयी नृप: ॥ ६
तत्पट्टभूषणमणि: सिंहेंद्रवत्पराक्रमी ।
रत्नसिंहा ऽ[28]

10. धुना राजा राजलक्ष्म्या विराजते ॥ ७
इतश्च गोपाह्वगिरौ गरिष्ट: [।]
श्रीबप्पभट्टिप्रतिबोधितश्च ।
श्रीआमराजो ऽजनि तस्य

11. पत्नी [।]
काचिद्बभूव व्यवहारिपुत्री ॥ ८[29]
तत्कुक्षिजाता[:]किल राजकोष्टा [।]
गाराह्वगोत्रे सुकृतैकपात्रे ।
श्रीऊशवंशे विशदे

12. विशाले [।]
तस्यान्वये ऽमी पुरुषा प्रसिद्धा: ॥ ९[30]
श्रीसरणदेवनामा तत्पुत्रो रामदेवनामाभूत् ।
लक्ष्मीसिंह: पुत्रो[°वस्त°]तत्पु-

13. त्रो भुवनपालाख्य: ॥ १०[31]
श्रीभोजराजपुत्रो — —[32] रसिंहाख्य एव तत्पुत्र: ।
षेताकस्तत्पुत्रो नरसिंह: तत्सु-

[27] Metre of verses 5—7, Anushṭubh.
[28] Read °हो ऽ.
[29] Metre: Upajâti. Read गरिष्ठ:.
[30] Metre. Indravajrâ. Read कोष्ठा । श्रीऊ° पुरुषा..
[31] Metre of verses 10—19. Âryâ.
[32] Looks like वज

L. 14. [— — —][33] ॥ ११

तत्पुत्रस्तोलाख्य: पत्नी तस्या:[स्व]प्रभूतकुलजाता ।

तारादे परनाम्नी लील् पुण्यप्रभापूर्णा ॥ १२

तत्कुक्षिसमुद्भता: ष[ट्]

15. पुत्रा[34] कल्पपादपाकारा: [।]

[धर्मा]नुष्ठानपरा: श्रीवंत: श्रीकृतो ऽन्येषां ॥ १३

प्रथमो र[त्ना]ख्यसुत: सम्यक्त्वोद्योतकारक: कामं ।

16. श्रीचित्रकूटनगरे प्रासाद: [कारितो]येन ॥ १४

तस्या ऽस्ति कोमला पाल्पवल्लीव[35] विशदात्सदा ।[36]

भार्या रजमलदेवी पुत्र[:]श्रीरंगना-

17. मानौ ॥ १५

भ्राता ऽन्य: पोमाह्व: पतिभक्ता दानशीलगुणयुक्ता ।

पद्मापाटमदेव्यौ पुत्रौ माणिक्यहीराह्वौ ॥ १६

बंधुर्गणस्तृ-

18. तीयभार्या[37]गुणरत्नराशिविख्याता [।]

गडरगारतदेव्यौ पुत्रो देवाभिधो ज्ञेय: ॥ १७

तुर्यो दशरथनामा । भार्या तस्यास्ति देवगु-

19. रुभक्ता ।

देवल[दृ]ग्मदेव्यौ पुत्र: कोल्हाभिधो ज्ञेय: ॥ १८

भ्राता ऽन्यो भोजाख्य: भार्या तस्यास्ति सकलगुणयुक्ता ।

20. भावलदर्पमदेव्यौ पुत्र: श्रीमंडणो जीयात् ॥ १९

सदा सदाचारविचारचारुचातुर्यधैर्यादिगुणै: प्रयुक्त:

श्रीकर्मराजो

21. भगिनी च तेषां जीयात्सदा सूहविनामधे[या] ॥ २०[38]

कर्माख्यभार्या प्रथमा कपुर [।]-

देवी पुन: कामलदे द्वितीया ।

श्रीभीषजी-

22. कस्त्वकुलोदयाद्रि-[39]

सूर्यप्रभ: कामलदेविपुत्र: ॥ २१

श्रीतीर्थयात्राजिनबिंबपूजा-

पदप्रतिष्ठादिकवर्मधुर्या: ।

सुपात्रदानेन प-

23. वित्रमात्रा:

सर्वंदृशा: सत्पुरुषा: प्रसिद्धा: ॥ २२[40]

श्रीरत्नसिंहराज्ये राज्यव्यापारभारधौरेय: ।

श्रीकर्मसिंहदक्षो मुख्यो

[33] Read °तौ जात:.

[34] Read पुत्रा:.

[35] Read कल्पवल्लीव. Above पा there is a mark.

[36] Read विशदा सदा.

[37] Read °तीयो.

[38] Metre: Upajâti.

[39] Metre: Indravajrâ. Read °जीक:.

[40] Metre: Upajâti. Read °तिष्ठा° । सर्वं° stands for सर्वं दृ°.

L. 24. व्यवहारिणां मध्ये ॥ २३[41]

श्रीशत्रुंजयमाहात्म्यं श्रु[त्वा]सद्गुरुसंनिधौ ।

तस्योद्धारकृते भावः कर्मराजस्य — दभूत् ॥ २४[42]

श्राग-

25. त्य गौर्जरे देशे विवेकेन नरायणे ।

वसंति विबुधा लोकाः पुण्यश्लोका इवाऽद्भुताः ॥ २५

तत्रास्ति श्रीधराधीशश्रीमत् ऽ ऽ ऽ

26. बाहदरो नृप· ।

तस्य प्राप्य स्फुरन्मानं पुंडरीके समाययौ ॥ २६

राज्यव्यापारधौरेयः पानः श्रीमान् मभ्फादकः ।

तस्य गेहे म-

27. हामंत्री रवाख्यो नरसिंहकः ॥ २७

तस्य सन्मानमुत्प्राप्य बहुवित्तव्ययेन च ।

उद्धारः सप्तमस्तेन चक्रे शत्रुंजये गिरौ

28. ॥ २८

श्रीपादलिप्तलल्लनामरशुद्धदेशे

महाद्यमंगलमनोहरगीतना[दैः] ।

श्रीकर्मराजसुधिया जलया[त्रि]कायां

चक्रे महोत्स-

29. ववरः सुगुरूपदेशात् ॥ २९[43]

चंचत्संगमृदंगरंगरचनाभेरीनफेरीरवा-

वीणा[वंश]विशुद्धनालविभवासाधर्मि[वात्सल्य]

30. कं ।

वस्त्रालंकृति[हेम]तुंगतुरगादीनां च स[द्द]र्पण-

मेवं विस्तरपूर्वकं गिरवरे बिंबप्रतिष्ठापनं ॥ ३०[44]

विक्रमसमयातीते ति-

31. थिमितसंवत्सरेऽ ख्रवसुवर्षे । १५८७ ।

शाके जगच्चिबाणे ५३ वैशाखे कृष्णाषष्ठ्यां च ॥ ३१[45]

मिलिताः सूरयः संघा मार्गणमु-

32. निपुंगवाः ।

वहमाने धनुर्लग्ने प्रतिष्टा कारिता वराः ॥ ३२[46]

लावण्यसमयाख्येन पंडितेन महात्मना ।

स[प्त]मोद्धारसत्का

33. च प्रशस्तिः प्रकटीकृता ॥ ३३

श्रीमद्बा[हदर]क्षितीशवचनादागत्य शत्रुंजये [।]

प्रासादं विदधाप्य येन द्व — । — द्विंबमा-

[41] Metre: Âryâ.

[42] Metre of verses 24—28, Anushtubh.

[43] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[44] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Read मिरि०, ०ह्य० The context is not clear.

[45] Metre: Âryâ. Read ०ष्ठी.

[46] Metre of verses 32, 33, Anushṭubh. Read ०ष्ठा । वरा

L. 34. रोप्य च ।
उद्धार: किल सप्तम: कलियुगे चक्रेऽथ ना — — —
जीयादेष सदोशवंशमुकुट: श्रीकर्म्मराजश्चिरं ॥ २४[47]
य-
35. त्कर्म्मराजेन कृतं सुकार्य-
मन्येन केनापि कृतं हि तन्नो ।
यन्म्लेच्छराज्ये[पि नृपा]ज्ञयैवो-
द्धार: कृत: सप्तम एष येन ॥ २५[48]
36. स — — —[49]र्याणि बहूनि संघे
कुर्वंति भव्या: परम[त्र] काले ।
कर्माभिधानव्यवहारिणैवो-
द्धार: कृत: श्रीवि-
37. मलाद्रिशृंगे ॥ २६[50]
श्रीचित्रकूटोदयशैलशृंगे ।
कर्माख्यभानोरुदयान्वितस्य ।
शत्रुंजये बिंबविहारकृत्य-
[कर्मा-
38. व]लीयं स्फुरतीति चित्रं ॥ २७[51]
श्रीमेदपाटे विषये निवासिन:
श्रीकर्म्मराजस्य च कीर्त्तिर[ज्वला] ।
देशेष्वनेकेष्वपि [संचरत्य]-
39. हो
ज्योत्स्नेव चंद्रस्य नभोविहारिण: ॥ २८[52]
दत्तं येन पुरा धनं बहु सुरत्राणाय तन्मानतो
यात्रा येन [नृ]-
40. णां च संघपतिना शत्रुंजये कारिता ।
साधूनां सुगमैव सा च विहिता चक्रे प्रतिष्टा ऽर्हता-
मित्थं वर्ण्णनमुच्यते किय-
41. द्दहो श्रीकर्मराजस्य तु ॥ २९[53]
येनोद्धार: शुभवति नगे कारित: पुंडरीके ।
स्वात्मोद्धारो विशदमतिना दुर्ग-
42. तस्तेन चक्रे ।
येनाकारि प्रवरविधिना तीर्थनाथप्रतिष्टा प्राप्ता
स्तेन त्रिभुवनतले सर्वदैवप्रतिष्टा ॥ ४०[54]
सौम्यत्वे-

[47] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[48] Metre: Indravajrâ.
[49] Perhaps सत्पुण्यकार्याणि.
[50] Metre: Indravajrâ.
[51] Metre: Indravajrâ
[52] Metre: Indravaṃśâ.
[53] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Read °ष्टा
[54] Metre Mandâkrântâ. Read °ष्टा, तैन, °ष्टा.

L. 43. न निशामणिर्दिनमणिस्तीव्रप्रतापेन च
वंशोद्दीपनकारणात् गृहमणिश्चिंतामणिदानत: ।
धर्मात् श्राद्धशिरोम-

44. णिर्मदविषध्वस्तन्मणिर्भोगिन:
एकानेकमयो गुणैर्नवनवै: श्रीकर्मराज: सुधी: ॥ ४१[55]
तोलासुत: सुतन[यो]

45. विनयोज्ज्वलश्च
लीलसुकुत्तिनलिनीशुचिराजहंस: ।
सन्मानदानविदुरो मुनिपुंगवानां
सद्गुडबांधवयुतो

46. — — कमराज: ॥ ४२[56]
कर्मो श्रीकर्मराजोयं कर्मणा केन निर्ममे ।
तेषां शुभानि कर्माणि यैर्दृष्ट: पुण्यवानसौ ॥ ४३[57]

47. श्यधीश: पुंडरीकस्तु मरुदेवा[व:]कपर्दिराट् ।[58]
श्राद्धश्रीकर्मराजस्य सुप्रसन्ना भवंत्वमी ॥ ४४ ॥
श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थोद्धारे ।

48. कमठा[य] सांनिध्यकारक सा° जइता भा° बाई चांपू पुत्र नाथा भ्रातृ कोता ॥ श्रहम्मदा-
वादवास्तव्य सूत्रधार कोला

49. पुत्र सूत्रधार विरु[पा]सू° भीमा ठ° वेला ठ° वछा ॥ श्रीचित्रकूटादागत सू° टीला सू
पोमा सू° गांगा सू° गोरा सू° ढाला

50. सूत्र° देवा ॥ सूत्र° नाकर सू° नाईश्रा सू° गोविंद सू° विणायग सू° टीला सू° वछा स
भाणा सू० का[ह्ना] सूत्र°

51. देवदास सू° टीका सू° ठाकर — - - प° काला वा० विणायग ठा° काम ठा° हीरा सू
दमोदर वा० हराज सू० थान

52. ॥ मंगलं श्रादिदेवस्य मंगलं विमलाचले । मंगलं [59]सर्कलसंघस्य मंगलं लिखकस्य च । पं°
विवेकधीरगणिना लिखि

53. [ता प्र]शस्ति ॥[60]पूज्य पं° समयरत्नशिष्य पं° लावण्यसमयखिसंध्यं श्रीश्रादिदेवस्य प्रणमतीति
भद्रं ॥ श्री:

54. — °हरपति । ठा° हांसा ठ° मूला ठा° कृष्णा ठा का[ह्ना] ठा° हषा सू° माधव सू° बाद्ग ॥ लो
सहज

No. II.[61]

L. 1. श्रों ॥[62] संवत[त्]१५८७ वर्षे शके १४५३ प्रवर्त्तमाने [वैशा]ख वदि ६ । रवौ ॥ श्रीचित्र [कूट]

2. वास्तव्यश्रीउशवा[स]ज्ञातीय[63] वृद्धशाषाया[64] दो° नरसिंह सुत दो° [सि]ला भार्या बाई लोल
पुत्र ६ दो

[55] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Read °स्तन्म°.

[56] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[57] Metre of verses 43-44, Anushṭubh.

[58] Read °राट्.

[59] Read सर्वसं°.

[60] Read °स्ति:.

[61] On the base of the image of Âdinâtha in the great temple.—J. B.

[62] Looks like एद°.

[63] Read°वाल°.

[64] Read शाखायां.

L. 3. रत्ना भार्या रजमलदे पुत्र श्रीरंग दो॰ पोमा भा॰ पंयादे द्वि॰ पटमादे पुत्र माणिकहोर दो॰ गणा भा॰ गुराद [द्वि]॰ गारवदे पु॰ दवा

4. दो॰ दशरथ भा॰ देवलदे द्वि॰ टूरमदे पुत्र केहला दो॰ सोमा भा॰ भावलदे द्वि॰ [सु] षम[दे पु] — — — भगिनी [सुह] विदे [— वं] धव श्रीमद्राजसभागृंगारहारश्रीशत्रुंजयसप्तमोद्धार-

5. कारक दो॰ करमा भा॰ कपूरादे द्वि॰ कामलदे पुत्र भीषजी पुत्री बाई सोभां वा॰ सोना वा॰ मन वा॰ प्रता प्रमुषसमस्तकुटंवश्रेयोर्थं[65] शत्रुंजयमुख्यप्रासादो [द्धा] रे श्रीआदिनाथबिंबं प्रतिष्टापितं[66] । मं॰ रवी मं॰ नरसिंगसानिध्यात् । प्रतिष्टितं[67] श्रीसूरिभिः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. III.[68]

L. 1. श्रीं ॥ संवत [त्] १५८७ वर्षे वैशाष दि

2. श्रीउशवंशे वृद्धशाषायां दो॰ तोला भा॰ बाई लीलू सुत दो॰ रत्ना दो॰ पोमा

3. दो॰ गणा दो॰ दशरथ दो॰ भोजा दो॰ करमा भा॰ कपूरादे । कामलदे पु॰ भीषजी सहितेन श्रीपुंडरीकबिंबं कारितं श्रीः ॥

No. IV.[69]

L. 1. [70]श्रीं ॥ श्रीं नमः ॥ संवत् [१६]२० वर्षे आषाढ शुदि २ रवौ ।

2. गंधारवास्तव्य । प्राग[वंश]दोसी । श्रीगोईआ सुत दौ ।

3. नेजपाल भार्या बोई[71] [भोड]की सुत दौ । पंचारण ।

4. भ्रातृ दौ । भीम दौ । नने दौ । देवराजप्रमुख ।

5. [स्व]कुटंवेन युतः । श्रीमहावीरदेवकुलिका ।

6. कारापिता हर्षेण । तपागछेविबुशिमणि [72]श्री-

7. विजयदानसूरिश्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादा[त्]

8. शुभं भवतु ॥ :श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. V.[73]

L. 1. ॥ [74] श्रीं ॥ संवत् १६२० वरषे कार्तग शुदि २ इने

2. गंधारवास्तवं श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीय सा । शी [पा]स[वीर] ।

3. भार्या बाई [पू]तल शुत सा । श्रीवर्धमांन भार्या बाई

4. वमलादे अमरादे शुत सा । श्रीरांमजी भाई सा[75] । श्री-

5. लहुजी सा । हंस[रा]ज सा । मनजी प्रमुषस्वकुटं-

6. वेन युतः श्रीसेत्रंजयोपरि श्रीशांतिनाथप्रासा-

7. दं चोमष वारापित । श्रीतपागछेविबुधशरो [शिरो-]

8. मणिश्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादात् शुभं भ-

9. वतु[॥]

65 Read °मुख°.

66 Read °ष्ठा°.

67 Read °ष्ठि°.

68 On the base of the image of Pundarîka in the temple facing Âdîśvara Bhagavân's temple: *Lists*, *u. s.* p. 196, No. 88.—J. B.

69 In a temple on the south of the enclosure round the temple of Âdîśvara: conf. *Lists*, p. 194, Nos. 38–43.—J. B.

70 At the beginning of each line stands a symbol looking like ए.

71 Read बाई.

72 Read °बुधशिरोमणि.

73 In the Gandhâria Chaumukh temple, in the north-east of the enclosure of the great Âdîśvara temple. *Lists*, p. 195, No. 73.—J. B.

74 Looks like एई

75 The middle bar of the ब is wanting.

No. VI.[76]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ उँ नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाष शुदि ५
2. ॥ गुरौ । श्रीगंधारवास्तव्यप्रागवंशज्ञातीय । संघ-
3. ॥ वी श्रीजावडा सुत सं° श्री[सीपा] भार्या बाई ॥
4. ॥ गिर [सुनाम्ना सुत । सं ।] जिवंत भ्रातृ । सं । काउ-
5. ॥ जी । सं । श्र[ढ़]जी । प्रमुख[स्व]कुटंबेन युतः ॥
6. ॥ श्रीपार्श्वनाथदेवकुलिका । कारापिता ॥
7. ॥ श्रीतपागच्छे । श्रीविजयदानसूरि[:] श्री-
8. ॥ हीरविसूरिप्रसादात [त्] ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥:

No. VII.[77]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाष शुदि ५ गुरु
2. ॥ श्रीअह्म.ावादवास्तव्यदोसावालज्ञा-
3. ॥ तीय महं श्रीवणाइग सुत महं । श्रीगला
4. ॥ भार्या बाई मंगाई सुत । महं । वीरदास
5. ॥ स्वकुटंबेन युतः । श्रीसित्रंजयोपरि श्री-
6. ॥ आदिनाथदेवकुलिका कारापिता । श्री-
7. ॥ तपागच्छेश्रीविजयदानसूरिश्रीहीरवि-
8. ॥ जयसूरिप्रसादात् ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. VIII.[78]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्ष वैशाष शुदि
2. ॥ २दिने गंधारवास्तव्यप्राग्वाश[वांश]व्यो । श्री
3. ॥ परबत सुत व्यो° फोका सु° व्यो । व[—]
4. ॥ श्रा स्वकुटंबेन युतः श्रीसित्रंजयो-
5. ॥ परि देवकुलिका कारापिता । श्रीत-
6. ॥ पागच्छेविबुधशिरोमणिश्रीविजय-
7. ॥ दानसूरिप्रसादात् ॥ ॥: श्रीः ॥

No. IX.[79]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ उँ नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशा शु-
2. ॥ दि ५ दिने गंधारवास्तव्यप्रागवांशज्ञातीय ।
3. ॥ व्यो° ममरीश्रा भार्या बाई । भोलु पुत्री बा-
4. ॥ ई वेरथाई । बाई । कोबाई स्वकुटंबेन यु-
5. ॥ तः । श्रीशांतिनाथदेवकुलिका कारा-
6. ॥ पिता । श्रीतपागच्छेविबुधसरोमणि[80]

[76] In a cell against the wall of the Âdîśvara temple, at the north-east corner.
[77] In a cell to the right of that containing the preceding.—J. B.
[78] In a small shrine, or cell, to the left of the north entrance to, and against the wall of the Adiśvara temple. —J. B.
[79] In the cell to the right, or west, of the north door of the Âdiśvara temple.—J. B.
[80] Read °शिरोमणि.

L. 7. ॥ श्रीविजयदानसूरि । श्रीहीरविजय ।

8. ॥ सूरिप्रसादात् ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ :श्री

No. X.[91]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ उँ नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशा-

2. ॥ ष शुदि ५ गुरुदिने श्रीगंधारवास्तव्य-

3. ॥ श्रीश्रीमालीयज्ञातीय परी । देवा भा-

4. ॥ र्या बाई[°] कमलाई सुत परी । मंघो । तथा

5. ॥ गूजरज्ञातीय दोसी । श्रीकर्ण भा[°] बा

6. ॥ अमरो सुत । दोसी । हंसराज उभयौ ।

7. ॥ मीलने श्रीसिद्वंजयोपरि श्रीआदिना-

8. ॥ थदेवकुलिका कारापिता श्रीतपागछे-

9. ॥ श्रीविजयदानसूरिप्रसादात [त्]॥

No. XI.[92]

L. 1. संवत् १६४० वर्षे फागुण[93] शुदि १३ दने[94]

2. ठाकर करमसी भार्जा बाई सली ठाकर

3. दामा भार्जा बाई चडी ठाकर माइव ठा-

4. कर जसू ठाकर षीम ठाकर जसूजी भा-

5. र्जा बाई जीवादे ठाकर माइव सुत ते-

6. जपाल भार्जा बाई तेजलदे संघवी

7. जसू सूत तेजपाल प्रसाद[95] करा-

8. पितं सुभ भवतु[96] ॥ दो[°] नाकर सेठ नावाणि

9. ७४ ॥ चडी मावाल ।

No. XII.[97]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ उँ नमः ॥

श्रेयर्स्त्री प्रथमः प्रभुः प्रथिमभाग् नैपुण्यपुण्यात्मना ।-

मस्तु स्वस्तिकरः सुखाब्धिमकरः श्री — —

2. देवः स वः

पद्मोल्लासकरः करैरिव रविर्व्योम्नि क्रमांभोरुह ।-

न्यासैर्यस्तिलकीबभूव भगवाञ् शत्रुंजयेनेक-

3. शः ॥१॥[98]

श्रीसिद्वार्थनरेशवंशसरसीजन्माजिनीवल्लभः ॥

[91] In the left end of the verandah to some small chapels or cells on the west of the preceding, and against the north wall of the great temple.—J. B.

[92] On the Simhâsana of the image in a temple to the south-east of the great Âdîśvara temple.—J. B.

[93] Read फालगुण.

[94] Read दिने.

[95] Read प्रासा°.

[96] Read शुभं भवतु.

[97] In the porch of the east, or front entrance of the Âdîśvara temple, on the south or left hand, facing No. I A transcript is given in the *Lists*, pp. 188. After this inscription No. cxviij should follow.—J. B

[98] Metre of verses 1—3: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Read श्री आदिदेवः

पायाद्वः परमप्रभावभवनं श्रीवर्द्धमानः प्रभुः ।
उत्पत्तिस्थिति[सं-]

L. 4. हृतिप्रकृतिवाग् यद् गौर्जगत्पावनी ।
स्वर्वापीव महाव्रतिप्रणयभूरासीद् रसोल्लासिनी ॥ २
आसीद्धामवहृंदवंदितपदद्वंद्व-

5. पद सपदां ।
तत्पट्टांबुधिचंद्रमा गणधरः श्रीमान् सुधर्म्माभिधः ।
यस्यौदार्ययुता प्रहृष्टसुमना अद्यापि विद्यावती ॥
धत्ते

6. संततिरुन्नतिं भगवतो वीरप्रभोर्गौरिव ॥ ३[89]
श्रीसुस्थितः सुप्रतिबुद्ध एतौ ।
सूरी अभूता तदनुक्रमेण ।
याभ्या गणो ऽ भू-

7. दिह कोटिकाह्व ।-
श्चंद्रायमभ्यामिव सुप्रकाशः ।४।[90]
तत्राभूद्वज्रिणां वंद्यः । श्रीवज्रर्षिगणाधिपः ।
मूलं श्रीवज्रशाखाया । गं-

8. गाया हिमवानिव । ५[91]
तत्पट्टांबरदिनमणि । रुदितः श्रीवज्रसेनगुरुरासीत् ।
नागेंद्रचंद्रनिर्वृति । विद्याधरसंज्ञकाश्च तच्छिष्याः

9. । ६ ।[92]
स्वस्वनामसमानानि । येभ्यश्चत्वारि जज्ञिरे ।
कुलानि काममेतेषु कुलं चांद्रं तु दिद्युते ॥ ७ [॥][93]
भास्करा इव तिमिरं । हरंतः ख्याति-

10. भाजनं ।
भूरयः सूरयस्तत्र । जज्ञिरे जगतां मताः । ८ ।
बभूवुः क्रमतस्तत्र श्रीजगच्चंद्रसूरयः ।
यैस्तपाबिरुदं लेभे । बाणसिद्धा ऽ र्क

11. १२८५ वत्सरे ॥ ९
क्रमेणास्मिन् गणे हेम । विमलाः सूरयोभवन् ।
तत्पट्टे सूरयोभूव । न्नानंदविमलाभिधाः ॥ १० [॥]
साध्वाचारविधिः प-

12. थः शिथिलतः सम्यक् श्रियां धाम यै ।-
रुद्दध्रे स्तनसिद्धिसायकसुधारोचिर्निभे १५८२ नेहसि ।
जीमूतैरिव यैर्जगत्पुनरिदं तापं

[89] Read द्वंद्वः पदं सपदां.
[90] Metre : Indravajrâ.—Read अभूतां याभ्यां.
[91] Metre. Anushṭubh.
[92] Metre Gîti
[93] Metre of verses 7—10 · Anushṭubh.—Read जज्ञिरे.

H 2

L. 13. हरङ्घिभ्रशं ।
सश्रीकं विदधे गवां शुचितमै: स्तोमै रसोल्लासिभि: ॥ ११ ।[94]
पद्माश्रयैरलमलंक्रियते स्म तेषां ।
प्रीणन्मनां-
14. सि जगतां कमलोदयेन ।
पट्ट: प्रवाह इव निर्ज्झरनिर्करिख्या: ।
शुद्धात्मभिर्विजयदानमुनीशहंसै: ॥ १२ ।[95]
सौभाग्यहरिसर्व[प]-
15. र्वहरणं[96] रूपं च रंभापति ।-
श्रोजैत्रं शतपत्रमित्रमहसां चौरं प्रतापं पुन: ।
येषां वीक्ष्य सनातनं मधुरिपुस्त्व:स्वामिधर्म्मांशवो ।
जाता:
16. काममपत्रपाभरभृतो गोपलमासास्वय: ॥ १३ ॥[97]
तत्पट्ट: प्रकट: प्रकामकलितोद्‌द्योतस्तथा सौधव[त्] ।
सच्चैहैर्य[त]राज-
17. हीरविजयस्नेहप्रियैर्निर्म्ममे ।
सौभाग्यं महसां भरेण महतामत्यर्थमुल्लासिनां ।
बिभ्राण: स यथाजनिष्ट सुदृशां कामप्र-
18. मोदास्पदं ॥ १४
देशाद् गूर्जरतोथ सूरिवृषभा आकारिता: सादर[रं] ।
श्रीमत्साहिअकब्बरेण विषय[98] मेवातसंज्ञं शुभम् ।
शा-
19. — — — जपाणयोवतमसं सर्वं हरंतो गवां ।
स्तोमै: सूत्रितविश्वविश्वकमलोल्लासैर्नभोर्का इव ॥ १५ ।
चक्रु: फतेपुरम-
20. — — — — [र्न]भीम ।
दृग् युग्मकोककुलमासमुखं सृजंत: ।
अब्दंकपावकनृपप्रमिते १६३८ स्वगोभि: ।
सोल्ला-
21. — — — — — — बुजकाननम् ये ॥ १६ ।[99]
दामैवाखिलभूपमूर्द्धसु निजाभाज्ञां सदा धारयन् ।
श्रीमान् शाहिअकब्बरो नरवरो[देशेष्व]
22. शेषेष्वपि ।
षण्मासाभयदानपुष्टपटहोद्‌घोषानघध्वसिन: ।
कामं कारयति स्म हृष्टहृदयो यद्वाक्कलारजित: ।[100]

[94] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Read °ङ्घ्रिभ्रंशं.

[95] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.—Read °निर्झरिण्या:

[96] Read सौभाग्य.

[97] Metre of verses 13—15: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[98] Read विषय.

[99] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[100] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Read °ध्वंसिन: । °रञ्जित

L. 23. ॥ १७ [॥]

यपुपदेशवशेन मुदं दधन्निखिलमण्डलवासिजने निजे ।

मृतधनं च करं च सुजीजिआभिधमकब्बरभूपतिरत्यजत्

24. [1]॥ १८ [॥]

यद्वाचा कतकाभया विमलितस्वांतांबुपूरः कृपा ।-

पूर्णः शाहिरनिंद्यनीतिवनिताक्रो [डीकृतात्मा]त्यजत् ।

शुल्कं त्य [क्तु]

25. [म] शक्यमन्यधरणीराजां जनप्रीतये ।

तद्वाबीडजपुंजपूरुषपशूंश्चामूमुचद्गरिशः ॥ १८ ॥[2]

यद्वाचां[3] निचयैर्मुधाकृतसुधास्वा [दै]

26. [र] मंदैः कृता ।-

ल्हादः श्रीमदकब्बरः चितिपतिः संतुष्टिपुष्टाशयः ।

त्यक्त्वा तत्करमर्थसार्थमतुलं येषां मनःप्रीतये ।

जैनेभ्य-

27. : प्रददौ च तीर्थतिलकं शत्रुंजयोर्वीधरं ॥ २०[॥]

यद्वाग्भिर्मुदितश्चकार करुणास्फूर्ज्जन्मनाः पौस्तकं ।

भांडागारमपारवाङ्मय-

28. मयं वेश्मेव वाग्दैवतं ।

यत्संवेगभरेण भावितमतिः शाहिः पुनः प्रत्यहं ।

पूतात्मा बहु मन्यते भगवतां सद्दर्शनो दर्शनम् ॥ २१[॥]

29. यद्वाचा तरणित्विषेव कलितोल्लासं मनः पंकजं ।

बिभ्रच्छाहिरकब्बरो व्यसनधीपाथोजिनी चंद्रमाः ।

जज्ञे श्राद्धजनोचितैश्च सुकृतै-

30. :सर्वेषु देशेष्वपि ।

ख्यातोर्हतभक्तिभावितमतिः[4] श्रीश्रेणिकच्मापवत् ॥ २२ ॥

लुंपाकाधिपमेघजीऋषिमुखा हित्वा कुमत्याग्रह ।[5]

मेजुर्यच्च-

31. रणद्वयोमनुदिनं भृंगा इवांभोजिनीं ।

उल्लासं गमिता यदीयवचनैर्वैराग्यरंगोन्मुखे ।-

र्व्वांताः स्वस्वमतं विहाय बहवो लोकास्तपासंचका-

32. ॥२३[॥]

आसीच्चैत्यविधापनादिसुकृतक्षेत्रेषु वित्तव्ययो ।

भूयान् यद्वचनेन गूर्ज्जरधरामुख्येषु देशेष्व ऽलं ।

यात्रां गूर्ज्जरमालवादिकमहादेशो-

33. द्भवैर्भूरिभिः ।

संघैः सार्द्धमृषीश्वरा विदधिरे शत्रुंजये ये गिरौ ॥ २४[॥]

[1] Read यदुपदे°. Metre: Drutavilambita.

[2] Metre of vv. 19–24: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[3] Read यद्वाचा.

[4] Read विख्या?

[5] Read °ग्रहं.

तत्पट्टमब्धिमिव रम्यतमं सृजंतः ।
स्तोमैर्गवां सकलसंतमसं हरंतः [।]
[क]-
L. 34. ामोल्लसत्कुवलयप्रणया जयंति [।]
स्फूर्ज्जत्कला विजयसेनमुनींद्रचंद्राः । २५[॥][6]
यत्प्रतापस्य माहात्म्यं वर्ण्यते किमतः परं ।
अस्वप्नाश्चक्रिरे येन जीवं[तो]-
35. पि हि वादिनः । २६[॥][7]
सौभाग्यं विषमायुधात्कमलिनीकांताच्च तेजस्विना ।-
मैश्वर्यं गिरिजापतेः कुमुदिनीकांतात्कलामालिनां ।
माहात्म्यं ध-
36. रणीधरान्मखभुजां गांभीर्यमंभोनिधे ।-
रादायांबुजभूः प्रभुः प्रविदधे यन्मूर्त्तिमेतन्मयीं । २७[॥][8]
ये च श्रीमदकब्बरेण विनयादाकारिताः
37. सादरं ।
श्रीमल्लाभपुरं पुरंदरपुरं व्यक्तं सुपर्वोत्करैः ।
भूयोभिर्व्रतिभिर्बुधैः परिवृतो [ा]वेगादलंचक्रिरे ।
सामोदं सरसं सरोरुहवनं लीलामराला
38. इव । २८[॥]
अर्हंतं परमेश्वरत्वकलितं संस्थाप्य विश्वोत्तमं ।
साक्षात्साहिअकब्बरस्य सदसि स्तोमैर्गवामुद्यतैः ।
यैः संमीलिवलोचना[9] विदधिरे
39. इत्यक्षशूरैः[10] श्रिया ।
वादोन्मादभृतो द्विजातिपतयो भट्टा निशाटा इव ॥ २९[॥]
श्रीमत्साहिअकब्बरस्य सदसि प्रोत्सर्प्पिभिर्भूरिभि- [।]
र्वादैर्वादि-
40. वरान् विजित्य समदान्सिंहैर्द्विपेंद्रानिव ।
सर्वज्ञाशयतुष्टिहेतुरनघो दिश्युत्तरस्यां स्फुरन् ।
यैः कैलास इवोज्वलो निजयशःस्तंभो
41. निचख्ने महान् । ३०[10][॥]
दत्तसाहसधीरहीरविजयश्रीसूरिराजां पुरा ।
यच्छ्रीशाहिअकब्बरेण धरणीशक्रेण तत्प्रीतये ।
तच्चक्रेखिलमप्यबालम-
42. तिना यत्साज्जगत्साक्षिकं [।]
तत्पत्रं फुरमाणसंज्ञमनघसर्वां[11] दिशो व्यानशे ॥ ३१[॥]

6 Vasantatilakâ.
7 Anushṭubh.
8 Metre of vv. 27—31, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
9 Read °लितलो°.
10 Perhaps meant for प्रत्यक्ष°.
11 Read दत्तं, °नघं स°.

किं च गोहषभकासरकांता ।-
कासरा यमगृहं न हि नेया: ।
मोच्य-
L 43. मेव मृतवित्तमशेषं [।]
बंदिनोपि हि न च ग्रहणीया: ॥ ३२ ॥[12]
यत्कलासलिलवाहविलासप्रीतचित्ततरुणाजनतुष्ट्यै ।
स्वीकृतं स्वयमकब्बरधात्रीस्वामि-
44. ना सकलमेतदपोह ॥ ३३ ॥
चोलीवेगमनंदनेन वसुधाधीशेन सन्मानिता ।
गुर्व्वीं गूर्ज्जरमेदिनीमनृदिनं स्वर्लोकबिब्बोकिनी ।
45. सद्वृत्ता महसां भरेण सुभगा गाढं गुणोल्लासिनी ।
ये हारा इव कंठमंबुजदृशां कुर्वंति शोभास्पदं ॥ ३४ ॥[13]
इतश्च ॥
आभूरान्वय[प]-
46. द्मपद्मसवया उकेशवंशेभव ।-
च्छेष्टी[14] श्रीशिवराज इत्यभिधया सौवर्ण्णिक: पुण्यधी: ।
तत्पुत्रोजनि सीधरश्च तनयस्तस्याभवत्पर्वत: ।
[क]-
47. लाह्वोजनि तत्सुतश्च तनुजस्तस्यापि वाघाभिध: । ३५[॥]
तस्याभूद्दच्छिआभिधश्च तनुज: ख्यातो रजाइभव ।-
स्तस्याभूच्च सुहासिणी [ति]
48. गृहिणी पद्मेव पद्मापते: ।
इंद्राणीसुरराजयोरिव जय: पुत्रस्तयोश्चाभव ।-
त्तेज:पाल इति प्रहृष्टसुमना: पित्रोर्मन:प्रीतिकृत् । ३६[॥]
[का]-
49. मस्येव रतिर्हरेरिव रमा गौरीव गौरीपते ।-
रासीत्तेजलदे इति प्रियतमा तस्याकृति: [— — —] ।
भोगश्रीसुभगो गुरौ प्रणयिनौ शश्वत्सुपर्वादरौ ।
पौलो-
50. मीच्चिदशेश्वराविव सुखं तौ दंपती भेजतु: ॥ ३७ ।
वैराग्यवारिनिधिपूर्णनिशाकराणां ।
तेषां च हीरविजयव्रतिसिंधुराणां ।
सौभाग्य [भा]-
51. ग्यपरभागविभासुराणां ।
तेषां पुनर्विजयसेनमुनीश्वराणां ॥ ३८ ।[15]
वाग्भिर्मुधाकृतसुधाभिरुदंचिचेता: ।
श्राद्ध: स शोभनमना भज-

[12] Metre of vv. 32 and 33, Svâgatâ.
[13] Metre of vv. 34—36, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[14] Read °च्छेष्ठी.
[15] Metre of vv. 38, 39: Vasantatilakâ

L. 52. ति स्म भावं [।]
श्रीसं[घभ]क्तिधनदानजिनंद्रचैत्यो-[।]
द्धारादिकर्म्मसु भृश सुकृतिप्रियेषु ॥३९॥[16]
विशेषकं ।
ग्रहैः प्रशस्तेन्हि सुपार्श्वभर्त्तु-
53. [र]नंतभर्त्तुश्च शुभां प्रतिष्ठां ।
सो ऽ चीकरत्षड्युगभूप १६४६ वर्षे ।
हर्षेण सौवर्णिकतेजपालः । ४० [॥][17]
आदावार्षभिरत्र तीर्थतिलके शत्रुं[ज]-
54. ये ऽ चोकर ।
सैत्यं[18] शैत्यकरं दृशोर्मणिगणस्वर्णादिभिर्भासुरं ।
अत्रान्येपि भुजार्जितां फलवतीमुच्चैः सृजंतः श्रियं ।
[प्रा]-
55 सादतदनुक्रमेण बहवश्चाकारयन् भूभुजः ॥ ४२[॥][19]
तीर्थेत्र साधुकरमाभिधो धनो सिद्धिसिन्धिन्धि १५८८ संख्ये ।
चैत्यम[चो]-
56. करदुक्तेरानंदविमलमुनिराजां ॥४३।[20]
तं वीक्ष्य जीर्णं भगवद्विहारं ।
स तेजपालः स्वहृदीति दध्यौ ।
भावी कदा सो ऽवस-
57. रो वरीयान् ।
यत्रा ऽत्र चैत्यं भविता नवीनं ॥ ४४ ॥[21]
अन्येद्युः स्वगुरूपदेशशरदा कामं वलक्षीकृत ।-
स्वांतांभाः स वणिग् व[र] पु-
58. रवरे श्रीस्तंभतीर्थे वसन् ।
तीर्थे श्रीमति तुंगतीर्थतिलके शत्रुंजयेहद्गृहो [।]-
द्धारं कर्त्तुमना अजायततमां साफल्यमिच्छञ् श्रियः । ४५[॥][22]
59. अत्र स्यात् सुकृतं कृतं तनुमतां श्रेयः श्रियां कारणं ।
मत्वेवं निजपूर्वजव्रजमहानंदप्रमोदाप्तये ।
तीर्थे श्रीविमलाचलेतिविमले [।]
60. मौलिर्हतो मंदिरे ।
जीर्णोद्धारमकारयत्स सुकृती कुंतीतनूजन्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥
शृंगेण भिन्नगगनांगणमेतदुच्चै ।-
श्चैत्यं चकास्ति शि-

[16] Read °जिनेंद्र°, भृश.
[17] Metre: Upajâti
[18] Read ऽचीकरच्चैत्य.
[19] Śârdulavikrîḍita. The figure 89 is missing: Read प्रासादे
[20] Metre. Âryâ.—Read °नंद.
[21] Metre Upajâti.
[22] Metre of vv. 45, 46: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

L. 61. खरस्थितहैमकुंभं ।
हस्तेषु ५२ हस्तमितमुच्चमुपैति नाक ।-
लक्ष्मीं विजेतुमिव काममखर्वगर्वा । ४७[॥][23]
यत्रार्हदोकसि जितागरकुम्-
62. भिकुंभाः ।
कुंभा विभांति शरवेदकरेंदु १२४५ संख्याः ।
किं सेवितुं प्रभुमयुः[24] प्रचुरप्रताप ।-
पूरैर्जिता दिनकराः कृतनैकरूपाः । ४८[॥]
63. उन्मूलितप्रमदभूमिरुहानशेषान् ।
विश्वेषु विघ्नकरिणो युगपद्विहंतुं ।
सज्जाः स्म इत्यमभिधातुमिवेंदुनेत्राः २१ ।
सिंहा विभांत्युप-
64. गता जिनधाम्नि यत्र ॥ ४९ ॥
योगिन्यो यत्र शोभंते चतस्रो जिनवेश्मनि ।
निषेवितुमिवाक्रांताः प्रतापैरागता दिशः । ५०[॥][25]
राजंते च दि-
65. शां पाला [— ı] यत्रा ऽ र्हदालये ।
मूर्त्तिमंत × किमायाता धर्म्मास्संयमिनाममी । ५१[॥]
द्वासप्ततिः श्रियमयंति जिनेंद्रचंद्र ।-
बिंबानि देवकुलि-
66. कासु च तावतीषु ।
द्वासप्ततेः श्रितजनालिकलालतानां ।
किं कुट्मला×परिमलैर्भुवनं भरंतः । ५२ ॥[26]
राजते यत्र चत्वारो गवाक्षा जिनवे-
67. श्मनि ।
विरंचेरिव वक्त्राणि विश्वाकारणहेतवे ॥ ५३ ॥[27]
यत्र चैत्ये विराजंते । चत्वारश्च तपोधनाः ।
अमी धर्म्माः किमाया-
68. ताः । प्रभूपास्त्यै वपुर्भृतः ॥ ५४ ॥
पंचालिकाः श्रियमयति जिनेंद्रधाम्नि ।
द्वात्रिंशदिंद्रमणीभरजैत्ररूपाः ।
ज्ञात्वा पतीनि-
69. द्र जिने किमु लक्षणज्ञा ।-
राजां प्रिया मिजनिजेशनिभालनोत्काः ॥ ५५ ॥[28]
द्वात्रिंशदुत्तमतमानि च तोरणानि ॥
राजंति य-

[23] Metre of vs. 47—49: Vasantatilakâ.
[24] °यु: visible on the reverse.
[25] Metre of vs. 50: 51: Anushṭubh.
[26] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.
[27] Metre of vs. 53, 54: Anushṭubh.
[28] Metre of vs. 55, 56: Vasantatilakâ.

L. 70. त्र जिनधाम्नि मनोहराणि ।
किं तीर्थकृद्‌दयनलक्ष्मिमृगेक्षणाना ।-
मंदोलनानि सरलानि सुखासनानि ॥ ५६
गजाश्वतु-
71. र्विंशतिर ऽ द्रितुगा ।
विभांति शस्ता जिनधाम्नि यत्र ।
देवाश्चतुर्विंशतिरीशभक्त्यै ।
किमागता: कुञ्जररूपभाज: ॥ ५७ ॥[29]
स्तं-
72. भाश्चतुस्सप्ततिर ऽ द्रिराजो ।-
त्तुंगा विभांतीह जिनेंद्रचैत्ये ।
दिशाम ऽ धीशै: सह सर्व्व इंद्रा ।-
× किमाप्तभक्त्यै समुपेयिवांस: ॥ क्व
73. ॥ ५८ ॥
रम्यं नंदपयोधिभूपति १६४९ मिते वर्षे सुखोत्कर्षकृत्
साहाय्याद् जसुठकुरस्य सुकृतारामैकपाथोमुच: ॥
प्रासा (।)-
74. दं वच्छिआसुतेन सुधिया शत्रुंजये कारितं ॥
दृष्ट्वा ऽ ष्टापदतीर्थचैत्यतुलितं केषां न चित्ते रति: ॥ ५९ ॥[30]
चैत्यं चतुर्खामिव धर्म्म-
75. मेदिनी ॥-
भुजां गृहं प्रीणितविश्वविष्टपम् ॥
शत्रुंजयोर्व्वीभृति नदिं वर्द्धना ।-
ऽ भिधं सदा यच्छतु वांछितानि व: ॥ ६० ॥[31]
[—]
76. य: प्रभाभरविनिर्म्मितनेत्रशैत्ये ।
चैत्ये ऽ त्र भूरिर ऽ भवद् विभवव्ययो य: ।
ज्ञात्वा वदंति मनुजा इति तेजपालं ॥
क-
77. ल्पद्रुमत्ययमनेन धनव्ययेन । ६१ ॥[32]
शत्रुंजये गगनबाणकला १६५० मिते ऽ ब्दे ।
यात्रां चकार सुकृताय स तेजपा ।-
78. ल: ॥
चैत्यस्य तस्य सुदिने गुरुभि: प्रतिष्ठा ॥
चक्रे च हीरविजया ऽभिधसूरिसिंहै: ॥ ६२ ॥
मार्त्तण्डमंडलमिवांबुरुहां

[29] Metre of vs. 57, 58 : Upajâti.
[30] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[31] Metre · Upajâti of Indravamśâ and Vamśastha.
[32] Metre of vs. 61, 63 : Vasantatilakâ.

L. 79. समूहः ॥
पीयूषरश्मिमिव नीरनिधेः प्रवाहः ।
केकिव्रजः सलिलवाहमिवाऽतितुंगं ।
चैत्यं निरीक्ष्य मुदमेति जनः
80. समस्तः ॥ ६३ ॥ क्ष
चैत्यं चारु चतुर्मुखं क्षतसुखं श्रीरामजीकारितं ।
प्रोत्तुंगं जसुठक्कुरेण विहितं चैत्यं द्वितीयं शुभं ।
रम्यं कुंअ-
81. रजीविनिर्मितमऽ॥ भूचैत्यं तृतीयं पुन ।-
र्मूलश्रेष्ठिकृतं निकामसुभग चैत्यं चतुर्थं तथा ॥ ६४ ।[33]
एभिर्विश्वविसारिभिर्द्युतिभरैर-
82. त्यर्थसंसूचितोद् ।-
द्योतो दिक्ष्व ऽ खिलासु निर्ज्जरपतिः स्वर्लोकपालैरिव ।
श्रीशत्रुंजयशैलमौलिमुकुटं चैत्यैश्चतुर्भिर्यु-
83. तः ॥
प्रासादों ऽ गिमनोवि ॥ नोदकमलाचैत्यं चिरं नंदतु ॥ ६५ ॥
वस्ताभिधस्य वरसूत्रधरस्य शिल्पं ॥
चैत्यं चिरादिदमुदीक्ष्य
84. निरीक्षणीयं ।
शिथत्वमिच्छति ॥ कलाकलितोपि विश्व ।-
कर्म्मास्य शिल्पिपटले भवितुं प्रसिद्धः ॥ ६६ ।[34]
सदाचाराब्धीनां कमलविज-
85. याह्वानसुधियां ।
पदद्वंद्वांभोजभ्रमरसदृशो हेमविजयः ।
अलंकारैराढ्यां स्त्रियमिव शुभां यां विहितवान् ।
प्रशस्तिः श[स्ते-]
86. षा जगति चिरकालं विजयतां ॥ ६७ ।
इति सौवर्णिकसाहश्रीतेजःपालोद्धृतविमलाचल-
[पट्ट] नश्रीआदीशमूलप्रासादप्रशस्तिः [श्रे]य-[36]
87. बुधसहजसागराणां । विनेयजयसागरो ऽ लिखद्वर्णैः ।
शिल्पिभ्यामुत्कीर्णा । माधवनानाभिधानाभ्यां ॥ ६८ ॥[37]

No. XIII.[38]

L. 1. ॥ ओं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १६५२ वर्षे मार्गे वदि २ सोमवासरे पुष्यनक्षत्रे निष्प्रतिमसं वेगवैरा-

2. निःस्पृहतादिगुणरंजितेन सहिश्रीअकबरनरेंद्रेण प्रतिवर्षं षाण्मासिकसकलजंतुजाता-

[33] Metre of vs. 64, 65: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Read °श्रेष्ठि.

[34] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[35] Metre: Śikhariṇî.

[36] Read श्रेय-

[37] Metre: Âryâ beginning with बुध°.

[38] Round a pair of Pâdukas in a small temple to the west of Âdîśvara Bhagavâna temple:—*Lists of Ant. Rem.*, p. 198, No. 119.—J. B.

3. भयदानप्रवर्त्तनसर्वकालीनगवादिवधनिवर्त्तनजीजिश्रादिकरमोचनमुंडका-
4. भिधानकरमोचनपूर्वकश्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थसमर्पणादिपुरस्सरं प्रदत्तबहु २ मानानां नानादे-
5. शीयसंघसमुदायेन सह श्रीशत्रुंजये कृतयात्राणां जगद्विख्यातमहिमपात्राणां सं°१६५२ व-
6. र्षे भाद्र सितैकादश्यां उन्नतदुर्गे अनशनपूर्वकं महोत्सवेन साधितोत्तमार्थानां तपागच्छा-
धिराजभट्टा
7. श्रीहीरविजयसूरीणां पादुका: कारि° स्तंभतीर्थीय सं° उदयकरणेन प्र°भ°
8. श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभि: ॥ महोपाध्याय श्रीकल्याणविजयगणय: पं° धनविजय-
9. — शिष्यां स[ढ]प्रणमंति ॥ एताश्च भ[वा]
10. [— — रा] राध्यमानाश्चिरं
11. [नंदं] तु ॥ ॥ श्री: ॥

No. XIV.[39]

L. 1. १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ शुक्रे संघवालगो-
2. त्रो[40] काचरसंताने सा° केल्हा पुत्र सा° थन्ना
3. पु° नरसिंघ पु° कुंश्ररा पु° नच्छा भार्या नव-
4. रंगदे पु° सुरताण भार्या सैंदूरदे पुत्र श्रीशत्रुं-
5. यतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलक[41]-
6. सप्तक्षेत्रोप्तस्ववित्त सा° षेतसी भा° सोभागदे
7. पु° पदमसी भार्या प्रेमलदे पु° इंद्रजी भार्या [श्रा]
8. ° वीरमदे द्वितीयपुत्र सोमसी स्वलघुपुत्र सा°
9. विमलसी भार्या लाडिमदे पुत्र पोमसी द्वितीय·
10. भार्या विमलादे पुत्र दूजणसी पोमसी भार्या
11. केसरदे पुत्र वि° डूंगरसी प्रमुखपुत्रपौत्रप्र-
12. पौत्रपरिवारसहितेन चतुर्मुखविहारपूर्वा-
13. भिमुखस्थाने — — — — देवगृहिका कुटुंब-
14. श्रेयोर्थं[42] कारिता श्रीबृहत्खरतरगच्छाधिराज-
15. युगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरिपट्टालंकारक[°]
16. शत्रुंजयाष्टमोद्धारप्रतिष्ठाकारकश्रीजिनराज-
17. सूरिसूरि[समाजराजाधि]राजै: [43][॥]

No. XV.[44]

L. 1. ॥ सं° १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ तिथौ शुक्रवारे सुरताणनूरदीनजहांगीरसवाइविजयिराज्ये ॥ श्री:
2. श्रहम्मदावास्तव्यप्राग्व टज्ञातीयलघुशाखाप्रदीपक सं° माईश्रा भार्या नाकू पुत्र सं° जोगी भार्या
जसमादे
3. पुत्ररत्न सकलसुश्रवककर्त्तव्यताकरणविहितयत्न सं° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्र संघपति
रूपजीकेन भाया

[39] On the shrine door of the temple of Puṇḍarîka in front of the Chaumukha temple in the Kharataravasî Ṭuṅk; *Lists*, p. 205, No. 312.—J. B.

[40] Read °त्रे.

[41] Read °शत्रुंजय°.

[42] Read कुटुंब°.

[43] Read °राजाधि°.

[44] Round *pâdukas* in a small temple in the north-west of the Kharataravasî Ṭuṅk; Lines 1, 2 and 3, are on the south, west and north sides respectively, and 4—6 on the east. *Lists*, p. 206, No. 320.—J. B.

L. 4. जेठी पुत्र चि° उदयवंत बाई कोडिकुंअरिप्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंकारितसप्राकारश्री-
5. विमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारकश्रीयुगादिदेवप्रतिष्ठायां श्रीआदिनाथ-
पादुके परमप्रमोदाय
6. कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते च श्रीबृहत्खरतरगच्छाधिराजश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिशिरस्तिलकैः ॥ प्रणमति
भुवनकीर्त्तिगणिः ॥

No. XVI.[45]

L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ शुक्रे ॥ श्रीओसवालज्ञातीयलोढागोत्रीय सा° रायमल्ल भार्या
2. रंगादे पुत्र सा° जयवंत भार्या जयवंतदे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मकारकश्रीशत्रुंजययात्रा
3. विधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलक सं° राजसीकेन[1] भार्या कसुंभदेव तुरंगदे पु° अषयराज भार्या अह-
4. कारदे
5. पु° अजयराज स्वभ्रातृ सं° अमीपाल भार्या गूजरदे पु° वीरधवल भा° [ज]गतादे स्वलघुभ्रा-
6. तृ सं° वीरपाल भार्या लीलादे प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन श्रीआदिनाथपादुके कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते
युगप्रधानश्रीजि[न]
7. सिंहसूरिपट्टोद्योतकश्रीजिनराजसूरिभिः श्रीशत्रुंजयोद्धारप्रतिष्ठाया[ं] श्रीबृहत्खरतरगच्छाधि
राजै [: ॥]

No. XVII.[46]

L. 1. सं° १६७५ मिते सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहिजादासुरताणषोस[ड्] प्रवरे
श्रीराजी
2. नगरे सोबदसाहियानसुरताणषुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्रे श्रीअहम्मदावास्तव्यलघुशाखाप्रकट-
प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय सं° देवराज भार्या
3. [ड्]डी पुत्र सं° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र सं° राजा पुत्र सं° साईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र सं° जोग
भार्या जसमादे पुत्ररत्न श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तश्रीसंघपतितिलकनवीनजिनभ-
वनबिंबप्रतिष्ठासाधर्मिकवात्सल्यादिधर्मक्षेत्री-
4. प्तस्वविक्त सं° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे कुक्षिरत्न राजसभाशृंगार सं° [ड्]पजीकेन पितृव्य सं° शिवा
स्ववृद्धभ्रातृ रत्नजी पुत्र सुंदर[दास] सषर लघुभ्रातृ षीमजी पुत्र रविजी स्वभार्या जेठी पु° उदय-
वंत पितामह भ्रातृ सं° नाथा पुत्र सं° सूरजी प्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन
5. स्वयंसमुद्धारितसप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारहारश्रीआदिना-
थबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवपट्टानुपट्टाविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीउद्योतनसूरि
श्रीवर्द्धमानसूरि वसतिमार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वरसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्र-
6. [सू] रि नवांगवृत्तिकारकश्रीस्तंभनकपार्श्वनाथप्रकटकश्रीअभयदेवसूरि श्रीजिनवल्लभसूरि देव-
ताप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनदत्तसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनपत्तिसूरि श्रीजिनेश्वरसूरि
श्रीजिनप्रबोधसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनकुशलसूरि श्रीजिनपद्मसूरि श्री-
7. जिनलब्धिसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनोदयसूरि श्रीजिनराजसूरि श्रीजिनभद्रसूरि श्रीजिन-
चंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरि श्रीजिनहंससूरि श्रीजिनमाणिक्यसूरि दिल्लीपतिपातसाहि-
श्रीअकबरप्रतिबोधकतत्प्रदत्तयुगप्रधानबिरुदधारकसकलदेशाष्टाह्निका-

[45] Round a second pair of feet in the same temple; Line 1 on the south, 2 on the west, 3 and 4 on the south, and 5—7 on the east.

[46] In the Gaumukha shrine, at the entrance of the great temple in the Kharataravasi Ṭunk,—*Lists*, p. 205, No. 310.—J. B.

L. 8. मारिप्रवर्त्तावककुंयित[47] जहांगीरसाहिरंजकतत्सुमंडलबहि:कृतमाधुरत्तकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्र-सूरि मंत्रिकर्मचंद्रकारितसपादकोटिवित्तव्ययरूपनंदिमहोत्सवप्रकारकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारकारकश्रीअ-कबरसाहिमन:कमलभ्रमरानुकारकवर्षावधिजल[48]

9. जलजंतुजातघातनिर्वर्त्तक[49] श्रीपुरगोलकुंडागज्जणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तकसकलविद्याप्रधानजहांगी-रनूरदीमहम्मदपातिसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टालंकारकश्रीअंबिकावरधारकतद्दलवाचित-घंघाणिपुरप्रकटितचिरंतनप्रतिमाप्रशस्ति [व —]-

10. तरबोहित्थवंशीय सा° धर्मसीधारलदेदारकचतु:शास्त्रपारीणधुरीणशृंगारकभट्टारकवृंदारकश्रीजिन-राजसूरिसूरिशिरो[मुकुटै:] ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि श्रीजयसोम महोपाध्याय श्रीगुणविनयोपाध्याय श्रीधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय पं° आनंदकीर्त्ति स्वलघुसहोदर वा° [भद्र]

11. [सेनादिसत्परिकरै: ॥]

No. XVIII.[50]

L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६७५ प्रमिते सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये

2. साहिजादासुरताणषोस[रू]प्रवरे राजनगरे सोबहसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे ॥ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्रे । श्री

3. अहम्मदावादवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय से° देवराज भार्या [रू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भा° राजू पु° से° राजा पु° साईआ भा° नाकू पु° सं° जोगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्ररत्न श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघप-तितिल-

4. कनवीनजिनभवनबिंबप्रतिष्ठासाधर्मिकवात्सल्यादिधर्मक्षेत्रोप्तस्ववित्त सं° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे कुक्षिरत्न संघपति [रू]पजीकेन पितृव्य सं° शिवा स्ववृद्धभ्रातृ रत्नजी सुत सुंदरदास सषर लघुभ्रातृ षीमजी पुत्र रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ सं° नाथा पुत्र सू-

5. रजी स्वपुत्र उदयवंत प्रमुखपरिवृतेन स्वयंसमुद्धृतसप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसार-चतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारश्रीआदिनाथबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवाविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीउद्यो-तनसूरि श्रीवर्द्धमानसूरि वसतिमार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वर-

6. सूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि नवांगवृत्तिकारकश्रीस्तंभनकपार्श्वप्रकटकश्रीअभयदेवसूरि श्रीजिनवल्लभसूरि युगप्रधानश्रीजिनदत्तसूरिया[पा]द श्रीजिनभद्रसूरिया[पा]द श्रीअकबरप्रतिबोधकतत्प्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधार-कसकलदेशाष्टाह्निकामारिपालकषाण्मासिकाभय-

7. दानदायकयुप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि मंत्रिकर्मचंद्रकारितश्रीअकबरसाहिसमक्षसपादशतलक्षवित्तव्यय-रूपनंदिमहोत्सववि [स्तार] विहितकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारमधुरतरातिशायिस्ववचनचातुरीरंजिनाने[51] कहिंदूकतुरष्काधिपतिश्रीअकबरसाहिश्रीका-

8. स्तीपुरगोलकुंडागज्जणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तावकवर्षावधिजलधिजलजंतुजातघातनिवर्त्तावकसुरता-णनूरदीजहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुदप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टप्रभाकरसमुपलब्धश्रीअंबिकावरबोहि-त्थयशीय[52] सा° धर्मसीधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकचक्र-[53]

9. चक्रवर्त्तिभट्टारकशिरस्तिलकश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिराजै: श्रीबृहत्खरतरगच्छाधिराजै: ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि पं° आनंदकीर्त्ति स्वलघुभ्रातृ वा° भद्रसेनादिसत्परिकरै: [॥]

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47 Probably °कुयित.

48 Read °जलधि°.

49 Read °निव°.

50 In the shrine of the great Chaumukha temple (No. 310); on the south image.—J. B.

51 Read रंजिता°.

52 Read वंशीय°.

53 Dele चक्र°.

No. XIX.[54]

L. 1. संवत् १६७५ मिते सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहियादासुरताणषोस[ड़ु]प्र-

2. वरे राजनगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्रे श्रीअहम्मदावादवास्तव्यप्राग्वा-टज्ञातीय से° देवराज सा°

3. [ड़ु]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र से° राजा पुत्र सं° साईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र सं° जोगी भार्या जसमादे पु° श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलकनवीनजिनभवनबिंबसाधार्मिकवात्स-ल्यादिधर्मकृत्यो-

4. प्तस्ववित्त सं° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्ररत्न संघपति [ड़ु]पजीतेन [°कीन] पितृव्य शिवालालजी स्वबृहद्भ्रातृरत्न रत्नजी सुं [दरदास] स्वलघुभ्रातृ षीमजी सुत रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ सं° नाथा पुत्र सूरज स्वपुत्र उदयवंत प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंसमुद्धारित-

5. सप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारहारश्रीआदिनाथबिंबं कारितं प्रति-ष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवाविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीबृहत्खरतरगच्छाधिराजश्रीअकबरसाहिप्रतिबोधकतत्प्रदत्त-युगप्रधानबिरुदधारकषाण्मासिकाभय-

6. दानदायकसकलदेशाष्टाह्निकामारिप्रवर्त्तावकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि मंत्रिमुख्यकर्मचंद्रकारितश्री-अकबरसाहिसमक्षमपादशतलक्षवित्तव्ययरूपनंदिपदमहोत्सवविस्तारविहितकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारमधु-रतरातिशायिस्ववचनचातुरीरंजितानि-

7. कहिंदूकतुरष्कराधिपश्रीअकबरसाहिस्वीकारश्रीपुरगोलकुंडागज्जणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तावकषाव-धिजलधिजलजंतुजातघातनिवं[55]र्त्तावकसुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधारकसकलविद्याप्रधा-नयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टप्रभाक[56]

8. श्रीअंबिकावरप्रवाचितघंघाणीपुरप्रकटितचिरंतनप्रतिमाप्रशस्तिवर्णोत्तरबोहित्थ[वं]शीय सा° धर्म-सीधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकशिरोमणिश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिपुरंदरैः ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि श्रीजयसोममहो-पाध्याय श्रीगुणविनयोपाध्याय श्रीधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय पं° आनंद-

9. कीर्त्ति स्वलघुभ्रातृ वा° भद्रसेन पं° राजधीर पं° भुवनराजादिसत्परिकरैः [॥]

No. XX.[57]

L. 1. संवत् १६७५ प्रमिते ॥ सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहिजादा-

2. सुरताणषोस[रू] प्रवरे श्रीराजनगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्रे श्रीअह-

3. म्मदावादवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय से° देवराज भार्या [ड़ु]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र से-राजा पु° सं° साईआ भार्या नाकू

4. पुत्र सं° जोगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्र श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतिपदवीकनवीन-जिनभवनबिंबप्रतिष्ठासाधर्म्मिवात्सल्यादिसत्कर्मधर्मकारक सं° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्ररत्न संघपति [ड़ु]पजीकेन भार्या जेठी पुत्र

5. उदयवंत पितृव्य सं° शिवा स्वबृहद्भ्रातृ रत्नजी पुत्र सुंदरदास सषर स्वलघुभ्रातृ षीमजी सुत रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ सं° नाथा पुत्र [सं]° सूरजी प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंकारितसप्राकारश्रीविम-लाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारकश्रीआदि-

[54] In the same on the west image.—J. B.

[55] Read निर°.

[56] Read °भाकर.

[57] In the same, on the north image.—J. B.

6. नाथबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीवीरतीर्थंकराविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीबृहत्खरतरगच्छाधिप-श्रीअकबरसाहिप्रतिबोधकतत्प्रदत्तयुगप्रधानबिरुदधारकसकलदेशाष्टाह्निकामारिप्रवर्त्तावकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिन-चंद्रसूरि श्रीअकबर-

7. साहिरंजकविविधजीवदयालाभग्राहकसुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानबिरुदधारकयुग-प्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टविभूषणबोहित्थवंसीय[58] सा° धर्मसीधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकचक्रचूडामणिश्रीजिनराज-सूरिसूरिदिनमणिभिः ॥ आ-

8. चार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि पं° आनंदकीर्त्ति स्वलघुसहोदर वा° भद्रसेनादिसत्परिकरैः ॥

No. XXI.[59]

L. 1. श्रीं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीवत्सभर्त्तापि न विष्णुश्चतुराननः ।
न ब्रह्मा यो वृषांकोऽपि न रुद्रः स जिनः श्रिये ॥ १ ॥[60]
संवत्

2. १६७५ वर्षे शाके १५४१ प्रवर्त्तमाने ।
समग्रदेशशृंगार । हाराहारतिलकोपमम् ।
अनेकेभ्यगृहाकीर्णं । नवीनपुरमु-

3. त्तमं ॥ २ ।
अभ्रंलिहविहाराग्र । ध्वजांशुकहृतातपम् ।
रूप्यस्वर्णमणिव्याप्त । चतुष्पथविराजितम् । ३ । युग्मम्
तत्र राजा

4. [प्र] शास्ति श्रीजसवंताभिधो नृपः ।
यामश्रीशत्रुशल्याह्वकुलांबरनभोमणिः । ४ ।
यत्प्रतापाग्निसंतापसंतप्त इव ताप-

5. नः ।
निर्म्नाति जलधौ नित्यमुन्मज्जननिमज्जने । ५ । युग्मं ।
बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरपट्टानुक्रमभूषणाः ।
श्रीअंचलगणा-

6. तीशा आर्य्यरक्षितसूरयः । ६ ।
तत्पट्टपंकजादित्याः सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः ।
श्रीधर्म्मघोषसूरींद्रा मर्हेंद्रात्सिंहसूरयः[61]

7. । ७ ।
श्रीसिंहप्रभसूरीशाः सूरयोऽजितसिंहकाः ।
श्रीमद्देवेंद्रसूरीशाः श्रीधर्म्मप्रभसूरयः । ८ ।
श्रीसिंहतिलकाह्वाश्च श्रीम-

8. [हें]द्रप्रभाभिधाः ।
श्रीमंतो मेरुतुंगाख्या बभूवुः सूरयस्ततः ॥ ९ ॥

[58] Read °वंशीय.

[59] On the north wall of a temple near the Hâthîpola, in the Vimalavasî Ṭuṅk: *Lists*, p. 201. No. 234.—J. B.

[60] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[61] Probably महेंद्रसिं°.

समग्रगुणसंपूर्णाः सूरिश्रीजयकीर्त्तयः ।
तत्पदेथ सुसाधुश्री-
L. 9. जयकेशरिसूरयः । १० ।
श्रीसिद्धांतसमुद्राख्यसूरयो भूरिकीर्त्तयः ।
भावसागरसूरींद्रास्ततो ऽभूवन् गणाधिपाः ॥ ११ [॥]
श्री-
10. मद्गुणनिधानाख्यसूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् ।
युगप्रधानाः श्रीमंतः सूरिश्रीधर्म्ममूर्त्तयः । १२ ।
तत्पट्टोदयशैलाग्रप्रोद्यत्तरणिसं-
11. निभाः ।
जयंति सूरिराजः श्री । युजः कल्याणसागराः । १३ ।
श्रीनव्यनगरे वास्तु । पकेशज्ञातिभूषणः ।
इभ्यः श्रीह-
12. रपालाह्व आसील्लालणगोत्रकः । १४ ।
हरीयाख्यो ऽथ तत्पुत्रः सिंहनामा तदंगजः ।
उदेसीत्यथ तत्पुत्रः पर्वताह्वस्त-
13. तो ऽभवत् । १५ ।
वच्छूनामा ऽथ तत्पत्नी चाभूद्वाछलदेविका ।
तत्कुच्चिमानसे हंसतुल्यो ऽथा ऽमरसंज्ञकः । १६ ।
लिंग-
14. देवीति तत्पत्नी तदौरस्यास्त्रयो वराः ।
जयंति श्रीवर्द्धमानचांपसीपद्मसिंहकाः । १७ ।
अतः परं विशेषतः साहिवर्द्धमान-
15. साहिपद्मसिंहयोर्वर्णनम् ।
गांभीर्य्येण समुद्राभौ दानेन धनदोपमौ ।
श्रद्धालुगुणसंपूर्णौ बोधिना श्रेणिको-
16. पमौ । १८ ।
प्राप्तश्रीयामभूपालसमाजबहुलादरौ ।
मंत्रिश्रीवर्द्धमानश्रीपद्मसिंहौ सहोदरौ । १९ ।
महेला वर्द्ध-
17. मानस्य । वन्नादेवीति विश्रुता ।
तदंगजावुभौ ख्यातौ । वीराख्यविजपालकौ । २० ।
वर्ण्णिनी पद्मसिंहस्य । रत्नगर्भा
18. सुजाणदे ।
श्रीपालकुंरपालाह्वरणमल्लास्तदंगजाः । २१ ।
एवं ख्यातंनयुत्ताभ्यां । मनस्योत्सवपूर्व्वकम् ।
साहिश्रीवमाद्मनश्री-

L. 19. पद्मसीभ्यां प्रथादरात् । २२

प्रागुक्तवत्सरे रम्ये । माधवार्ज्जुनपक्षके ।

रोहिणीभतृतीयायां बुधवासरसंयुजि

20. । २३ ।

श्रीशांतिनाथमुख्यानां । जिनानां चतुरुत्तरा ।

द्विशती प्रतिमा हृद्या । भारिताश्च प्रतिष्ठिता: । २४ ।

युग्मम् ।

21. पुनर्निजबहुद्रव्य । सफलीकरणकृते ।

श्रीनव्यनगरे ऽकारि । प्रासाद: शैलसंनिभ: । २५ ।

द्वासप्ततिजिनौ-

22. कोभि: र्वेष्टितश्च चतुर्मुखै: ।

कैलाशपर्व्वतोत्तुंगैर । श्राभि: शोभितो ऽभित: । २६ ।

युग्मम् ॥

साहिश्री-

23. पद्मसिंहेना ऽकारि शत्रुंजयोपरि ।

उत्तुंगतोरण: श्रीमान् । प्रासाद: शिखरोन्नत: । २७ ।

यं दृष्ट्वा भविका: स-

24. र्वे । चिंतयंति स्वचेतसि ।

उच्चैर्भूत: किमेषोद्रि । दृश्यते ऽभ्रंलिहो यत: । २८ ।

येन श्रीतीर्थराजोयं राजते सा-

25. वतंसक: ।

प्रतिमा: स्थापितास्तत्र श्रीश्रेयांसमुखा ऽर्हताम् । २९ ॥

तथा च । संवत् १६७६ वर्षे फाल्गुन सित द्वि-

26. तीयायां तिथौ दैत्यगुरुवासरे रेवतीनक्षत्रे श्रीमतो नव्यनगरात् साहिश्रीपद्मसीकेन श्रीभरतचक्र-

27. वर्त्तिनिर्म्मितसंघसदृशं महासंघं कृत्वा श्रीअंचलगणाधीश्वरभट्टारकपुरंदरयुगप्रधानपूज्यराज-

28. श्री ५ श्रीकल्याणसागरसूरीश्वरै: सार्द्धं श्रीविमलगिरितीर्थवरे समेत्य स्वयंकारितश्रीशत्रुंजयगिरिशि-

29. र:प्रासादे समहोत्सवं श्रीश्रेयांसप्रमुखजिनेश्वराणां संति बिंबानि स्थापितानि ॥

सद्भि: पूज्यमानानि

30. चिरं नंदंतु ।

यावद्दिवाकरनिशाकरभूधरार्य्यरत्नाकरध्रुवधरा: किल जाग्रतीह ।

श्रेयांसनाथजिनमंदिरमत्र ता-

31. वन्नंदत्वनेकभविकौघनिषेव्यमानम् [म्] । १ ।[62]

वाचकश्रीविनयचंद्रगणीनां शिष्यमुदेव सागरेण विहिता प्रशस्ति: [॥]

[62] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

No. XXII.[63]

L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६७५ वर्षे वैशाख सुदि
2. १३ तिथौ शुक्रवारे श्रीमदंचलग-
3. च्छाधिराजपूज्यश्रीधर्म्ममूर्त्तिसूरि-
4. तत्पट्टालंकारसूरिप्रधाने युगप्र-
5. धानपूज्यश्रीकल्याणसागरसू-
6. रिविजयिराज्ये श्रीश्रीमालीज्ञा ।-
7. तीयअहमदावादवास्तव्य साह
8. भवान भार्या राजलदे पुत्र साह ।
9. षीमजी सूपजी हाभ्यामिका देह ।-
10. री कारापिता विमलाचले चतुर्मुखे [॥]

No. XXIII.[64]

L. 1. [सं]° १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्रे सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये ॥ श्रीराजनगर वास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञा-

2. तीय से° देवराज भार्या [रू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू सुत राजा पुत्र सं° साईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र सं° नाथा भार्या ना-

3. रिंगदे पुत्ररत्न सं° सूरजीकेन भार्या सुषमादे पुत्रायित इंद्रजी सहितेन श्रीशांतिनाथबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीबृहत्खरतर[ग]-

4. च्छाधिराजश्रीअकबरपातसाहिभूपालप्रदत्तषाण्मासिकाभयदानतत्प्रदत्तयुगप्रधानबिरुदधारकसकलदेशाष्टाह्निकामार्[65] — — — — — —

5. युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि पट्टोद्दीपककठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारकारकश्रीअकबरसाहिचित्तरंजनप्रपालितश्रीपुरगे — — — — — —

6. प्रमुखदेशामारिजहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधारिश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टोदयकारकभट्टारकशिरोरत्नश्रीजिनरा[जसूरि] — — —

No. XXIV.[66]

L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्रे सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये श्रीराजनगरवास्तव्य

2. प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय सं° साईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र सं° जोगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मोपार्जक सं° सोमजी ।

3. भार्या राजलदे पु° सं° रतनजी भार्या सूजाणदे पुत्र २ सुंदरदासखराभ्यां पितृनाम्ना श्रीशांतिनाथबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्री-

4. बृहत्खरतरगच्छे युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि जहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानबिरुदधारकश्रीअकबरसाहिचित्तरंजककठिनक[ा]-

5. [श्]मीरादिदेशविहारकारकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टालंकारकबोहित्थवंशशृंगारकभट्टारकवृंदारकश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिसृगराजैः [॥]

[63] In a cell or chapel attached to the north-east corner of the great Âdîśvara temple, close to that in which are Nos. vi and vii.—J.B.

[64] In the Khartaravasî Ṭuṅk, immediately to the north-east of the great Chaumukha temple, on the base of the image; *Lists*, p. 206, No. 333.—J. B.

[65] Probably °मारि°.

[66] In the Khartaravasî Ṭuṅk in a temple fronting that containing No. xxiii, to the south-east of the great Chaumukha on the base of the image; *Lists*, p. 205, No. 316.—J. B.

No. XXV.[67]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ संवत् १६७६ वर्षे वैशाखासित ६ शुक्रे लघुशाखीयश्री ।-
2. श्रीमालिज्ञातीय मंत्रिजीवा भार्या बाई रंगाई सुत मंत्रिख[व]ा-
3. [स]वाछाकेन भार्या बाई गंगाई प्रमुखकुटुंबयुतेन श्रे[ष्ठ]।
4. [भ]णसालीशिवजीप्रसादात् स्वयंप्रतिष्ठापितश्रीविमलना-
5. थदेवकुलं कारितं ॥ श्रीमत्तपागणगगनांगणगगनमणि[स]-
6. [मा] नभट्टारकश्रीविजयसेनसूरीश्वरपट्टालंकारभट्टारक ।
7. [श्री] विजयदेवसूरीश्वरविजयिराज्ये ॥
यावद्देवगिरिर्भाति
8. ॥ यावत् शत्रुंजयाचलः ॥
तावद्देवकुलं जीयात् । श्रीवाछाकेन
9. कारितं ॥ १ ॥ श्री : ॥

No. XXVI.[68]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ नमः श्रीमारुदेवादिवर्द्धमानांततीर्थंकराणां श्रीपुंडरीकाद्यगौतम-
2. स्वामिपर्य्यंतेभ्यो गणधरेभ्यः सभ्यजनैः पूज्यमानेभ्यः सेव्यमानेभ्यश्च संवत्।
3. १६८२ ज्येष्ठ वदि १० शुक्रे श्रीजेसलमेरुवास्तव्योपकेशवंशीयभांडशालिके
4. सुश्रावककर्त्तव्यताप्रवीणधुरीण सा° श्रीमल्ल भार्या चापलदे पुत्र पवित्र चरित्र।
5. लोद्रवापत्तनकारितजीर्णोद्धारविहारमंडनश्रीचिंतामणिनामपार्श्वनाथाभिराम-
6. प्रतिष्ठाविधायकप्रतिष्ठासमयार्हत्सुवर्णलंभनिकाप्रदायकसंघनयककरणीय-
7. देवगुरुसाधर्म्मिकवात्सल्यविधानप्रभासितसितसम्यक्त्वशुद्धिप्रसिद्धस[द्बुधि] व्ययविहि-
8. तश्रीशत्रुंजयसंघलब्धसंघाधिपतिलक सं° थाद [डूनामको]द्विपंचाशदुत्तरचतुर्दश-
9. शत १४५२ मितगणधराणां श्रीपुंडरीकादिगौतमानानां पादुकास्थानमजातपूर्वम-
10. चीकरत् स्वपुत्रहररराजमेघराजसहितः समेधमानपुण्योदयाय प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीबृह-
11. त्खरतरगच्छाधिराजश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिराजैः पूज्यमानं चिरं नंदनात् ॥

No. XXVII.[69]

L. 1. संवत् १६८३ वर्षे ॥ पातिसाहजिहांगीरश्रीसलेमसाहभूमंडलाखंडलविजयरा[ज्ये] ॥
2. ॥ श्रीचक्रेस्वरी नमः ॥ श्रीं ॥ महोपाध्यायश्री ५ श्रीहेममूर्त्तिगणिसद्गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रो ॥
3. ॥ श्रीं ॥ उँ नमः ॥
स्वस्ति श्रीः शिवशंकरोपि गणमान् सर्व्वंज्ञशत्रुंजयः [।]
शर्व्वः शंभुरधीश्वरश्च भग[वा]-
4. न् गौरो हृषांको मृडः ।
गंगोमापतिरस्तकामविकृतिः सिद्धैः कृता ऽतिस्तुतो [।]
रुद्रो यो न परं श्रिये स

[67] In a temple in the Vimalavasî Ṭuṅk, near Âdîśvara's.—J. B.

[68] Round the margin of *pâdukas* or foot-prints, No. 3, north side, in a temple in the west of the Khartaravasî Ṭuṅk *Lists*, p. 205, No. 317.—J. B.

[69] In a niche in a temple in the Vimalavasî Ṭuṅk, on the left hand between the Vâghana-poḷa and Hâthi-poḷa; *Lists*, p 204, No. 138.—J. B.

L. 5. जिनप: श्रीनाभिभूरस्तु मे ॥ १ ॥[70]
उद्यच्छ्रीरजड: कलंकरहित: संतापदोषा ऽस्पृष्ट: [।]
सौम्य: प्राप्तस[◡]-

6. या ऽमितकल: सुश्रीमृंगांकोऽव्यय: ।
गौरानोमृतसूरपास्तकलुषो जैवातृक: प्राणिनां ।
चंद्र: [कर्म]

7. जयत्यहो जिनपति: श्रीवैश्वसेनिर्महान् । २ ॥
त्यक्ता राजीमतीं य: स्वनिहितहृदयानेकपत्नी: ◡ -

8. पां ।
सिद्धिस्त्रीं भूरिरत्नामपि बहु चकमेऽनेकपत्नीमपीश: ।
लोके ख्यातस्तथापि स्फुरदतिशय[वान्]

9. ब्रह्मचारीति नाम्ना [।]
स श्रीनेमिजिनेंद्रो दिशतु शिवसुखं सात्वतां योगिनाथ: ॥ ३ ।[71]
चंचच्छारं चंद्रचा [रु ◡][72]

10. दनश्रेयोविनिर्यद्वच: [।]-
पेयूषौघनिषेकतो विषधरेणापि प्रपेदे द्रुतं ।
देवत्वं सुकृतैकलभ्य[म]-

11. तुलं यस्यानुकंपानिधे: ।
स श्रीपार्श्वजिनेशितास्तु सततं विघ्नच्छिदे सात्वतां । ४ ।[73]
यस्य श्रीवरशास[नं]

12. च्चितितले मार्त्तंडबिंबायते [।]
यद्वाक्यं भवसिंधुतारणविधौ पोतायते देहिनां ।
यद्ध्यानं [भ-]

13. विपापपंकदलने गंगाबुधारायते ।[74]
श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेंद्रनंदनजिन: सोऽस्तु श्रिये सर्व्वदा ॥ ५ [॥]

14. अथ पट्टावली ॥
श्रीवर्द्धमानजिनराजपदक्रमेण ।
श्रीआर्य्यरच्चितमुनीश्वरसूरिराजा: ।
वि-

15. द्यापगाजलधयो विधिपच्चगच्छ ।-
संस्थापका यतिवरा गुरवो बभूवु: । ६ ॥[75]
तस्याब्धपट्टकमला[ज]-

16. लराजहंसा ।-
चारित्रमंजुकमलाश्रवणावतंसा: [।]
गच्छाधिपा बुधवरा जयसिंहसूरि ।-
नामा[न]

[70] Metre of verses 1-2 : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[71] Metre : Sragdharâ.

[72] Read °च्छारदचंद्रचारु°.

[73] Metre of verses 4-5 : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[74] Read गंगांबु°.

[75] Metre of verses 6-7 : Vasantatilakâ. Read गुरवो

L. 17. [76][उ]द्यदमलोरुगुणावदाताः । ७ ॥
श्रीधर्म्मघोषगुरवो वरकीर्त्तिभाजः [।]
सूरीश्वरास्तदनु पूज्यमहें-

18. द्रसिंहाः ।
आसंस्ततः सकलसूरिशिरोवतंसाः [।]
सिंहप्रभाभिधसुसाधुगुणप्रसिद्धाः ॥ ८ ॥[77]
तेभ्यः क्र-

19. मेण गुरुवो जिनसिंहसूरि ।-[78]
गोत्रा बभूवुरथ पूज्यतमा गणेशाः [।]
देवेंद्रसिंहगुरुवोऽखिललो-

20. कमान्या [।]
धर्म्मप्रभा मुनिवरा विधिपक्षनाथाः ॥ ९ ॥
पूज्याश्च सिंहतिलकास्तदनु प्रभूत [।]-
भाग्या

21. महेंद्रविभवो गुरुवो[79] बभूवुः [।]
वक्रेश्वरीभगवतीविहितप्रसादाः [।][80]
श्रीमेरुतुंगसूरुवो नरदेववं[द्य]-

22. ाः ॥ १० ॥[81]
तेभ्योऽभवन् गणधरा जयकीर्त्तिसूरि [।]-
मुख्यास्ततश्च जयकेसरिसूराजः ।[82]
सिद्धांतसाग-

23. रगणाधिभुवस्ततोऽनु [।]
श्रीभावसागरगुरुरुगुणा[83] अभूवन् ॥ ११ ॥
तद्वंशपुष्करविभासन्[84]भा-

24. नुरूपाः[85]
सूरीश्वराः सुगुण[शे]वधयो बभूवुः । षट्पदो ॥
तत्पट्टोदयशैलशृंगकिरणाः

25. शास्त्रांबुधेः पारगा [।]
भव्यस्वांतचकोरलासनसलत्पूर्णाभचंद्राननाः [।][86]
श्रीमंतो विधिपक्षगछ[च्छ]-

26. तिलका वादींद्रपंचानना ।
आसन् श्रीगुरुधर्म्ममूर्त्तिगुरुवः सूरींद्रवंद्यांह्रयः ॥ १२ ॥[87]
त-

[76] द् stands above the line.
[77] Metre of verses 8—11: Vasantatilakâ.
[78] Read गुरवो । °सिंह°.
[79] Read गुरवो.
[80] Read चक्रे°.
[81] Read रौ.
[82] Read °सूरिराजः. स् stands above the line.
[83] Read °गुरव°.
[84] Read °भासन°.
[85] Read °रूपाः.
[86] Read °समलसत्पू°.
[87] Metre of verses 12-13: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Read °गुरवः.

L. 27. त्पट्टेऽथ जयंति मन्मथभटाहंकारशर्व्वोपमा: ।
श्रीकल्याणसमुद्रसूरिगुरव: कल्याण —

28. कंदांबुदा: ।
भव्यांभोजविबोधनैककिरणा: सद्ज्ञानपाथोधिय: ।[88]
श्रीमंतोत्र जयंति सूरिवि-

29. भुभि ।[89] सेव्या: प्रभावोद्यता: । १३ ॥
श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीयमंत्रीश्वरश्रीभंडारी तत्पुत्र मह्ं श्रीम-

30. मरसी सुत मह्ं श्रीकरण तत्पुत्र सा
श्रीधन्ना तत्पुत्र साह श्रीसोपा तत्पुत्र सा° श्रीवंत त-

31. द्भार्या उभयकुलानंददायिनी बाई श्रीसोभागदे तत्कुक्षिसरोराजहंस साह श्रीरूप—

32. तद्भगिनी उभयकुलानंददायिनी परमश्राविका हीरबाई पुत्र पारीख श्रीसोमचं[90]

33. प्रभृतिपरिकरयुतया । संवत् १६८३ वर्षे । माघ सुदि त्रयोदशी तिथौ सोमवासरे [श्री]-

34. चंद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनमंदिरजीर्णोद्धार: कारित: । श्रीराजनगरवास्तव्य[91] मह्ं भडारी प्र-

35. साद कराविउ हुतु तेहनइ वठी पेढी [ह्ं] बाई श्रीहीर बाई हुई तेणीइ प — — — उद्धार
कराविउ ॥
संघसहित ९९ वा-

36. रयात्रा कीधी ॥ श्वसुरपक्षे पारिष श्रीगंगदास भार्या बाई गुरदे पुत्र पारिष श्रीकुंयरजी भार्या बाई कमल्यदे-

37. कुक्षिसरोराजहंसोपमौ पारिषश्रीवीरजीपारिषश्रीरह्नीयाभिधानौ । पारिष वीरजी भार्या बाई हीरादे पुत्र प°

38. सोमचंदस्तन्नाम्ना श्रीचंद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्टतं[92]च ॥ देशाधीश्वरस्वभापतपनप्रभो-द्भामिता खि-[93]

39. लभूमंडल — — — — — — — — श्रीकांधुजी तत्पुत्र राज्य श्रीसिवाजी — — — — श्राविका श्रीहीर बाई पुत्री बाई कीई बा-

40. ई कल्याणी भ्राता पारिष रूपजी तत्पुत्र पारिष गुडीदासयुतेन ॥ संवत् १६८२ वर्षे माह शुदि त्रयोदसी [श्री] सोमव-

41. ासरे श्रीचंद्रप्रभस्वामिप्रतिष्टा[94]कारिता ॥ भट्टारकश्रीकल्याणसागरसूरिभि: प्रतिष्टतं[95] ॥ वाचक-श्रीदेवसागरग[ा] -

42. [णी]नां कृतिरियं ॥ पंडितश्रीविजयमूर्त्तिगणीनालेखि ॥ पं° श्रीविनयशेषरगणीनां शिष्य मु° श्रीरविशेषरगणीना लि-

43. खितिरियं ॥ श्रीशेत्रुंजय नम: यावत् चंद्रार्कं चिर नंदतात् श्रीकवडयक्षप्रसादात् ॥ गजधररामजो लघुभार्ता कुम-

44. — — — षेजरतनकल्यणकृतायां भव भद्रं ॥

[88] Read °पाथोधय:.
[89] Read °भुमि:.
[90] Read °चंद्र.
[91] Read °वास्तव्य.
[92] Read प्रतिष्ठितं.
[93] Probably for प्रतिपन्न°.
[94] Read °प्रतिष्ठा.
[95] Read °प्रतिष्ठितं.

No. XXVIII.[96]

L. 1. ओं ॥ सं १ [६] ८४ माघ वदि ५ शुक्रे श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञातीय ठ° जसपालपौत्रेण पि-

2. तृ ठ° राजा मातृ ठ° सी [वुयेयो इर्थं] ठ° धाधाकेन श्रीआदिनाथबिंबं खत्तकसहितं कारितं ॥

No. XXIX.[97]

L. 1. ॥ ओं ॥ संवत् १६८६ वर्षे चैत्रे शुदि १५ दिने दक्षणदेशे देवगीरोनगर-

2. वास्तव्यश्रीमालीज्ञातीयलघुशाषीय साहा तुकजी भार्या बा° तेजलदे

3. सूत सा° हासुजी भार्या बाइ हासलदे लघुभ्राता सा° वछुजी सा° देवजी

4. भार्या बाइ चछादे देराणी बाइ देवलदे पू [पु] त्र सा° धर्मदास भगी[गि]नी बा°

5. कुअरि प्रमुखसमस्तकुटंब श्रीविमलाचलनी यात्रा करीनि

6. श्रीअदबुद आ — — — [या] सादनो मंडमनो की ३ सहीत फे-

7. री उद्धार कराव्यु — — — — — — हारक [श्री] — — — — — — — — [रा] ज्ये

8. तत्पट्टालंकारे [श्री] — — — — — — — — — — — — [श्री] — — — — — — [भ्य] ॥

9. पंडितोत्तम श्रीह — — — — मुपदेशात् शुभं भवतु ॥

No. XXX.[98]

L. 1. संवत् १६८६ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५ बुधे शाके १५५१ प्रवर्त्तमाने श्रीमूलसंघे सरस्वतीगच्छे

2. बला[त्का]रगणे श्रीकुंडकुंदाचार्य्यान्वये भट्टारक श्रीसकलकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीभुवनकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीज्ञानभूषणदेवा-

3. स्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीविजयकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीशुभचंद्रदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीसुमतिकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीगुणकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीवादिभूषणदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीरामकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीपद्मनंदिगुरूपदेशात् पातसाहाश्रीशाहा-

4. ज्याहांविजयराज्ये श्रीगूर्जरदेशे श्रीअह्मदावादवास्तव्यहुंबडज्ञातीयवृद्धशाखीयवाग्वरदेशस्थांतरीयनगरनौतनभद्रप्रासादोद्धरणधार जाडा सं° भोजा भा° सं° लकु सु° संवस्ता भा° सं° रत्नादे तयो:

5. सुत ब्रह्मचर्य्यव्रतप्रतिपालनेन पवित्रीकृतनिजांगसप्तक्षेत्रारोपितस्वकीयवित्त सं° लटकण भा° सं° ललतादे तयो: सुत निजकुलकमलविकाशनैकसूर्यावतार: दानगुणेन नृपतिश्रेयांससम: श्रीजिनबिंबप्रति-

6. ष्ठातीर्थयात्रादिधर्म्मकर्म्मकरणोत्सुकचित्तसंघपति श्रीरत्नसी भा° सं° रूपादे द्वितीयभा° सं° मोहणदे तृतीयभा° सं° नं[थ]रंगदे द्वितीयसुत संघवी श्रीरामजी भा° सं° केशरदे तयो: सुत संघवी

7. डुगरसी भार्या सं° डाडमदे द्वितीयसुत संघवी [रायव]जी भा° सं° गमतादे [एते सर्वे] महासिद्धक्षेत्र श्रीश[त्रुंजयनाम्नि] गिरौ श्रीजिनप्रासादे श्रीशांतिनाथबिंबं कारयित्वा नित्यं प्रणमंति । शुभं भवतु [॥]

No. XXXI.[99]

L. 1. । ओं ॥ भट्टारकपुरंदरभट्टारकश्रीहीर-

2. । विजयसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमो नम: तत्-

3. । पट्टप्रभाकरभट्टारकश्रीविजयसेन-

[96] On the base of a Chaumukha image in a small temple, west of the great Âdîśvara Bhagavân; *Lists*, p. 198 No. 114.—J. B.

[97] In the shrine of "Bhîmadeva,"—the great rock-cut image,—on the wall beside the doorway.—J. B.

[98] In the Digambara temple, in a small court to the north-east of the great Âdîśvara temple; *Lists*, p. 202, No. 237.—J. B.

[99] Beside the doorway of the Śeshakoṭa temple, facing the south door of the great Âdîśvara temple.; *Lists*, p. 137, No. 97.—J. B.

L. 4. । सूरिगुरुभ्यो नमः संवत [त्] १६९६ वर्षे वै-
5. । शाष सुदि ५ रवौ श्रीदीवबंदिरवास्तव्य सं-
6. । घवी सचा भार्या बाइ तेज बाइ तयो[100] सुपुत्र
7. ॥ संघवी गोविंदजी भार्या बाइ वयज बाइ
8. । प्रमुखकुटंबयुतेन[1] स्वश्रेयसे श्रीशत्रुज-[2]
9. । ये उतंग[3] प्रासाद [:] काराःपित [:] श्रीपार्श्वनाथ-
10. । बिंबं स्थापितं प्रतिष्टितं[4] च श्रीतपागछनाय-
11. । कभट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिभिः तत्प-
12. । ट्टालंकारयुवराजश्रीविजयसिंहसूरि चिरं जीय[5]

No. XXXII—(610).[6]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ उँ नमः
2. प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदि-दं खलु तीर्थं ।
4. रायसिंह इह वर्द्धमानभूः [।]
6. शासनाद्विज-यदेवगुरोः स-
8. द्वाचकेन वि-नयाद्विजये-न ॥ १ ॥[7]
श्रीवि- वजयसिंहसू-रिः । स जयतु तपगच्छमौ- लमाणिक्यं ।
15. अजनिष्ट यदु । पदेशात् । स- हस्रकूटाभि- धं तीर्थम् ॥ २ ॥[8]
19. दिक्शशिज-लधिमितेब्दे १७१० सित ष—ष्ठ्यां ज्येष्टमासि[9] तीर्थेस्मिन् ।
24. अर्हद्विंबसह-स्रं । स्थापितम-ष्टोत्तरं वंदे ॥ ३
27. यावज्जयति सुमेरु । स्ताव-जीयात्प्रकृष्ट-सौभाग्यः ।[10]
श्री शत्रुंजयमूर्द्ध-नि । सहस्र-कूटः किरी-टीयम् ॥ ४ ॥

No. XXXIII.[11]

L. 1. अर्हम्
2. ॥ श्रीं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसं-
3. वत् १७१० वर्षे ज्येष्ट[12]
4. शुक्ल षष्टी[13] तिथौ गु-
5. रुवारे श्रीउग्रसेनपु-
6. रवास्तव्यऊकेशज्ञा-
7. तीयवृद्धशाखीयकु-
8. ह्राडगोत्र सा । वर्द्धमा-
9. न भा । वाल्हादे पु । स
10. मानसिंहथानसिंह-
11. रायसिंहकनकसिंह-
12. उग्रसेनऋषभदासैः
13. सा । जगत्सिंहजीवण-
14. दासप्रमुखपरिवार-
15. युतैः स्वपितृवचनात्त-
16. त्पुण्यार्थं श्रीसहस्रकू-

[100] Read तयोः.
Read °कुटुंब°.
[2] Read °त्रुंज-
[3] Read °तुंग.
[4] Read °ष्ठितं.
[5] Read जीयात्.
[6] In the temple of Śeshakoṭa, on the left hand column. —*Lists*, p. 147, No. 97.—J. B.
[7] Metre: Svâgatâ. The penultima of the second pâda ought to be long.
[8] Metre of verses 2—4: Âryâ.
[9] Read ज्येष्ठमासि.
[10] Read स्तावज्जी°.
[11] On a column in the Śeshakoṭa temple, in the Vimalavasi Ṭuṅk.—J. B.
[12] Read ज्येष्ठ.
[13] Read षष्ठी.

L. 17. टतीर्थं कारितं स्वप्रति-
18. ष्ठायां प्रतिष्टापितं[14] । त-
19. पागच्छे भ । श्रीहीरवि-
20. जयसूरिपट्टप्रभाकर
21. भ । श्रीविजयसेनसूरि-
22. पट्टालंकारपातिशा-
23. हिश्रीजिहांगीरप्रदत्त-
24. महातपाबिरुदधारि-
25. अनेकराजाधिराजप्र-
26. तिबोधकारिभट्टारक
27. श्री ७ श्रीविजयदेवसू-
28. रीश्वरआचार्यश्रीविज-
29. यप्रभसूरिनिर्देशात्
30. श्रीहीरविजयसूरि-
31. शिष्यरत्नमहोपाध्या-
32. य श्री ५ कीर्त्तिविज-
33. य ग । शिष्योपाध्या-
34. यश्रीविनयविज-
35. यगणिभिः प्रतिष्ठि-
36. तं श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्रीसवंज-
37. यमहातीर्थकार्यक-
38. रपंडित श्री ५ शांति-
39. विजय ग । देवविजय
40. ग । मेघविजय ग । सा
41. हाय्यतः सिद्धमिदम्
42. सूत्रधार मनजी: ॥

No. CV.[15]

L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥
2. ॥ श्रीं नमः ॥
बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरः पट्टानुक्रमभूषणाः [।]
श्रीअंचलगणाधीशाः आयरक्षितसूरयः[16] [॥] १ [॥]
3. तत्पट्टपंकजादित्या सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः [।]
श्रीधर्मगोषसूरींद्रा । महिंद्रसिंहसूरयः[17] [॥] २ [॥]
श्री ।
4. सिंहप्रभसूरीशः[18] सूरयो जिनसिंहकाः [।]
श्रीमद्देवेंद्रसूरीशाः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः [॥] ३ [॥]
श्रीसिंहतिलकाह्वाश्च
5. श्रीमहेंद्रप्रभाभिधाः [।]
श्रीमंतो मेरुतुंग्याख्याः[19] बभ्रवुः सूरयस्ततः [॥] ४ [॥]
समग्रगुणसंपूर्णाः सूरिश्रीजयकी-
6. र्त्तयः [।]
तत्पदेय सुसाधुश्रीजयकेशरसूरयः [॥] ५ [॥]
श्रीसिद्धातसमुद्राख्यः सूरया[20] भूरिकीर्त्तयः [।]
भावसागरसू-
7. रीद्रा ततोभूवन् गणाधिपाः [॥] ६ [॥]
श्रीमद्गुणनिधानाख्यः सूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् [।]
युगप्रधाना[21] श्रीमंतः सूरिश्री-

[14] Read प्रतिष्ठापितं.

[15] In the Khartaravasi Ṭuṅk, on the south wall in the hall outside the shrine door of Narsi Keśavji's temple.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 342.—J. B.

[16] Read °धीशाः । आर्यरक्षि°.

[17] Read L. 3: °दित्याः । °घोष° । महेंद्र°.

[18] Read °रीशाः.

[19] Read L. 5: °तुंगा° । बभूवुः.

[20] Read L. 6: °देय । °ख्याः सूरयो.

[21] Read L. 7: °रींद्रास्त° । °द्गुण° °ख्याः । °धानाः.

L. 8. धर्म्ममूर्त्तय [॥] ७ [॥]
तत्पट्टोदयशैलाग्र: प्रोद्यत्तरणिसन्निभा[22] [।]
अभवन्सूरिराजश्रीयुजः कल्याणसागराः

9. [॥] ८ [॥]
श्रीअमरोदधिसूरींद्रा ततो विद्यासूरयः [।]
उदयार्णवसूरिश्च कीर्त्तिसिंधुमुनिपतिः [॥] ९ [॥][23]
ततो पु-

10. न्योदधिसूरिराजेंद्रार्णवसूरयः [।]
मुक्तिसागरसूरीद्रा बभूवुः गुणशालिनः [॥] १० [॥]
तत[24] रत्नो-

11. दधिसूरिर्जयंति विचरद्भुवि [।]
शातदातच्चयायुक्त भव्यान्[25] धर्मोपदेशकः [॥] ११ [॥]
इति प-

12. ट्टावलि ॥
अथ कच्छसुराष्ट्रे च कोठारानगरे वरे [।]
बभूवु लघुशाखायामर्णसी-[26]

13. ति गुणोज्वल [॥] १२ [॥]
तत्पुत्रो नायको जज्ञे हीरबाई च तत्प्रिया [।]
पुत्रो[27] केसवजी तस्य

14. रूपवान्पुंन्यमूर्त्तय[॥] १३ [॥]
मातुलेन समं मूबैबंदरे तिलकोपमे[28] [।]
अगात्पुंन्यप्रभावेन

15. बहु स्व समुपार्जितं [॥] १४ [॥]
देवभक्तिगुरुरागो[29] धर्मश्रद्धाविवेकिनः [।]
दाता भोक्ता यशः

16. कीर्त्तिं स्ववर्गे विस्तृतो बहु [॥] १५ [॥]
पाबेति तस्य पत्नी च नरसिंहसुतोजनि[30] [।]
रत्नबाई त-

17. स्य भार्या पतिभक्तिसुशीलवान् [॥] १६ [॥]
केशवजीकस्य भार्या द्वितिया[31] मांकबाई चः [।]

13. नाम्ना त्रीकमजी तस्य पुत्रोभुत्[32] स्वल्पजीवोनः [॥] १७ [॥]
नरसिंहस्य पुत्रोभुत् रूपवान्

[22] Read L. 8.: °र्त्तयः । °ब्दाःप्रो°.
[23] Read द्रास्त° । ततः.
[24] Read L. 10: °ण्यो° । °रींद्रा । ततो.
[25] Read L. 11: °र्जयति विचरन्भुवि शांतदांत° । युक्तो भवान्.
[26] Read °लिः । °लंघु°.
[27] Read °स्य: । पुत्रः.
[28] Read L. 14: रूपवान्पुण्य° । मुंबै° । °त्पुण्य° ।
[29] Read °स्वं । °र्गुरु°.
[30] Read L. 16: विश्रुतो । Perhaps °सिंहः.
[31] Read द्वितीया । च.
[32] Read °भूत् । °भूत्स्व°.

L. 19. संदराक्रति [।]

चिरंजय सदा ऋद्धि वृद्धिर्भवतु[33] धर्मत [॥] १८ [॥]:

इति वंशावलि: ॥

20. गांधी मोहोतागोत्रे सा केसवजी निजभूजोपार्जितवित्तेन[34] धर्मकार्याणि कुरुते स्म

21. तद्यथा निजपरिकरयुतो संघसार्द्ध विमलाद्रितीर्थे समेत्य कच्छसौराष्ट्रगुर्ज्जर: म-

22. रुधरमेवाडकुंकुणादिदेशादागता: बहुसंघलोका: मिलिता: अंजनशलाका-

23. प्रतिष्टा[36]दिमहोत्सवार्थं विशालमंडपं कारयति स्म तन्मध्ये नवीनजिनविंबा-

24. नां रुप्यपाषाणधातूनां बहुसहस्रसंख्यानां सुमुहुर्त्ते सुलग्ने पीठोपरि संस्था-[37]

25. प्य तस्य विधिना क्रयाकरणार्थं[38] श्रीरत्नसागरसूरिविधिपक्षगच्छपतेरादे-

26. शत: मुंनिश्रीदेवचद्रगणिना तथा क्रिय ाकुशलश्राद्धै: सह शास्त्रोक्तरित्या[39]

27. शुद्धक्रीया कुर्वंन् श्रीवीरविक्रमार्कत: संवत् १९२१ ना वर्षे तस्मिन[40] श्रीशा-

28. लीवाहनभूपालक्रतशाके १७८६ प्रवर्त्तमान्ये मासोतम[41] श्रीमाघमासे शुक्ल-

29. पक्षे तिथि सप्तम्या: गुरुवासरे मार्त्तंडोदयवेलायां सुमुहुर्त्ते सुलग्ने स्वर्णश-[42]

30. लाकया जिनमुद्राणां श्रीगुरुभिश्च साधुभिरंजनक्रियान्कुरुते स्म: सघलोका-[43]

31. न् सुवेसधारीन् बहुऋध्या गीतगांनवाजित्रपूर्वक समेत्य जिनपुजनलोंछ-[44]

32. नादिक्रियायाचकानादानादिसघवात्सल्यादिभक्तिहर्षतश्चक्रे पुंन:[45] धर्मशा-

33. लायां आरासोपलनिर्मितं सास्वतऋषभादिजिनानां चतुर्मुखं चैत्यं पुन: गिरि-

34. शिखरोपरि श्रीअभिनंदनजिनस्य विशालमंदिरं तस्य प्रतिष्टा[46] माघ सित त्र-

35. योदश्यां बुधवासरे शांस्त्रोक्तविधिना क्रिया क्रता[47] श्रीरत्नसागरसूरिणामुप-

36. देशंत: श्रीसंघपति निजपरिवारेण सह श्रीअभिनंदनादिजिनबिंब[48] स्था-

37. पिता तत: गुरुभक्तिसंघभक्तिशक्त्यानुशारेण क्रत: गोहिलवंशविभुषण-[49]

38. ठाकोरश्रीसूरसंघजीराज्ये पादलिप्तपुरे:[50] मदनोत्सवमभूत् श्रीसंघस्य भद्रं

39. भूयात्[:] कल्याणमस्तु शुभं भवतु[:] ॥

माणिकसिंधुवरमुख्यमुनिवरेषु:[51] ।

40. तत्शिष्यवाचकवरविनयार्णवेन [।]

एषा प्रशस्ति श्रवणामृततुल्यरुपा[52]

संघ-

41. स्य शाशनसमुन्नतिकारलेखि:[53] १: ॥

वाचकविनयसागरेणेयं प्रशस्ति-

[33] Read L. 19: °क्षति: । °जय: । °र्वृद्धि°.

[34] Read °हुजी°

[35] Read L. 21: °चाद्रि° । °र्ज्जरम°.

[36] Read °तिष्ठा°.

[37] Read L. 24: °रूप्य° । °हूर्ते.

[38] Read क्रिया°.

[39] Read L. 26: मुनि° । °चंद्र° । °रीत्या.

[40] Read L. 27 : °क्रिया: । तस्मिन्.

[41] Read L. 28 : °क्रत° । °माने । °त्तमे.

[42] Read L. 29 : तिथौ सप्तम्यां । °हूर्ते । ° शला°,

[43] Read L. 30 : °क्रियां । स्म संघ.

[44] Read L. 31 : °वेष° । °दित्रपूर्वकं । पूजन .

[45] Read L. 32 : °संघ° । पुन: .

[46] Read °ष्ठा.

[47] Read L. 35 : °शास्त्री° । क्रता.

[48] Read L. 36 : °देशत: । °बिंबं.

[49] Read L. 37 : °पितं । °शनुसा° । क्रत: । °भूष°,

[50] Read पुरे.

[51] Read °रेषु.

[52] Read L. 40 : °स्ति: । °रूपा.

[53] Read शास° । °कार्यलेखि.

L. 42. लिंखिता: ॥

यावत् मेरु महिधर यावत् चद्रदिवाकरौ[54] [।]

43. यावत्तीर्थं जिनेंद्राणां[:] तावत् नदंतु मंदिरं:[55] ॥ १ ॥

श्रीरस्तु [॥]

ABSTRACTS.

No. xxxiv.[56] Saṁvat 1783, Mâha sudi 5; *Siddhachakra*, dedicated by Aṇandabâî, wife of Shetâ (Khetâ) of the Śrîmâlî *laghuśákhá*, inhabitant of Dhaṇapura; consecrated by *paṇḍitavara* Devachandra, pupil of *upádhyáya* Dîpachandra, pupil of *mahopádhyáya* Jñânadharmajî, pupil of *mahopádhyáya* Râjasârajî in the *śákhá* of Jinachandra Sûri, *yugapradhána* of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, who awakened Pâtisâhi Akabbara.

No. xxxv.[57] Saṁvat 1788, Mâgha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Bhîmamuni dedicated by Dulîchand, son of Sâ(hu) Kîkâ of the Kharatara *gachchha;* consecrated by *upádhyáya* Dîpachandragaṇi.

No. xxxvi.[58] (Date as above); an image of Śrî-Yudhishṭira [*shṭhira*] muni (remainder as above).

No. xxxvii.[59] Vikrama Saṃvat 1788, Śâka 1653, Mâgha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Premaji (surnamed Cheulî, from his residence in Cheula), of the Śrîmâlî *vṛiddhaśákhá*, at the request of *bhaṭṭáraka* Vijaya-Dayâsûri, and of the Tapâ gachchha; consecrated by *bhaṭṭáraka* Sumatisâgara of the same *gachchha*.

No. xxxviii.[60] Saṁvat 1791, Vaiśâkha sudi 8, *pushyárke;* an image of Pârśvanâtha, dedicated by *bhaṇḍárî* Ratnasiṁha, a *mahámantrî*, who caused an edict of *amárí* to be proclaimed in Gujarât, son of Udayakaraṇa (and Udayavantadevî), son of Shetasîhajî, son of *bhaṇḍárî* Dîpâjî, of the Osavâla vṛiddhaśâkhâ and the Nâḍûla-gotra; consecrated in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Dayâsûri, successor of Vijai-Kshamâsûri, of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. xxxix.[61] Saṁvat 1794, Śáka 1659, Asâḍha sudi 10, Sunday; an image of Pârśvanâtha, dedicated, and restoration of a temple made by *bhaṇḍárî* Harashachanda son of *bhaṇḍárî* Sivachanda, son of *bhaṇḍárî* Rûpachanda, son of *bhaṇḍárî* Târâchanda, son of *bhaṇḍárî* Nârâyaṇajî, son of *bhaṇḍárî* Bhânâjî of the Oiśavaṁśa vṛiddhaśâkhâ, Nâḍûla-gotra, dedicated in the victorious reign of Jinachandrasûri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, by *paṇḍita* Devachandra, pupil of *upádhyáya* Dîpachandajî, pupil of *upádhyáya* Jñânadharmajî, pupil of *mahopádhyáya* Râjasârajî.

[54] Read L. 42: °खिता । °महीधरौ । चं°,

[55] Read °त्तीर्थं । नंदतु मंदिरं.

[56] On a *Siddhachakra* slab in the south corridor of the Kharataravasî Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 337.—J. B.

[57] On the base of the image, on the right side of principal one in the Pañcha Pâṇḍava temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 350.—J. B.

[58] In Pañcha Pâṇḍava temple, on the base of the principal image.—*Lists*, ib.

[59] Outside the door of a square temple opposite the south-west corner of the great Âdîśvara.—*Lists*, p. 197, perhaps No. 100.

[60] In the Vimalavasî Ṭuṅk, on right hand when going towards the Hâthîpoḷa, about half-way up.—*Lists*, p. 202, No. 247.

[61] In the south wall outside the shrine door of a temple in the Chhipâvasî Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 357.

No. xl.[62] Saṁvat 1810, Mâha sudi 13, Tuesday; an image of Sumatinâtha, dedicated by the whole Saṅgha, *Saṅghavi* Kachara Kîkâ and the rest; dedicated by Sarvasûri.

No. xli.[63] Saṁvat 1814, Mâgha vadi 5, Monday; a temple with a *śikhara*, dedicated by *Vo.* Kâśarîsaṅgha, son of *Vo.* Lâdhâ, (and Prâṇakuṁara,) son of *Vo.* Dîpachand, son of *Vo.* Sakalachanda of the Prâgvâṭa-vaṁśa, *laghuśâkhâ*, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated by Udayasûri.

No. xlii.[64] Saṁvat 1815, Vaiśâkha sudi 6, Wednesday; an image of Pârśvanâtha dedicated by *masa* Kuyarajî Lâdhâ of Bhâvanagara; consecrated by Râjasâmasûri, of the Laghuposâla *gachchha.*

No. xliii.[65] Saṁvat 1822, Phâlguna śudi 5, Thursday; two images in the Viśâ, Deshavâla-Tapâ gachchha's *derî*, dedicated by *gândhî* Parasottama Sûdarajî and by his nephew Amâidâsa and his brothers Nâthâ and Kuṁbera, all of Meśâṇâ. The inscription was incised by Kubera, in Saṁvat 1863, Chaitra sudi 2, Friday.

No. xliv.[66] Saṁvat 1843, Śâka 1708, Mâgha sudi 11, Monday; an image of Âdinâtha, dedicated by Premachanda, of Râjanagara, a Śrîmâlî of the *laghuśâkhâ* of the Kâśyapa gotra and Paramâra race, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha.*

No. xlv.[67] Vikrama Saṁvat 1860, Śâka 1726, Vaiśâkha sudi 5, Monday; an image of Śântinâtha, dedicated by Harashachaṁda, son of Hîrâchanda (and Kuṁarabâî), son of Sâ Râyakaraṇa, a Śrîmâlî of the *vṛiddha śâkhâ*, a native of Damaṇa-bandira (Daman), honoured by the Phiraṁgijâti Puratakâla pâtasâhi (the king of Portugal).

No. xlvi.[68] (Date as in the preceding); a new image in the new temple of Vijjaharâ-Pârśvanâtha, dedicated by Savaichanda, son of Premachanda Jhaverachaṁda and Joyatî, a Jhaverî (*jeweller*) of the Usavâla race in Surat, in the name of Premachanda and others, during the victorious reign of Vijaya-Daivachandrasûri, of the *gachchha* Vijaya-Âṇandasûri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha.*

No. xlvii.[69] (Date as in No. xlv); a new image in the new temple of Asrahurâ (Vijjaharâ ?) Pârśvanâth, dedicated by Jhaverî Premachanda, ... an Usavâla of Surat, belonging to the *gachchha* of Vijaya-Âṇandasûri, in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Devachandrasûri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasûri, *bhaṭṭâraka* of the Tapâ *gachchha.*

No. xlviii.[70] (Date as in No. xlv); an image of Sahasakuṭajî (*Sahasrakûṭa*), dedicated by Dâhâbhai, son of Sâ Lâlabhâi, grandson of Sâ Bhâisâji, a Śrîmâli, at the request of Puṇyasâgarasûri of the Aṁchala *gachchha*, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha.*

No. xlix.[71] Date and contents as of the preceding.

[62] In a temple on the south of the way to the Hâthîpoḷa, in Vimalavasî Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p 204, No. 285.—J. B.

[63] On south side corner of a temple in the outer compound of the Âdîśvara temple.

[64] On the base of an image in a temple on the south side of the way to the Hâthîpoḷa.—*Lists*, p. 204, No. 291.

[65] In Modi Premachand's temple No. 84 ?

[66] In Vimalavasî Ṭuṅk, in a small temple on the south of the Vâghana-poḷa.—*Lists*, p. 204, No. 304.—J. B.

[67] In Modi Premachand's Ṭuṅk, on an image in the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 362.

[68] On the base of an image in the temple on the right upon entering the Ṭuṅk of Modi Premachand.—*Lists*, p. 208, No. 367.—J. B.

[69] In Modi Premachand's Ṭuṅk, on the base of the image in the temple facing the preceding.—*Lists*, p. 208, No. 364.

[70] On a column in the Śeshakoṭa in the Pañcha Pâṇḍava's temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 351.

[71] In the same temple.—J. B.

No. l.[72] Saṁvat 1860, Mâhâ sudya 13; a temple was begùn and finished Saṁvat 1861, Phâguna vadi 5, Wednesday, by Vîrachanda, son of Pitâmara, grandson of Harashachaṁda, a Pârekh of Ahmadâbâd, of the Visâ-Poravâla gachchha, and of the *gachchha* of Vijaya-Ânandasûri.

No. li.[73] Vikrama Saṁvat 1861 and Śâlivâhana Śâka 1726, Dhâtâ saṁvatsara Mârgaśîrsha sudi 3, Wednesday, Pûrvâshâḍha nakshatra, Vṛiddha Yoga, Gıra Karaṇa, in the victorious reign of Puṇyasâgarasûri, successor of Kirtisâgarasûri, successor of Udayasâgarasûri of the Aṁchala *gachchha*, a *kuṁda*, called Ichhâkuṁda, was dedicated by Ichchhâbhâi, son of Nihâlachandabhâi, a Śrîmâlî of Surat; while the Gohil chief Unnadâjî ruled over Pâlitâṇâ.

No. lii.[74] Saṁvat 1867, Chaitra sûda 15; an agreement in Gujarâtî not to allow anybody to build temples in the Hâthî Poḷa.

No. liii.[75] Saṁvat 1875, Mâgha vadi 4, Sunday; an image of Suvadhinâtha (?), dedicated by Sosajî, son of Mûlajî and Mâṁnakuṁara, of Râdhanapura; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Sedugarasî, son of Mûlajî and (?); an image of Mallinâtha, and a little temple (*deharî*) dedicated by Kâṁtiyâ Hemaji, son of Ṭokarâsî.

No. liv.[76] Saṁvat 1885, Vaiśâkha śukla akshayatritîyâ, Thursday; a temple of Chandraprabha, built, at the request of the Śrâvikâ Gulâvabenî, by Bâbu Harshachaṁdaji and Visanachaṁdaji, sons of Jeṭhamallajî, Bûranachaṁdajî and Keśavadâsajî, sons of Sâha Bohitthajî, of the Dûgada gotra, inhabitant of Bâlûchara; consecrated by Jinaharshasûri of the Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lv.[77] Saṁvat 1886, Śaka 1751, Mâgha, śuklapaksha 5, Friday: an image of Puṇḍarîka gaṇadhara, dedicated for the welfare of his father by Lallubhâi, son of Seṭh Pânâbhâi and his wife Mughivahu, daughter of Seṭh Vakhatachaṁda Khuśyâlachaṁda of the Vṛiddhaśâkhâ of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated during the reign of Śântisâgarasûri of the Sâgara *gachchha*.

No. lvi.[78] (Date as above); a temple built and an image of Pârśvânâtha, dedicated for the welfare of Bâî Râmâkuṁyara, wife of Sâha Harakhachaṁda, son of Sâha Mûlachaṁda, of the Vṛiddhaśâkhâ of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara, and for the welfare of her daughter Jhaverabâî, wife of Dosî Kusalachaṁda, in the reign of *bhaṭṭâraka* Râjendrasâgarasûri of the Aṁchala *gachchha*.

No. lvii.[79] (Date as above); a *chaturviṁśatitîrthakarapaṭṭa* with *hrîṁkâra*, dedicated by Motichaṁda, son of Sâha Malukachaṁda, and Kusalabâî, of the Vṛiddhaśâkhâ of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated by the *bhaṭṭâraka* of the Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lviii.[80] (Date as above); a *parameshṭi*[*shṭhi*]*pada*, with *Omkâra*, dedicated by the donor of No. lvii; consecrated as above.

[72] In Vimalavasî Ṭuṅk, to the south-east of the Chaumukh of a hundred pillars.—*Lists*, p 202, No. 245.—J. B.

[73] On a tank by the roadside part of the way down the hill.

[74] On the wall, beside the Hâthîpoḷa, or the gateway separating the enclosure of the Âdîśvara Bhagavân and the eastern section of the Vimalavasî Ṭuṅk.—J. B.

[75] In Modi Premachand's Ṭuṅk, in a cell or chapel in the north corridor.

[76] In a small temple to the south of Puṇḍarîka's.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 345.

[77] In Hemabhai's Ṭuṅk, at the entrance.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 408.

[78] On the seat of an image south of Puṇḍarîka's in the entrance to Hemabhai Vakhatchand's Ṭuṅk.

[79] In Hemabhai's Ṭuṅk, on the north wall of the Maṇḍapa of the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 407.

[80] In the same temple, on the south wall.—J. B.

No. lix.[81] (Date as above); a temple and an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated for her husband's welfare by Ichhâvahu, wife of Naginadâsa, son of Śeṭh Himabhâî, son of Śeṭh Vakhatachaṁda Khuśyâlachaṁda, of the Vṛiddhaśâkhâ, of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated in the reign of Śântisâgarasûri of the Sâgara *gachchha.*

No. lx.[82] Saṁvat 1887, Vaisâkha sudi 13, *jñavâsara*, in the reign of Gohel Kâṁdhâjî, *kuṁvara* Noghaṇajî, of Pâdaliptanagara, a temple (*vihâra*) built, and an image of Kuṁthanâtha by Gajamalajî Parakh, son of Himatarâma, son of Sâha Tilokachaṁda of the Luṇîyâ gotra, Ukeśa jnâtîya Vṛiddhaśâkhâ, inhabitant of Ajameranagara; consecrated by Devachaṁda, in the reign of *bhaṭṭ.* Jinaharshasûri, of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha.*

No. lxi.[83] Saṁvat 1888, Vaiśâkha vadi — — *śorivâsare* (!), three images of Chandraprabha, etc., dedicated by Khemakuvarabâî, wife of Nihâlachaṁda, son of Sâha Pâṁnâchaṁda, Ośavâla of Ahmadâbâd; consecrated by Devachaṁdra, in the reign of Jinharshasûri of the Kharatara *gachchha.*

No. lxii.[84] Saṁvat 1889, Śaka 1755, Vaiśâsha śukla 13, Wednesday; an image of Dharmanâtha, dedicated by Ujamabâî, daughter of Vakhatachaṁda, an Ośavâla of the Vṛiddhasâkhâ, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated in the reign of Śâṁtisâgarasûri of the Sâgara *gachchha.* A small temple in the Moṭî ṭuṅk near Puṅchabhâî's temple by the same.

No. lxiii.[85] (Date as above); an image of Ṛishabhadeva, dedicated by Paradhâṁnavau, wife of Sûryamala, son of Śreshṭi Vakhatachaṁda, of the Vṛiddhasâkhâ of the Ukesa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated in the Sâgara *gachchha* (?).

No. lxiv.[86] (Date as above); an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Kapurachaṁdajî, inhabitant of Sirohi, son of Pubachaṁda Jasarupajî, younger brother of Jasarupajî, son of Patâjî Pârakh; consecrated in the Tapâ *gachchha.*

No. lxv.[87] (Date as above), *chaturmukha bimba*, dedicated for the welfare of Hemabhâi by his whole family, *viz.* Nagînadâsa, his wife Ichhâvahu, his younger brother Premâbhâi, his wife Sâmkalîvahu and his sisters Rukhamaṇî, Prasana, Motîkuṁara—Hemâbhâi's wife Kaṁkuvahu, parents Śeṭh Vakhatachaṁda and Jadâvabâî, grandfather Khusâlachaṁda, Ośavâlas of the V. S., inhabitants of Ahmadâbâd; consecrated by Śâṁtisâgara of the Sâgara-*gachchha.*

No. lxvi.[88] Date as above, but sukra 12, Wednesday (?); a *pañchaparameshṭi*-[*shṭhi*]-*paṭṭa*, containing an *Oṁkâra*, dedicated by Ujamabâî (see No. lxii); consecrated in the Tapâ *gachchha* (?).

No. lxvii.[89] Saṁvat 1889, Śaka 1754 Vaisâsha, śuklapaksha 12, Wednesday, a *chaturviṁśatitîrthaṁkarapaṭṭa*, containing a *Hrîṁkâra*, dedicated by Ujamabâî (see No. lxvi), consecrated in the Tapâ *gachchha* (?).

[81] In a shrine in Hemabhâî's Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 413.—J. B.

[82] Outside Kharatarvasî Ṭuṅk, in a temple at the north-east corner.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 347.—J. B.

[83] In one of the shrines round the court of Hemabhâî's Ṭuṅk, on the north side.

[84] In a small shrine on the south corridor of the same.

[85] In Hemabhâî's Ṭuṅk in a shrine in the south corridor room No. 4.

[86] In Hemabhâî's Ṭuṅk, north corridor, room No. 2.

[87] In the shrine of the temple in the north-east of the court.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 412.

[88] In the principal temple in Hemabhâî's Ṭuṅk, on the south wall, see No. lviii.

[89] In Hemabhâî's temple, in the Maṇḍapa north wall, east corner, see No. lvii.—J. B.

No. lxviii.[90] Saṁvat 1891, Mâgha, śita 5, Monday, during the reign of Gohel Khâṁdhâjî, his son being Noghaṇajî and his son Pratâpasinghjî, of Pâlitâṇâ, an image of Ṛishabha, dedicated by Iṁdrajî, son of Nihâlachaṁda, of the Yadugaḍa-gotra, Ośavâla race, Bṛihat-śâkhâ, inhabitant of Makasudâvâd-Bâluchara; consecrated by Paṁ. Devachandra, pupil of Paṁ. Jayavaṁtajî, in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha.*

No. lxix.[91] Saṁvat 1892, Vaiśâkha, śita 3, Friday, in the reign of Gohal Khaṁdâjî (etc., see No. lxviii), images of Saṁbhavanâtha, Pârśvanâtha and Śîtalanâtha, dedicated by Mahetâbakuṁâra, wife of Bâbu Pratâpasiṁghajî, brother of Bâbu Bahâdarasiṁghajî, son of Bâbu Râdhâsiṁghajî, of the Yadugaḍa-gotra, Ukesa race), Bṛihat-Śâkhâ, of Makśudâvâd-Bâluchara; consecrated in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha* by P. Devachaṁdra, pupil of P. Jayabhadra, pupil of P. Kanaka Sekharajî.

No. lxx.[92] Saṁvat 1893, Śâka 1758, Mâgha vadi 2, Wednesday; a temple built and image of Âdinâtha dedicated by Phûlakuṁyara, daughter of Anopabhâi and Manachhî, Anopabhâi being son of Vakhatachaṁda (see above, No. xlv); consecrated by Śâṁtisâgara of the Sâgara *gachchha.*

No. lxxi.[93] (Date as above), temple built and image of Śâṁtinâtha dedicated by Ujalîvahu, wife of Phatebhâi, son of Motîchaṁda, Vṛiddha-Śâkhâ, Ośavâla, inhabitant of Râjanagara, consecrated by Śâṁtisâgara of the Sâg. ga.

No. lxxii.[94] (Date as above), temple built and image of Śâṁtinâtha dedicated by Bhagubhâi, son of Phatebhâi (wife Acharatavahu), son of Motîchanda (see No. lxxi); consecrated by Śâṁtisâgara of the Sâgara-gotra.

No. lxxiii.[95] (Date as above), a temple built in Hemâbhâi's ṭuṅk and image of Ajîtanâtha dedicated by Sâ Lashamîchaṁda, (wife Pâravatî), son of Sâ Jesaṁgha, son of Sâ Hîrâchaṁda, of the Vṛiddha-Śâkhâ, Usavâla, inhabitant of Khaṁbhanayara.

No. lxxiv.[96] Saṁvat 1893, Jyeshṭha śudi 3, Wednesday; an image of Gomukha Yaksha, dedicated by Bâphaṇâ Gumâṁnachaṁdajî Bahâdaramallajî of Jeśalameru, consecrated by Jinamaheṁdrasûri of the Kharatara *gachchha.*

No. lxxv.[97] Saṁvat 1893, Śâka 1758, Mâgha śukla 10; an image of Pârśvanâtha dedicated by Premachanda, etc. (see next inscription), consecrated by Padmavijaya, etc. (see next inscription).

No. lxxvi.[98] Saṁvat 1893, Śâka 1758, Mâgha śukla 10, Wednesday; an image of Pârśvanâtha dedicated by Ajab and Mânakuṁara, the first and second mothers of Sâ Pîtâmara, son of Sâ Sâkalachaṁda, son of Sâ Premachaṁda, son of Sâ Dâmodaradâsa of the Laghu Śâkhâ of the Śrîmâla race, inhabitants of Ahammadâvâd, consecrated by

[90] In temple outside the gate of Puṇḍarîka temple of the Kharataravasî Ṭuṅk and next to that containing inscription No. lx.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 341.—J. B.

[91] Outside the enclosure of the great Chaumukha on the east, next to preceding on the base of an image.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 339.

[92] In Hemabhâî Ṭuṅk, west corridor, room No. 1.

[93] In the same Ṭuṅk in a shrine in the west corridor.

[94] In Hemabhâi's Ṭuṅk, west corridor, room No. 5.

[95] In the Hemâbhâi Ṭuṅk, north corridor, first room.

[96] In the shrine of Gaumukha, at the entrance to the Chaumukha temple.—*Lists*, p. 205 No. 311.

[97] Sâkalachand Premachand's Ṭuṅk, on the seat below the image (Chintâmaṇi Pârśvanâtha), in a cell in the west corridor of the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 212, No. 494.

[98] In Sâkalchand Premachand's Ṭuṅk, on the seat of Puṇḍarîka, facing the principal temple.—J. B.

Rûpavijayagaṇi, pupil of Padmavijayagani, a Saṁvijñamârgî, of the line of Vijayasîhasûri, in the Saṁvijñayamargîya—Tapa *gachchha.*

No. lxxvii.[99] (Date as above), an image of Padmanâtha, dedicated by Sâ Mûlachaṁda, son of Sâ Karmachaṁda, son of Sâ Premachaṁda (etc., see above) consecrated by Rûpavijayagaṇi (etc., see No. lxxvi).

No. lxxviii.[100] (Date as above), an image of Dharmmanâtha, dedicated by Amarachaṁda (and family), son of Ratnakhimachaṁda and Devakûara Bâî, son of Premachaṁda and Ichhâbâî of the Ośa race, Laghu Śâkhâ, inhabitant of Mumbâî, consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Dhaneśvarasûri of the gachchha of Vijaya-Âṇaṁdasûri, called the Tapâ *gachchha.*

No. lxxix.[1] (Date as above), an image of Dharmanâtha, dedicated by Sâ Sâhavisiṁgha, son of Sâ Keśirisiṁgha, son of Sâ Khuśâlachaṁda, son of Sâ Nâhâlachaṁda, an Ośavâla of the Vṛiddhaśâkhâ, inhabitant of Ahamadâvâd, consecrated by Śâṁtisâgarasûri of the Sâgara *gachchha.*

No. lxxx.[2] (Date as above), an image of Âdinâtha, dedicated by Khemachaṁda (and family), son of Śeṭh Motîchaṁda and Dîvâlî Bâî, son of Śeṭh Amîchaṁda and Rupâ Bâî; an Ośavâla of the Vṛiddhaśâkhâ and Nâhaṭâ gotra, inhabitant of Mumbaibindara (*Bombay*), consecrated by Jinamahemdrasûri, successor of Jinaharshasûri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha* (Kharatara Pippalîya), during the reign of Gohel Pratâpasiṁghajî.

No. lxxxi.[3] (Date as above), image of Śeṭh Mo[tichaṁ]da and his wife Ichhâvâlî set up by Śeṭh Khemachaṁda, in the Kharatara-Ghînalîya (*Pippalîya?*) *gachchha.*

No. lxxxii.[4] (Date as above), image of Śâṁtinâtha, dedicated by Śeṭh Amîchaṁda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdra, (*Kharatara-Pippalîya-gachchhe bha-ja-yu śri-Jinadevasûri tatpaṭṭe bha-śrî-Jinachaṁdasûri vidyamâne saparikarasaṁyute*).

No. lxxxiii.[5] (Date as above), an image of Supârśvanâtha, dedicated by Rûpâ Bâî, wife of Śeṭh Amîchaṁda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahiṁdrasûri, etc., (see the preceding No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxiv.[6] (Date as above), an image in the temple of *śrîvat*-Kesarîdevî (Ambâ), dedicated by Muṁgîvahu, wife of Khemachaṁda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasûri, etc., (see No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxv.[7] (Date as above), an image of Puṇḍarîka, dedicated by Khemachaṁda (and family, etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasuri, etc. (see No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxvi.[8] Saṁvat 1897, Śâka 1733, Vaiśâka, śukla 13, Monday; an image

[99] In the temple in the north-east corner of Sâkalachand Premachand's Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 213, No. 498.—J. B.

[100] In Motiśâh's Ṭunk, in the temple on the south side of the principal one.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 420.

[1] In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, on the base of image in a temple on the north of the principal one.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 433.

[2] In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, on the base of the principal image in the temple next to the preceding.

[3] Near the door below the image of the Śeṭh and his wife, in the principal temple in Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 417.

[4] On the base of an image to the right of the principal image in temple No. 420.—*Lists*, p. 210.

[5] On the base of an image to the left of the principal image in a temple to the north-east of the central one.

[6] On the base of image of Ambâ Mâtâ (Chakreśvarî) to the right of the principal temple in Motiśâh Amichand's Tuṅk.

[7] On the base of Puṇḍarîka, in the temple at the entrance of Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk; the temple of Puṇḍarîka always faces the principal shrine of Âdinâtha.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 418.—J. B.

[8] On the base of image in a temple behind the principal one in Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p 210, No. 421.

of Âdinâtha, dedicated by Phulachamda, son of Kapurachâmda and Kasali, son of Pârekh Jiboghâ (?) and Lashamî, Śrîmalî of the Vriddha Śâkhâ, inhabitant of Mumbâibidar (*Bombay*), consecrated in the reign of Vijaya Devîdrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. lxxxvii.[9] Samvat 1900, Śâka 1765, Mâgha śukla 7, Friday; a temple built by Kshemachamda.

No. lxxxviii.[10] Samvat 1903, Śâka 1768, Mâgha, krishna 5, Friday; an image of Rûpabâî (etc., see No. lxxxiii), dedicated by Kshemachamda; in the reign of Jinamahimdrasûri of the Brihat-Kharatara Pîpalîya *gachchha*.

No. lxxxix.[11] Samvat 1905, Vaiśâsha, śukla 1, Monday; an image of Âdinâtha, dedicated by *mehetâ* Motîchamda, son of *m.* Khetasî, Ośavâla of the Vriddha-Śâkhâ, inhabitant of Pâlanapûra; two other images of Âdinâtha, dedicated by his wives Râmakuyara and Imdara, two more images of Âdinâtha, dedicated by Mamgalî, son of *metâ* Îśvara and Jñânavahu, son of Râmakuyar and Motîchamda, as well as by Dilubâî, wife of Khetasî, son of Mûlachamda, in the reign of Devimdraśuri of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. xc.[12] Samvat 1905, Śâka 1770, Mâgha, śukla 5, Monday; a temple built, thirty-two images of Chamdraprabhu and other Jinas dedicated, a *dharmaśâlâ* 120 gaja long and 40 *gaja* broad, built in Pâlitânâ, south side, an *upâsar* in Pâlitânâ for the Amchala gachchha restored, (*all*) by Sâ Hirajî and Sâ Vîrajî with their wives Purabâî and Lîlâ Bâî, they being sons of Sâ Narasî and Kuarabâî, son of Bhâramalla, and Mamka Bâî Ośavalas of the Laghu-sâsha, and Nâgadâ-gotra, members of the Amchala *gachchha*, inhabitants of Nabhinpura in Kachha, the pious works being made by the advice (*upadeśât*) of Muktisâgarasûri of the Amchala *gachchha*.

No. xci.[13] Pedigree and record of the benefactions of Śeth Vakhatachanda, his son Hemâbhâi and his grandson, the late Nagarśeth Premâbhâi of Ahmadâbâd. He belonged to the Osavâlajñâti, the Addai Śâkhâ, the Śîsodiâ-*vamśa*, the Kumkumalola-*gotra*, worshipped the gotra-devî Âsâpurî, the Kshetrapâla Baradâ. The pedigree includes (1) [K]ulautapatirâjâ Sâmamtasamgha râmno, (2) his son Kuarapâla, converted to Jainism by Achâraja Dharmagoshaśûrî, (3) his son Sâ Harapati, (4) his son Sâ Vachchhâ, (5) his son Sâ Sehasakarana, (6) his son Śeth [Sâ]mtidâsa of Râjanagara, a courtier (*râjasabhâsraçâra*) in the time (*pravartte*) of Dalipatipâtasâha—Sâhajâmgâji, his son Śeth Lakhamichamda; (8) his son Shusâlachamda (Khushâlchand), wife Jhamaku; (9) their son Seth Vashatachamda (Vakhatchand). Then follow the names of the latter's wives, children and grand-children, an enumeration of his, and his family's benefactions with dates, from V. S. 1864 to 1905 and a *paṭṭâvali* of the Sâgara-*gachchha*; (1) Râjasâgaraśûri; (2) Vriddhiśâgaraśuri; (3) Lakshmîsâgaraśûri; (4) Kalyânaśâgaraśurî; (5) Punyaśâgaraśûrî; (6) Udayaśâgaraśûrî; (7) Ânandaśâgaraśûrî; (8) Śâmtisâgaraśûrî, V. S. 1905.

No. xcii.[14] Samvat 1908, Chaitra vada 10, Wednesday; a temple built in the Muhatâ

[9] In Sâkalachand Premachand's Ṭuṅk, on the left side wall, near the shrine door of the temple on the south-east.—*Lists*, p. 213, No. 499.

[10] On the base of a female image near the door of the principal temple in Motiśâh's Ṭunk.

[11] In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, south corridor, first room.

[12] In the Kharataravasî Ṭunk in a temple outside the Chaumukh enclosure and behind that of Narsi Keśavji.

[13] In Hemabhai Vakhatachand's Tunk, on the front wall, at the south corner, outside the principal temple of A[illegible]anâth built by Premabhâi.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 407.—J. B.

[14] In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, in a room in the south corridor.

Motî-vasî (Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk), by Vṛiddhishaṁdajî, son of Muhatâ Paṁchâṇa and Punyakuara, of the Ośa race, inhabitants of Vîkânera: consecrated by Paṁ. Deveṁdrakuśala, brother of Âṇaṁdakuśala of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. xciii.[15] Saṁvat 1908, Vaisâsha kṛishṇa 7, Monday; an image of Dharmanâthajî, dedicated by Khusâlabhâî, son of Dîpachaṁda, a Śrîmâlî, inhabitant of Râjânagara

No. xciv.[16] (Date as above), an image of Śumatinâtha, dedicated by Jeṭhàbhâi, another son of Dîpachaṁda (see No. xciii).

No. xcv.[17] (Date as above), an image of Ṛishabha, dedicated in the reign of Harkhachaṁdasûri by Jeṭhâbhâi (&c., see No. xciv) of the Pâyachaṁda(?) *gachchha*, consecrated by Paṁ. Âṇaṁdakuśala.

No. xcvi.[18] Saṁvat 1910, Chetra, śukla 15, Thursday; in the reign of Râjaràjesvara Mahârâjâdhirâja (!!) Gohil Śrî Noghaṇa, his son being Pṛatâpasiṁghaji, of Pâlitâṇà, a new temple built and eight images of Adîjina, Suvrata, Âdînâtha, Namînâtha, Adînâtha, Śruvrata, Śântînâtha and Pârśvanâtha, dedicated by Śeṭh Vaghamalaji, son of Agarakuvarabâî and Dhanarûpamalla, Osavâla of the Vṛiddha Śâkhâ and Śrî-Muṁmîyâ gotra, inhabitants of Ajamera, consecrated in the reign of Jinasaubhâgyasûri, successor of Jiṅa harśha of the Khar. ga. by Hemachaṁdra, younger pupil (*laghusikshya*) of Mâṁnasuṁdarajî, of Harshakîrtti, pupil of Dayâvilâsajî, pupil of Jayabhadraji, pupil of Paṁ. Kanakasesharajî.

No. xcvii.[19] Saṁvat 1911, Phâlguṇa, kṛishṇa 2 Monday,[20] an image ot Abhînaṁdanasvâmîmûlanâyaka, dedicated in the Motîvasîṭuṅka by Sâ Kâlîdâsa, son of Baî-Deva and Bhagavâna, son of Sâ Harashachaṁda, a Vîsâ Poravâḍa, inhabitant of Ràjanagara; consecrated by Paṁ. Âṇaṁdakuśala in the reigṅ of Deviṁdrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. xcviii.[21] Saṁvat 1913, Mâgasara, śudi 6; *Ñavâsare*, an image of Śâṁtinâtha, dedicated by Śeṭh Phattebhâî, son of Sâ Motibhâi and Rupakuṁvarabaî, of the Sisodiâsâshâ and Kuṁkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ammadâvâd.

No. xcix.[22] (Date as above), an image of Dharmanâtha, dedicated by Seṭh Chaganabhâî, son of Siradàrakuṁvarabâî and Sâ. Mânaśushabhâî, of the Sisodîâ sâshâ and the Kuṁkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ahamadâvâd.

No. c.[23] (Date as above), an image of Abhînaṁdana, dedicated by Samarathakuarabâî, daughter of Pradhânakuṁvarabâî and Śeṭh Surajamalabhâî, Ośavâlâ of the Sîsodîâ sâshâ and the Kuṁkamalola gotra, inhabitant of Ahammadâvâd.

No. ci.[24] Saṁvat 1914 (written 19014), Mârgaśîrsha, sûdî 7, Monday; an image of Dattajina, dedicated by Bâî Aimdra, wife of Sâhâ Velachaṁda Mâṇyekachaṁda of Râjanagara.

No. cii.[25] Saṁvat 1914 (written 19014), Mârgaśîrsha, vadi aikame,[26] Wednesday (*vârabuddhe*); an image of Śûvrattajina, dedicated by Bâî Harakuṁyyara, wife of Mâṇikachaṁda Khimachaṁda, an Usa of Râjanagara.

[15] In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, in a room in the south corridor, next the preceding.—J. B.

[16] In the same room as the preceding.

[17] In the same place as in No. xciii.

[18] In the Chaumukh enclosure, on the east wall of a marble temple behind the great one.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 325.

[19] In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, in a room in the south corridor.—J. B.

[20] Date on the image 903.

[21] In Hemabhai's Ṭuṅk, south wing, room No. 33.—J. B.

[22] Hemabhai's Ṭuṅk, south wing, No. 32.

[23] In the same corridor, No. 31.

[24] In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, south corridor, No. 28; see No. cvi.

[25] In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, south corridor, No. 22.—J. B.

[26] Date on the image Saṁvat 1893.

No. ciii.[27] Saṁvat 1916, Vaiśâkha, kriśna 6, Thursday, (*uttarâshâḍhanakshatra saṁkrâṁti mesha, sûrjo udayâṭ ghaṭi 1, pala* 45); a temple (*Śrîcâsupûjyaprasâda*) built, *yâtrâ* and various benefactions made by an inhabitant of Kapaḍavaṇaja, a Neṁma by race, of the Vṛiddha-sâshâ and Maṇiyâṇa-gotra, called Sâ Hîrâji, his son Gulâbachaṁda and wife Manakuvara, their son Pârekha Mithubhai and wife Benakuṁvara, their son Karamachaṁda and wives (1) Bâî Jaḍâva, (2) Bâî Śiven, consecrated in the reign of Vidyânaṁdasûri, successor of Dhanesarasûri of the Ânandasûri *gachchha* by Gani Raṁgavijaya, pupil of Paṁ. Viravijaya, pupil of Paṁ. Dhîravijaya, a *saṁvegapakshi*, pupil of Paṁ. Khemâvijaya of the Tapâ *gachchha*, during the reign of *râjâdhirâja* Pratâpasiṁghajî.

No. civ.[28] Saṁvat 1916, Śâka 1781, Phâlguna, krishna 2, Friday; an image of Ajitanâtha, dedicated in the new temple in the Vakhatachaṁdavasî, by Śeṭh Anopachaṁda, son of Vakhatachaṁda (etc., see No. xci), and by his wife Adhîra and daughter Bâî Ddhîrya (Dhîraj), in the reign of Vijaya-Devemdrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha.*

No. cvi.[29] Saṁvat 1922, Mârgasara, vadi 7, Thursday; an iṁage of Aranâtha, dedicated by Sîvaprasâda, son of Modî Namidâsa, Osavâla of the Vṛiddha Śâkhâ and the Chhâjeḍâ gotra, inhabitant of Kâśî, consecrated by Hîrâchaṁdra, pupil of Paṁ. Devachaṁda, by command of (?) Jinamuktisûri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha.*

No. cvii.[30] Saṁvat 1924, Mâgha śukla 10, Monday[31]; an image of Sîtalanâthaji, dedicated by Sâ Amolakakasalâ, a Dasâ-Poravâḍa of the Laghu-Śâkhâ, inhabitant of Viśâlanagara (Vîsalnagar?) in Gujara-deśa; his sons were Mûlachaṁda, Mayâchaṁda, Ravichaṁda, their sons Gokala, Dîpachaṁda and Shimachaṁda; consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha* by Paṁ. Ratnavijaya.

No. cviii.[32] Saṁvat 1928, Mâgha sukla 13, Thursday; an image of Pârśvajina, in their own temple (*deharî*) in the Ṭuṅk of Seṭh Motisâ, dedicated by Prâgajî and his father Galâlachaṁda, the latter being the son of Bâî Iratana, and Khimajî, son of Jhaverî Velâjî of Navânagara.

No. cix.[33] Saṁvat 1930, Chaitra vada 2; an image of Dharmanâtha, dedicated by Sâ Mâṁnakachaṁda Motîchaṁda, of Amadâvâd.

No. cx.[34] Vikrama-Saṁvat 1939, Mahâmâsa, krisṇa 12, Tuesday; an image of Sâṁtînâtha, dedicated by Nânâpujà Sà Pîtâṁbaradâsa, a Poravâḍa of the Laghu Śâkhâ inhabitant of Amadâvâd.

No. cxi.[35] Saṁvat 1940, Saka 1805, Vaiśâkha śukla 3, Monday (*ishṭa ghaṭi 3 pala 10 suryodayât*); during the reign of Goyala Sûrasiṁghajî of Pâlitâṅâ, in the time of Vivekasâgarasûri of the Aṁchala *gachchha*, an image of Âdinâtha dedicated in Sâ Keśava Nâyaka's Ṭuṅk in the temple of Puṁḍarîka, by Sâhâ Trikama, who lives in Nalinapura, in Kachchha and in Mu[ṁ] bâibiṁdar (*Bombay*), an Osavâla of the Laghu śâkhâ and Shotâ-gotra; consecrated by Muni Shetasî.

[27] In the Bâlâbhâî Ṭuṅk, near the shrine door of the temple in the south-east.—*Lists*, p 212, No. 493—J. B.
[28] In Hemabhâî's Ṭuṅk, in another room, No. 27 of the same *Bhâmti*, with No. c.
[29] In Motśâh's Ṭuṅk, in a room in the south corridor, No. 28; in the same room as No. ci.
[30] In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, in the south corridor room No. 23.—J. B.
[31] Date on the image—Saṁvat 1903.
[32] In Motiśâh's Ṭunk, in the south corridor room No 30—J.B.
[33] In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, south corridor No. 35.
[34] In Sâkalchand Premachand's Ṭuṅk, west side corridor, small shrine No. 18, under an image.
[35] In the shrine of Puṇḍarîka at Keśavji Nâvak's temple in Vimalavasi Ṭuṅk.—J B.

No cxii.[36] Saṁvat 1910, Mâgha śukla 6, Saturday; an image of Pârśvanâtha, dedicated by Parasatâmidhayâ (?), son of Jayasiṁha Himachaṁda, a Śrîmâlî of the Vriddha Śâkhâ, inhabitant of Amatavâ âma (?), consecrated by Paṁnyâsa Gulâbavijaya-gaṇi, pupil of Paṁnyâsa Maṇivijaya.

No. cxiii.[37] Saṁvat 1910, Phâlguna śukla 3, Friday; an image of Dharmanâtha, dedicated by Râmachaṁda Phulachaṁda, a Vriddha Srîmâlî, inhabitant of Aṇahillapura; consecrated by Paṁnyâsa Gulâbavijaya gaṇi, pupil of Paṁnyâsa Maṇivijaya-gaṇi of the Saṁvijña-paksha of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. cxiv.[38] Saṁvat 1943, Pausa, krisṇa asṭamî, Monday; a *Vâsupûjyajina*, dedicated by Sâ Kevaḷa Lakhamîcha(ṁ)da, a Dasâ-Saramâlî (Śrîmâlî) of Amadâvâd, his wife Kesarabâî, his son Chunîlâla, with his wife Parasanabâî, and their daughter Bena Sâṁkuna.

No. cxv.[39] Saṁvat 1943, Mâga sukala 10, Thursday; an image of Sâ(ṁ)tînâth, dedicated by Sâ Lalu Vakhatachaṁd(a), a Vîsâ-Osavâla of Amadâvâd, his wife Bâî Adhîr, his daughter Dhîraja, and his sons Vâdîlâla and Bholâbhâî.

No. cxvi.[40] No date; an image of Śreyâṁsa, dedicated at the request (*upadeśa*) of Kalyâṇasâgarasûri[41] of the Amchala gachchha, consecrated on Vaiśâkha sudi 3, Wednesday.

No. cxvii.[42] Saṁvat 15 . . (? ?) . . . sudi 5; buddhe, an Ashṭâpada, dedicated by Jhaverachaṁda (?), mentions also the name of Udayasâgarasûri.

No. cxviii.[43]

L. 1 ॥ श्रीं ॥ सं° १६५० [प्र] चै° पूर्णि-
2. मायां सुविहितसाफचीर-
3. सागरप्रोल्लामश्रीनपादानां
4. निजवचनरंजितसाहिश्री-
5. अकब्बरप्रदत्तश्रीसिद्धशै-
6. लानां भटारकश्रीविजयसे-[44]
7. नसूरिप्रमुखसुविहित-
8. भक्तिभरसेव्यमानपादा-
9. रविदानां श्री ६ श्रीहीरवि-
10. जयसू.(पादानां माहात्म्यप्री-
11. णितसीहिनिर्मितसकल-[45]
12. सत्वद्रव्यग्रहण[मु]क्तिका-
13. यां प्रथमचैत्रीपूर्णिमायां [त-]
14. च्छिष्यसकलवीचककोटि-[46]
15. कोटीरशतकोटिश्री ६ श्रीवि-
16. मलहर्षगणिभि[47] । श्रे° पं° देव-°
17. हर्ष ग° श्रीशत्रुंजयकतकत्य[48]
18. पं° धर्मविजय ग° पं° जयवि-
19. जय ग° जसविजयहंसवि-[49]
20. जय ग° मुनि [वि]मलादिमुनि-
21. शतद्वयपरिकरितैर्निर्वि-
22. [50]—ल्लिता यात्रा इति भद्रम् [॥]

Saṁvat 1650, Chaitra full moon day; Vimalaharsha, pupil of bhaṭṭâraka Hiravijaya, of the Sâpha gotra, which latter was honoured by Sâhi Akabbara and received from him the Siddhaśaila (*Śatruṁjaya*), made a pilgrimage, together with 200 other monks.

[36] In a cell of Keśavji Nâyak's temple in the Vimalavasî Tunk, east corridor.—J. B.

[37] In some place as the preceding.

[38] In Sakalachand Premachand's Ṭunk, on the seat below the image in the temple to the right of the principal one.

[39] In Sâkalachand Premachand, under an image, west side, corridor 17

[40] On the base of an image in a temple outside the Hâthî-pola, north side.—*List*, p. 201, No. 234.

[41] This name shows that the inscription belongs to Saṁvat 1675 or 1683,—1676 is the date of the temple.—J.B.

[42] On a brass plate in Modi Premachand's temple, see No. xliv.—J.B.

[43] On the south wall of the temple of Âdîsvara Bhagavân temple.—J. B.

[44] Read भट्टारक°

[45] Read °साहि°

[46] Read °वाचक°

[47] Read °णिभि:

[48] Read °त्रुंजय°। कृतकृत्य

[49] Read हंस°

[50] Read °र्वा°

VII.—VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SÂNCHI STÛPAS.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined transcripts of a large number of the votive inscriptions, found on the Sânchi, or more correctly Kâkanâda,[1] Stûpas Nos. I and II, have been prepared according to impressions by Drs. Burgess and Führer. The former took impressions of about twenty inscriptions in the beginning of 1889, and Dr. Führer, who visited Sânchi during the cold season of 1889-90, made copies of the whole collection. Compared with Sir A. Cunningham's collection,[2] *Bhilsa Topes*, plates xvi—xix and xxi, the present ones show a hundred and ten inscriptions less for Stûpa I, and twenty-seven less for Stûpa II. On the other hand, there are, counting the duplicates, forty-one inscriptions from Stûpa I and five from Stûpa II which I cannot trace in Sir A. Cunningham's work. The missing inscriptions are probably incised on stones, which may have been lost in the repairs executed some years ago, or during the forty years which have elapsed since the preparation of Sir A. Cunningham's book. The most serious loss is that of Sir A. Cunningham's No. 177 (*Bhilsa Topes*, plate xix), see also *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. I, Plate xx[3], which, as I have already pointed out in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 124, seems to contain a second version of Aśoka's so-called Kosambî edict on the Allahâbâd Pillar. This much appears highly probable from a comparison of the middle portions of the two inscriptions:—

Allahâbâd.	*Sânchi.*
. . . . saṁghaṁ [.] [Bho]khati bhikhu-va bhikhunî-vâ. [pi] châ [.] (2) dâ[tâ]ni [d]usâni . naṁ dhâpayitu ânapesa . v. s. y. y. [.]	. . . . saṁghaṁ (3) Bhokhati bhikhu [v*] â bhikhuni [vâ*] [.] dâtâ (4) ni du[sâ]ni s[â*]naṁ. [dh* â]p[a*]yit [u*] anâ[p*]e (5) sasi visapetaviye [.] Ichhâ hi me sâ (6) ti saṁghasa[4] mage chilatnitike siyâ ti (7).

Assuming a new sentence to begin with *bhokhati* L. 5, the remainder of the Sânchi version may be translated as follows:—

"Monks and nuns will dine,[5] (*and*) causing white cloths to be put down for them, (*you*) will order it to be spread. For my wish is this, that the path of the Community (*of Buddhist monks*) may endure for a long time."

The order is evidently addressed to an official, probably to the *mahâmâtra* in charge of Mâlvâ, just as the edict on the Allahâbâd Pillar gives directions to the governor of

[1] See J. F. Fleet: *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, p. 31.

[2] Inscriptions found only in Sir A. Cunningham's collection will be referred to in the sequel, according to his numbers to which C is prefixed.

[3] During the repairs under Majo. Keith, many loose stones were built into the dome, some of which may have borne short votive inscriptions. The Aśoka edict was on a fragment of a large pillar, which still lies at the great stûpa. This and others may possibly have been overlooked by Dr. Führer in his hurried visit.—J. B.

[4] Sir A. Cunningham's two facsimiles (*A*, *Bhilsa Topes*, Plate xix; *B*, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. I Plate xx) have the following readings, which I have corrected:—

L. 4, *ta bhikhu . . i oṁdâto* (*A*) *châ bhikhuni yi khudâtâ* (*B.*);

L. 5, *dupâri* (*A*), *du* [*sa*] *pir* (*B*); *sanaṁ* (*A*, B); *.chhavaṁ andte* (*A*); *pâyita anâ* (*B*);

L. 6, *vidhavetaviye* (*A*).

L. 7, *tiṁ saṁghaṁsa* (*A*), *tiṁ* (*B*); *milathitikeṁ* (*A*).

I do not dare to propose a restoration of the first three lines of the Sânchi version. Mr. Prinsep's and Sir A. Cunningham's attempts (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 260 f.) do not seem to me successful.

[5] Or perhaps "(*if*) a monk or a nun will dine (*then*) etc."

Kosambî. According to Childers, *Pali Dictionary* (sub voce *dussa*), it was customary with the Buddhists to spread white cloths on the seats prepared for the reception of distinguished monks. It is this mark of honour which both versions order to be shown to the monks and nuns visiting the sacred places. The concluding sentence of the Sânchi version, which probably was omitted on the Allahâbâd Pillar, may mean either that the king wishes the tenets (*mage*) of the Buddhist monks to exist for a long time, or that he desires the visits of the faithful to the sacred places to continue for a long time. The wording of this inscription shows the peculiar breadth which the Beloved of the Gods affects in his edicts, and we have the phrases, familiar to every reader of the latter, "for it is my wish" and "that . . . may endure for a long time." Finally, it must be pointed out that *chilathitika*, instead of which the dialect of Mâlvâ would have required *chirathitika*, as well as the final *e* of the masculine nominative singular *mage*, is a Magadhism, and that (as already stated by Sir A. Cunningham) the letters of the Sânchi version show the type of Aśoka's Rock and Pillar edicts. This inscription furnishes, therefore, the proof that the pillar at the South Gate, on which it has been found, dates from Aśoka's times. It, further, permits us to infer that those inscriptions on the railings of the Stûpa, which show the same characters, belong to an equally early period. The latter inference agrees with Sir A. Cunningham's views, who, besides, has assigned the inscriptions on the gateway to much later times.[6] According to his opinion all the latter documents belong to the first century A.D., because their characters are of the same type as his No. 190, which records a donation of Vâsiṭhiputa Ânaṁda, *âvesani* or foreman of the artisans of king Siri-Sâtakaṇi. Identifying this Sâtakaṇi with the third king of the Andhra dynasty, Sir A. Cunningham assigns to him, in accordance with Professor H. H. Wilson's calculations, the years 19-37 A.D., and thus places the date of Ânaṁda's inscription in the beginning of the first century of our era. Though I fully agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the Sâtakaṇi of his No. 190 to be the third Andhra king of the Paurâṇik lists, I must differ from him regarding the date. The characters of his inscription No. 190, as well of the others on the Sânchi gateway, are in my opinion much earlier than the first century of our era. They are almost identical with those of the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of the characters of Aśoka's times. It deserves also to be noted that among the inscriptions of the Śeṭh Nâgapiya two, our Nos. 85 (=C. 182) and C. 192, are in the later characters, while one, our No. 7 (= C. 13) on Stûpa No. II, shows the same characters as Aśoka's inscriptions. Such a vacillation is easily explicable, if Nâgapiya lived in the second century B.C. But it is difficult to understand on the supposition that his donations were made two centuries later. Further, there is another important argument, which makes it probable that the first Siri-Sâtakaṇi of the Andhra dynasty ruled, not after the beginning of our era, but about the middle of the second century B.C. I can only agree with Dr. Bhagvânlâl[7] in identifying the first Andhra Sâtakaṇi with the Sâtakaṇi, whom Khâravela, king of Kaliṅga, protected in the second year of his reign. The

[6] *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 271 ff. Sir A. Cunningham's assertion that the occurrence of the name *Gotiputra* (in our No. 49) possesses a great value for determining the age of the railing, is of course no longer tenable. Correctly interpreted, *Gotiputra*, in Sanskrit *Gauptiputra*, means only that the royal scribe *Subâhita* was the son of a lady of the *Gota* or *Gaupta* race. It by no means follows that she was the same person as the *Goti* or *Gaupti* who bore the famous Buddhist teacher of Aśoka's times.

[7] *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orient.*, vol. III, 2, p. 146. Dr. Bhagvân lâl, who assumes that the Maurya era began with Aśoka's conquest of Kaliṅga, fixes the beginning of Sâtakaṇi's reign in 95 B.C.

thirteenth year of Khâravela corresponds with the year 165 of the Maurya era (Bhagvânlâl, *op. cit.* p. 149). Assuming, as I believe must be done, that the Maurya era begins with the coronation of Chandragupta, which fell between 322—312 B.C., Khâravela's second year lay between 169 and 159 B.C., and Siri-Sâtakaṇi was on the throne about that time. For these reasons I must assign our Nos. 83—88 and Sir A. Cunningham's Nos. 178, 179, 183, 184, 186—192, 194—196 to the first half of the second century B.C. To the same, and partly even to a later, period belong also our Nos. 13 (C. 25), 21 (C. 39), 51 (C. 112), 96, 108, 111 and 123. Among these, Nos. 13, 51 and 96 particularly show the characteristics noticeable in the inscriptions of the first century A.D., *viz.* the inverted *da*, the square *sa*, the angular *ma*, and the *anusvâra* above the line. All these inscriptions, with the exception of No. 21, are very badly engraved and not much better than mere scrawls. Their occurrence on the railings among much older documents may possibly be explained by the supposition that they record repairs of older broken *vedikâs*.

With respect to the age of the inscriptions on Stûpa II, it is important to note that one person, who contributed to the gateways of Stûpa I, appears as donor of a piece of the railing. This is Śeṭh Nâgapiya, whose case has already been noticed.[8] It is further remarkable that Balaka, the pupil of Arahaguta-Sâsâdaka, occurs in No. 19 (C.) of Stûpa II, while his teacher is named as donor in No. 18 (C. 35) of Stûpa I. These two facts point to the conclusion that portions of, or perhaps the whole, railing were erected somewhat later than Aśoka's times. But the interval cannot be very great, because, as Sir A. Cunningham has pointed out (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 291), the letters of the inscriptions on Stûpa II fully resemble those of Aśoka's edicts. And it agrees with this estimate, as Sir A. Cunningham has likewise stated (*loc. cit.*),[9] that the Stûpa II contained the relics of contemporaries of Aśoka, of Moggaliputa, who, according to the Buddhist works, presided at the third Council of Pâṭaliputra, and of Majhima who was sent as missionary to the districts in the Himâlaya and is called in the inscription on the relic box *savahemavatâchariya* "the teacher of the whole Haimavata (*district*)."

The language of the inscriptions likewise agrees with the assumption that they belong to the third century B.C., and to the first half of the second. It differs very little from the literary Pali and still less from the dialects of Aśoka's edicts, and it shares all the peculiarities of that of the Bharhut inscriptions,[10] which latter, with the exception of the inscription over the gateway, on the evidence of their characters belong to the time of the Maurya dynasty.

The inflected forms show, like the Bharhut inscriptions, a mixture of the case terminations used in the eastern and western versions of Aśoka's edicts. This is particularly noticeable in the genitives of the feminine stems in *î* and *â*, which sometimes end in *ya* or *yâ*, and sometimes in *ye*. Not traceable in Pali and Aśoka's edicts is the ablative in *âto*, which occurs three times in I, 51, 59, and 64. It is found once in the Bharhut inscription No. 116. It is very common in the Jaina Mathurâ inscriptions,[11] and the

[8] It is also possible that Nâgila, the pupil of Aya, mentioned in No. 1 of Stûpa II, may be identical with the venerable Nâgila, whose relatives according to No. 84 (C. 181) made a portion of the gateway of Stûpa I.

[9] I cannot agree with Sir A. Cunningham that there were relics of ten contemporaries of Aśoka. There are only two names which agree with those mentioned in the *Dipavansa* and the *Mahâvansa*

[10] See Dr. E. Hultzsch's excellent edition of these documents in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XL, p. 58 ff. The references in the sequel give his numbers and readings.

[11] See *ante*, vol. I, p. 372.

original from which the Śaurasenî termination *ádo* and the Mahâshtrî *áo* have been derived. Peculiar is also the nominative, instead of the crude form, at the end of the first part of a compound. It occurs once in I. 3, where *kekaṭeyakasa jamata-vijitasa* is a negligent spelling for *kekaṭeyakasa jámátá-vijitasa*, and takes the place of the grammatically correct *jámátu* or *jámáti-vijitasa*. The some anomaly is repeatedly observable in the Bharhut inscriptions, see *e.g.* No. 10, *isimigo-játaka*, and it is very common in the Jaina Mathurâ inscriptions.[12] Further, the use of the feminine affix *á* at the end of female names in *devá*, *e.g.* *Soṇado* [*de*]*vá*, I, 8; *Dhamadevá* II, 3; which agrees with that of the Bharhut inscriptions *e.g.* in *Chápadevá*, No. 22, differs from the Pali. But it would be correct even in Sanskrit, if the compounds are taken as Bahuvrîhis and in the sense of "she whose god is Sona, Dhama, or Châpa."[13]

The word-forms are in general of the type of the Pali and of Aśoka's Girnâr edicts. Even the *ra*, which is never changed to *la*, is occasionally preserved in groups of consonants. And it is worthy of note that in the name *Práliṭhánasa*, I. 12, even the spelling of the initial syllable agrees exactly with that used in the Girnâr inscriptions for words like *práṇa*, *priya* and so forth. The *á* stroke is attached to *ra*, and both are placed above the *pa*, which thus shows at the top the well-known wavy line. Some of the words, which differ from those used in Pali and Aśoka's edicts, are at least formed according to principles prevalent or traceable in the most ancient Prakrits. *Bhichhu*, which appears far more frequently than *bhikhu*, shows the change of *ksha* to *chchha* or *chha* observable in Pali *achchhi*, a variant for *akkhi*, and Aśoka's *chhudaka* for *khudaka* and other words.[14] The only remarkable point is that the form with *chha* does not occur in this particular case in Pali, nor in Aśoka's edicts, but that it is found repeatedly in the Bharhut inscriptions[15] see, *e.g.*, Nos. 27, 31, 65, 120. *Nhusá*, I. 22, which clearly stands for Sanskrit *snushá* "daughter-in-law" has been formed according to the principle applied in Pali to medial *sn*. It is interesting, because neither the Pali nor Aśoka's dialects admit the group *nh* in the beginning of this or any other word. The Pali forms for *snushá* are *sunisá*, *suṇhá* and *husá*.[16] *Nusá*, a further corruption of *nhusá*, appears in our inscription, I. 73. The proper name *Patiṭhiya*, I. 22, 23, no doubt represents the Sanskrit *pratishṭhita*, and thus shows an elision of a medial *ta*. Such elisions are rare in the most ancient Prakrits. Nevertheless, a number of similar forms has been collected in Professor Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik*, p. 56.

A large number of other peculiarities which the Sânchi and Bharhut inscriptions exhibit are, I think, merely graphic and partly due to negligent spelling. Among these I would reckon :—

(1) The frequent omission of a medial long *á*, *e.g.* in *danaṁ* for *dánaṁ*, I. 6, 49, 82, *jamata* for *jámátá*, I. 3, *Achalaya* for *Achaláya*, I. 6, *Soṇado*[*de*]*vaya* for *Soṇadeváya*, I. 8, *upasikáye* for *upásikáye*, I. 20, *Asvadevaye* for *Asvadeváye*, I. 30, *Yasilaya* for *Yasiláya*, I. 33, *pajavatiyá* for *pajávatiyá*, I. 48, *bhatu* for *bhátu*, I. 63, *Samidatása* for *Sámidatasa*, I, 65, *Avisinaye* for *Avisináye*,

[12] See *ante*, vol. I, p. 375.

[13] Such compounds would fall under the general rule of Pâṇini, IV, 1, 4, which teaches that nouns in *a* take *á* in the feminine.

[14] See E. Müller: *Pali Grammar*, p. 55;—Kuhn: *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, p. 52.

[15] Another abnormal *chha* occurs in *sechha*, Sanskrit *śaiksha* and Pali *sekha*, Bharhut inscriptions, No. 15.

[16] The latter probably stood in I, C. 58, where Sir A. Cunningham gives a meaningless *pusa*; see below, note 27.

I. 79, *Arapána* for *Arâpáná* (ablative), I. 89 *Jitamitaye* for *Jitámitáye*, I. 101, *Vedisakaya* for *Vedisakáya*, I. 117, *Dhamasenaya* for *Dhamasenáya*, II. 9, and *Nágapalitaya* for *Nágapálitáya*, II. 10.[17]

(2) The occasional omission of short *i*, *e.g.*, in *Dhamarakhatáye* for *Dhamarakhitáye*, I. 76, and *bhichhunayá* for *bhichhuniyá*, I. 119

(3) The almost invariable omission of medial *anusváras*, *e. g.* in *Udubaraghara* and its derivatives (see Appendix, List V), in *Nadinagara* and its derivatives (see *ibidem*), *Tubavana* (*ibidem*), *Upidadata* (see Appendix, List III), in the proper names beginning with *Dhama*° (see Appendix, Lists I-V), and in *atevási* for *aṁtevási* I. 12, 66, 88, 112.

It seems to me that the omission of the long *á* is due everywhere to carelessness, and has for its ultimate cause the custom, common even in late times among clerks and tradesmen, of omitting the vowel-marks altogether; for, the real existence of forms like *jamata*, *jataka* and *jitamita*, in the spoken language, has little probability. As regards the omission of *i*-strokes and of the Anusvâras, it is possible to conceive also of other explanations. The syllables in which the *i* is omitted stand, one and all, *in thesi*, *i.e.* immediately before or after the syllable which bears the stress-accent. A vowel which is placed in such a position is very indistinct, and it is not impossible that *na* and *kha* were sometimes actually pronounced instead of *ni* and *khi* in words like *bhichhúnayá* and *Dhamarakhatáye*. A good many vowel-changes in the literary Prakrits are due to this principle, and a still greater number in the modern vernaculars of India. It must also be noted that in Aśoka's inscriptions *aya* appears occasionally instead of *iya*,[18] and for the same reason.

With respect to the omission of the Anusvâra it must be borne in mind that the spelling *dhama*° instead of *dhaṁma*° is perfectly admissible, because in these inscriptions a single consonant does duty for a double one, and hence *dhama* may be read *dhamma*, as the word is invariably spelt in Pali. Further, *Upidadata* and *Tubavana* may stand for *Upídadata* and *Túbavana*, because long *í* and *ú* are marked very rarely in these, as in other old inscriptions. But forms like *Upídadatta* and *Túbavana* are again admissible in Pali and other ancient Prakrits, where *í* and *ú* may be put for *iṁ* and *uṁ* as in *síha*, *vísati* and so forth. And it must be noted that the form *Ída* for Indra occurs repeatedly, *e.g.* in L. 1 of the large Nânâghâṭ inscription, *Archæological Rep. West Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 60. A form like *Nadinagara* may be a negligent spelling for *Nádinagara*, which actually occurs in our inscription I. 7; for the Pali and the other Prakrits show in a number of cases *á* for *aṁ*, *e.g.*, in *dáṭhá* for *daṁshṭrá*, *saṇḍása* for *saṁdaṁśa* and so forth. It is no matter of surprise that the dialect of the inscriptions should show these changes more frequently than the literary language of the Buddhist canon. These explanations of the omission of the Anusvâra seem to me more probable than the assumption that it is simply in every case due to negligence.

Turning to the contents of the inscriptions, the latter offer, in spite of their extreme brevity, a good many points of interest. Among the two hundred and eighty-five in-

[17] Analogous cases are extremely common in the Bharhut inscriptions, and it will suffice to quote one sentence, No. 155, *yaṁ bráhmano avayesi jatakaṁ*, which, as Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out, is a quotation from *Jâtakas*, vol. I., p. 293, verse 61 (Fausböll), where the text has *yaṁ bráhmaṇo avádesi.*

[18] See M. Senart's collection of such forms in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 304; and my additions in *der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, p. 154, to which instances *chetaya* for Sanskrit *chai tya*, Pali *chetiya*, has to be added from the Bharhut inscription No. 11.

scriptions, contained in Sir A. Cunningham's and the present collections, there are ten, recording donations by corporate bodies or families. The remainder give the names of individual donors. If a certain number of mutilated, or according to the facsimiles inexplicable, inscriptions are left out, and if the homonymous donors are considered to be the same persons,[19] we find among them fifty-four monks and thirty-seven nuns, as well as ninety-one males and forty-five or forty-seven females, who probably were lay members of the Buddhist sect.[20]

On the other hand, it is not improbable that two persons, bearing slightly different names, may be identical. Thus the monk Jonaka, I, C. 152, may be the same as the monk Jonhaka, I, 75.

Among the corporate bodies making donations, there are, according to the explanations given below, two villages, Vejaja I, 17, and Pâḍukulikâ II, 1. Sir A. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 240 and p. 280) takes in both cases *grâma* as a personal name or as a part of such. But *grâma* is not used in such a manner, and the translation of *Vejajasa gâmasa dânaṁ* by "Gift of Vejajjagrâma," is grammatically inadmissible, as that could only be *Vejajagâmasa dânaṁ*. On the other hand, the form of the two names agrees well with the suggestion that they denote villages, for, Pâḍukulikâ corresponds to Pâṇḍukulikâ, 'the little dwelling,' or the little sanctuary of Pâṇḍu, *i.e.* the Nâga Pâṇḍu, and the word Vejaja closely agrees in its ending with the terminations *aj*, *ej*, and *ij*, which occur in hundreds of Indian village names as corruptions of the affixes *aya*, *eya* and *îya*[21]. Its first part corresponds to Sanskrit *vaidya*, which possibly may be an abbreviation of *Vaidyanâtha*.[22] Pious donations, made by villages or towns, do not occur frequently in the inscriptions[23], and those recorded on the Sânchi Stûpas possess a particular interest for, though, perhaps, they do not prove that all the inhabitants of Vejaja and Pâḍukulikâ were Upâsakas of the Buddhist Saṁgha, they yet indicate that their most influential men, the members of the village Panch, belonged to the Bauddha sect, and that Buddhism had gained a footing among the agricultural population of Mâlvâ. Of equal interest is the mention of a *Bodhagoṭhî*, in I, 25, 26. The compound corresponds to *Bauddhagoṣṭhî*. A *goshṭhî* is a committee of trustees in charge of a temple or of a charitable foundation. The inscriptions teach us, therefore, that the village of Dharmavardhana possessed a Bauddha shrine, or perhaps a Vihâra, which was managed by such a committee. The fact that Goshṭhîs existed in the third century B.C. is of some importance. The term *goṭhî* occurs also in I, 51, where it is preceded by the word *Barulamisâya* or *Barulamisâna*. I am unable to explain the latter term. The collective gift of the *Vedisakâ dâmtakârâ*, or workers in ivory of Vedisa, I, C. 189, probably indicates that these artisans formed a guild, or *śreṇî*, such as the Nâsik inscriptions mention repeatedly.

Among the remaining inscriptions of this class, which mention the Vâkiliyas of Ujjain, I, 27, C. 21, all the relatives of the venerable Nâgila, I, 84, and the Upâsikâs

[19] This is, of course, by no means certain, because in some cases persons bearing the same names are clearly distinct. Thus Asvadevâ, the mother of Bahadata (I, 30), is certainly not the same person as Asvadevâ, the mother of Samika (I, C. 83), nor the nun Isidatâ of Madhuvana (I, C. 132), the same as the nun Isidatâ of Kurâra.

[20] The number of the Upâsikâs is uncertain, because possibly the Oḍi, mentioned I, 82, may be identical with the nun Oḍi, II, 11, and because the interpretation of I, 21 is uncertain.

[21] The map of Gujarât furnishes *e. g.*, Adâlaj, Arnej, Kâmlej, Kamrej, Pariyaj, Palej, Prântij, Sarkhej. Among these Kamrej (also Kamlej), east of Surat, was called in Sanskrit *Karmaneya* or *Kamanîya* (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 193).

[22] Vaidya occurs as the name of a village in the Nepal inscriptions; *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 175.

[23] The Bharhut inscription No. 16 mentions a gift of the town of *Karahakaṭa* (Karahakaṭa-nigamasa).

or female lay worshippers of Navagâma, I, C. 53, the first two are the most interesting. If, as I believe to be the case, the Vâkalâ devî, the mother of Ahimita, mentioned in I, C. 8, belonged to this family, it must have been a royal, or at least a noble race. With this supposition, *Vâkiliya*, further, must be considered to stand for *Vâkaliya*. It would then correspond to Sanskrit *Vârkalîya* and *Vâkalâ* to *Vârkalâ*. Both forms might be somewhat irregular patronymics from *Vṛikala*, which name is found in the mythological lists of the *Purânas* (see the Petersburg Dictionary, *sub voce*).

Proceeding to the inscriptions which mention donations made by monks and nuns, the first point, which must strike every reader, is their great number, which is proportionally greater than that found on any other Stûpa except at Bharhut or in the caves. As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics, who, according to the Mathurâ and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions. Another interesting point in which these inscriptions again agree with those of the Bharhut Stûpa is the entire absence of all mention of the Buddhist sects, which are frequently named in the Nâsik, Kârlé, Amarâvatî and other inscriptions. There are, on the other hand, a few specifications or titles given to certain monks and nuns, which are not without importance. Two terms of this kind, *Sutâtikinî* or *Sûtâtikinî*, I, 79, 80, "a female reciter of the *Suttanta* or the *Sûtras*" and *dhamakathika*, I, C. 191, "a reciter of the Dhamma," have been recognised by the earlier decipherers. But, a third very interesting one, *pachanekayika*, I. 66, has escaped detection. *Pachanekayika* is a negligent spelling for *pâchanekâyika* or *paṁchanekâyika*, which former occurs in the Bharhut inscription No. 144, in Sanskrit *pâñchanaikâyika*, and means, as Dr. Hultzsch has translated it, *loc. cit.*, "one who knows the five Nikâyas." The five Nikâyas are (see Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, sub voce) the five divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, the Dîghanikâyo, Majjhimanikâyo, Saṁyuttanikâyo, Aṅguttaranikâyo and Khuddakanikâyo. The title furnishes, therefore, a clear proof of the existence of these divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* at the time when the inscription was incised. And this time must be the third century B.C., as the letters of the inscription fully agree with those of Aśoka's edicts.[24] The discovery that the five great subdivisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* existed at so early a period lends some support to the view of those scholars who, like Professor Oldenberg, identify the titles of some of the treatises mentioned in Aśoka's longer Bairâṭ edict with portions of the Majjhimanikâyo and Aṅguttaranikâyo. *Yugapajaka*, I, 74, which I translate tentatively by "the path-(finder) of the age," seems to be a new title.

Among the individual monks named in the inscriptions, there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in the Buddhist scriptures. But the names of some, *e.g.* Bhaṁḍuka and Tisaka, agree with such as are found in Dr. Wenzel's *Index*. Aya-Pasanaka, I, 5, must, however, have been a man of some importance, as two pupils of his are mentioned on a pillar of the Sonârî Tope No. I. Monks and nuns, who

[24] See also Dr. Hultzsch's remarks on this and other clerical titles in the Bharhut inscriptions, *op. cit.*, p. 58, and on the quotation from the *Jâtaka*, *ibidem*, p. 76.

had one pupil, there are several. Peculiar and noteworthy are the names of monks and nuns, which like Kâboja, Prâtiṭhâna, Chirâtî, and perhaps also Oḍî, consist of adjectives derived from the names of countries, towns and races. In these cases it would seem that the real name of the donors has been left out. Some similar names occur among the laymen—thus the name of Kekaṭeyaka, I. 1. 3, the father of Dhama- and father-in-law of Vijita, apparently stands for Sanskrit Kaikaṭeyaka, and means 'he of the Kîkaṭa country or Magadha.'

As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their social position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest. To the highest rank belongs the Vâkalâdevî, I, C. 8. Descending lower in the social scale, we have a *gahapati*, or village landholder,[25] I, 22, 23. Next we find numerous persons bearing the title *seṭhi*, *sheṭh*, or alderman, II, 11, 35, 57, 85, 99, 115; C. 45, C. 46, C. 94, II, C. 8. Simple traders *vâṇija* or *vâṇika* are mentioned I, 47, 81, 91, C. 119. A royal scribe *râjalipikara* occurs I, 49, a professional writer, *lekhaka*, I, C. 48, a (*royal*) foreman of artisans, *âvesani*, I, C. 190, a trooper, *asavârika*, I, 117, and a humble workman, *kamika*, I, 10. The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title *pajâvatî*, literally 'a mother of children,' I, 8, 48, 95, 117; C. 45, C. 46, C. 62, is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely 'the mother of N. N.,'[26] and, that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own,[27] is worthy of note. Very peculiar is the phrase I. 73, *Tâpasiyânaṁ nusâya Mitâya* 'of Mitâ, the daughter-in-law of the Tâpasiyas'. The inscriptions I. C. 58, C. 59 and C. 67, of which unfortunately no impressions are accessible, indicate that the Tâpasiyas were a family or tribe residing in Ujjain.[28] If Mitâ is called the daughter-in-law of this community, that looks very much like a confirmation or practical illustration of a view regarding the legal position of married women mentioned as existing, but combated as objectionable by Âpastamba, *Dharmasûtra*, II, 10, 27, 3. He says, "For, they declare that a bride is given to the family (*of her husband, and not to the husband alone*)." I must content myself for the present with pointing out the possibility of a connexion between the wording of our inscription and the passage of Âpastamba. In order to prove it, more inscriptions containing the same or similar statements, and further information regarding the Tâpasiyas, are required.

[25] See Prof. Rhys Davids: *Sacred Books of the East*. vol. XI. p 257, note.

[26] See I, 2, 59, 72, 108; I. C. 37; C. 66; C. 166.

[27] See *e.g.* I, 30; C. 83. Similar cases occur frequently in other Buddhist, and also in the Jaina inscriptions.

[28] According to Sir A. Cunningham's copies the three inscriptions run as follows:—No. 58, *Ujeniya Tapasayâna Pusanajaya dânaṁ*, No. 59, *Ujeya, Tâpasâyanâ Isimâtasa dânaṁ*; No. 67, *Ujeniyâ Tapasiyenâ Sihadataya dânaṁ*, None of the texts can be quite correct. I suspect that the real readings are: (1) *Ujeniya Tapasiyâna husâ-Nadâya dânaṁ*, "The gift of Nadâ (*Nandâ*), daughter-in-law of the Tâpasiyas, from Ujjain;" (2) *Ujeniya Tâpasiyânâ Isimitasadânaṁ*. "The gift of Isimita (*Rishmitra*) of the Tâpasiyas, from Ujjain; (3) *Ujeniya Tâpasiyânâ Sihadataya dânaṁ*, "The gift of Sihadatâ (*Siṁhadattâ*) of the Tâpasiyas from Ujjain." If we combine the information conveyed by these inscriptions with the statement of our No. 73, it is evident that the Tâpasiyas were a family or tribe, settled in Ujjain. I do not think it necessary to assume, with Sir A. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 365), that they were ascetics. We have also Parivrâjaka Râjâs, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 97ff. I may add that Sir A. Cunningham identifies, *loc. cit.*, the Tâpasiyas with the "Tabasi Magorum" and the "Tabasa gens" of the classical authors.

The names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurâṇik worship during the third and second centuries B.C. A very large proportion of the names, *e.g.* Araha, Arahaka, Arahadata, Arahadina, Arahadâsa, Arahadâsî, Arahatapâlita, Arahaguta, Dhamadata, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhamapâlita, Budhila, Budhapâlita, Bodhi, Sagha, Saṁghila, Saghadinâ, Saghadeva, Saghamita and Saṁgharakhita, is decidedly Buddhist. Another considerable group of proper names, *e.g.* Asâḍa, Mulâ (*i.e.* *Mûlá*), Muladatâ, Phaguna, Poṭhaka, Pusa, Pusaka, Pusinî, Pusagiri, Pusarakhita, Poṭhaka, Poṭhâdevâ, Rohiṇî (*Rohiṇi*), Sâtila, Svatiguta, has been derived from the names of Nakshatras, and points to the conclusion that the rule of some *Gṛihyasûtras*,[29] which recommends the use of ***nakshatra-námáni***, was practically obeyed. The same inference may be drawn from almost all other collections of ancient inscriptions and from various ancient Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina works. There are further some names, such as Agisimâ (*Agniśarmá*), Agido-[de]vâ, Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*), Mahida, Mitâ, Vesamanadatâ, Visvadeva, Yamarakhitâ, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some, Nâgâ, Nâgila, Nâgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brahmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, the names Vinhukâ, an abbreviation for Vishṇudattâ or Vishṇurakshitâ, Upidadata or Opedadata (*Upendradatta*), Balaka and Balamitra (connected with one of the heroes of the legend of Krishṇa, Baladeva or Balarâma, who is also called Bala), furnish evidence for the development of Vaishṇavism, while Nadiguta (*Nandigupta*), Naṁdigiri,[30] Sàmidata (*Svámi-*, *i.e.* *Kumára-datta*), Samika and Samikâ (*Svámika*, *Svámiká*), Sivanadi (*Śivanandi*) do the same service to Śaivism. It is also possible that Isadata and Himadata are likewise Śaiva names. If the former has been correctly read,[31] it corresponds to Sanskrit Îśadatta. The other two *may* be connected wth Himâ, a name of Durgâ. They may, however, be also derived from *Hima*, "the moon."

The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families. The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax among the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay the prevalence of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, not only during the third century B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaishṇavism and Śaivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism. By exactly the same method of analysis which has been here applied to the names on the Sânchi Stûpa, it is possible

[29] See, *e.g.*, *Hir. Gṛi. Sû.* II, 4, 13.

[30] I would explain *Nandigiri* by "he whose mountain (*i e.* protection) is or may be Nandin," on the analogy of *Dantidurga*, for which name *Dantivarman* appears. Devagiri, Himagiri, Dhamagirika, Sibagiri may be explained similarly, though Devagiri and Himagiri may also be considered as personal names derived from mountain names. Vijha, *i.e.* Vindhya, furnishes a certain instance of the latter kind.

[31] Possibly the correct form may be Isidata, i.e. *Ṛishidatta*, (compare *Isiguta*).

to extract from those occurring in the canonical works of the Buddhists, the proof that the Pâurâṇik religions flourished at the time when those works were composed. If, *e.g.*, we learn from the *Bhikkhupâchittiya*, II, 1, that the ox of a Brahman in Takshaśilâ was called Nandivisâlo "as big as Nandi," it is not doubtful that the animal had received its name in honour of Śiva's vehicle, and that Śaivism was popular at the time when the *Suttavibhaṅga* was composed and probably earlier.

The last point which calls for remark is the identification of the numerous geographical names which the inscriptions offer. A small proportion of the latter causes no great difficulty. Erakina, as must be read instead *Dharakina*, is without doubt the modern Eraṇ in the Sâgar district of the Central Provinces, which on the ancient copper coins is called Erakana or Erakaṇa, and in Sanskrit Airikiṇa.[32] Mahisati is the ancient town of Mâhishmatî, identified with the modern Mandal,[33] Pokhara, the ancient Pushkara and the modern Pokhar near Ajmir, Pratiṭhâna (the base of the male proper name Prâtiṭhâna) either Allahâbâd[34] or Paiṭhân on the Godâvarî, Ujenî, the modern Ujjain, and Vedisa the modern Besnagar.

Further Kuraghara, which appears five times, I would identify with the village of Kuraraghara, which according to the Buddhist scriptures lay in Avantî or Eastern Mâlvâ, and was the residence of Mahâkachchâyana.[35] Kuraraghara is, of course, the etymologically correct form of the name, and Kuraghara, a corruption by a kind of haplophony, which occurs more frequently in geographical and other names. The *Indian Atlas*, Quarter Sheet, No. 53 N.E., shows in 23° 38′ N. Lat., and 77° 5′ E. Long., an apparently not inconsiderable place, called 'Kurawar,' which may be the modern representative of Kuraghara.

With respect to the remaining towns and villages it is difficult to offer more than more or less uncertain conjectures, because there is no indication to which part of India they belonged, and because many of the names occur scores of times on the map of India, and more than once even in the immediate neighbourhood of Sânchi-Kâkanâda. Thus it is possible to suggest that Tubavana may be identical with the southern district of Tumbavana mentioned in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, XIV, 15, or with its chief town; that Sonara, the etymon of the adjective Sonaraka, is the modern Sonârî close to Sânchi where some stûpas exist; that the name of Pâḍâna, the etymon of the adjective Pâḍâniya, is preserved in the modern Parana, Lat. 23° 36′ N. and 76° 38′ E. Long. (*Ind. Atl.* Q. Sh. No. 53 N. W.); and that Na(ṁ)dinagara and Kâpâsigâma correspond with the modern 'Nandner', Lat. 23° 4′ N. and Long. 76° 6′ E. (*Ind. Atl.* Q. Sh. No. 53 N.W.) and Kapasi Lat. 23° 28′ N. and Long. 77° 51′ E. But it must not be forgotten that there were, and are, several 'Nandinagaras' and Nandners, and that another 'Kapasi' is found at no great distance in Lat. 23° 55′ N. and Long. 77° E. The same remarks apply with still greater force to such places as Madhuvana, Udubaraghara, the etymon of the adjective Udubaraghariya, and Aba, *i.e.* Amba, the etymon of *Abeyaka*; for the corresponding modern Madhuban, Mahu, Umra or Umrer and Ambagam are found over and over again in the neighbourhood of Sânchi and in more distant districts. For the present it is not advisable to do more

[32] Fleet: *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 18, note 2.

[33] Cunningham. *Ancient Geography*, p. 488.

[34] Jhûsi, opposite to Allahâbâd,—*see* Führer: *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 138.—*Ed. E. I.*

[35] *See* Dr Wenzel's Index · *Jour. Pali Text Soc.*, 1888.

than to note the names and to point out some of the possibilities which they suggest. All of them may, hereafter, become important. Hence they have been given in alphabetical order, just as well as the personal names, in the Appendix to this paper.

TOPE I.

No. 1 = C. 1.

केकटेयकपुतस धमसिवस दानं [।*] [35]

"The gift of Dhamasiva (*Dharmaśiva*), son of Kekaṭeyaka (*Kaikaṭeyaka*).

No. 2 = C. 4.

धमगिरिकस मातु दानं [।*]

"The gift of Dhamagirika's (*Dharmagirika's*) mother."

No. 3 = C. 5.

केकटेयकस जमत विजितस दानं [।*] [36]

"The gift of Vijita, son-in-law [37] of Kekaṭeyaka (*Kaikaṭeyaka*).

No. 4 = C. 6.

कादस भिकुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Kâda (*Kânda*)."

No. 5 = C. 13.

अयपसनकस भिकुनो दानं [।*] [38]

"The gift of the monk Aya-Pasanaka (*the venerable Prasannaka*)."

No. 6 = C. 14.

नदिनगरा अचलय भिखुनिया दनं [।*] [39]

"The gift of the nun Achalâ, from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 7 = C. 15.

नादिनगरा काबोजस भिखुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Kâboja (*Kâmboja*) from Nâdinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 8 = C. 16.

सिहरखितस पजावतिय सोणदोवय दानं [।*] [40]

"The gift of Soṇadevâ (*Suvarṇadevâ* or *Śoṇadevâ*), wife of Siharakhita (*Siṁharakshita*)."

35 Possibly ककटेयक°, but see No. 3. Below this is a modern Devanâgarî inscription: रा श्री सावदेव प्रणमति नित्य [।*] 'The king (?), the illustrious Sâvadeva, adores constantly.'

36 An apparent *e*-stroke above the last स is an accidental scratch.

37 जमत seems to stand for जामाता, the nominative being used instead of the stem.

38 There are three impressions showing these words, and the differences in the shape of the letters seem to indicate that they have been derived from three different inscriptions.

अचलय stands for अचलाय and दनं for दानं.

40 सोणदीवय is meant for सोणदेवाय.

No. 9 = C. 19.

धमरखितस भिकुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*).

No. 10 = C. 20.

अठस कमिकस दानं [।*] [41]

"The gift of Aṭha (*Artha*), the labourer (?).

No. 11 = C. 23.

L. 1. सामनेरस

2. अबेयकस

3. सेठिनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of Sâmanera,[42] the Abeyaka Sheṭh (*i.e. the Sheṭh of a town or village called Aba or Ạmba, in Sanskrit Ámra-gráma*).

No. 12 = C. 24.

प्रातिठानस भिकुनो हाटियस अतेवासिनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the Prâtiṭhâna monk (*i.e. the monk from Pratishṭhána*), pupil of Hâṭiya."

No. 13 = C. 25.

उदुबरधरियस सीहरखितस दानं [।*]

The gift of Sîharakhita (*Siṁharakshita*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragṛiha*)."

No. 15 = C. 30.

धमरखिताय मधुवनिकाये दानं [।*]

"The gift of Dhamarakhitâ (*Dharmarakshitá*), inhabitant of Madhuvana."

No. 16 = C. 33.

L. 1. [गो]तिपुतस

L. 2. भंडुकस

L. 3. भिकुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Bhaṁḍuka, son of Gotî (*i.e. of a mother of the Gaupta race*).

No. 17 = C. 34.

L. 1. वेजजस गामस दा

L. 2. नं [।*][43]

"The gift of the Vejaja village." [44]

[41] The i-stroke is expressed by a prolongation of the upper right limb of म.

[42] With the proper name Sâmanera (*Srâmanera*), literally "a novice," compare the name *Samanâ*; Bharhut Inscrs., ed Hultzsch, No. 29, and *Samana*; I, C. 179.

[43] The न is faint and blurred, the Anusvâra distinct. Both stand above the line.

[44] Regarding the correctness of Prinsep's interpretation, which the above translation follows, see the Introduction

No. 18 = C. 35.

अरहगुतस सासादकस भिछुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*), inhabitant of Sâsadâ."

No. 19 = C. 36.

L. 1. सुभगस

L. 2. कोरघरस दन [।*]

"The gift of Subhaga, inhabitant of Kuraghara (*Kuraragriha*)." [45]

No. 20 = C. 38.

वुदिनाये उपसिकाये दानं [।*][46]

"The gift of Vudinâ (*Vyudîrṇâ*), a female lay-disciple.

No. 21 = C. 39.

का[कणा]ये भगवतो पमाणलठि [।*][47]

"The measuring-staff of the Divine one (*Buddha, the gift*) of Kâkaṇâ[48] (*i.e.* probably *kâkinî*, 'the little crow').

No. 22 = C. 40.

तुबवना गहपतिनो [प]तिठियन्हुसाय वेसमन[दत]ाये दानं [।*][49]

"The gift of Vesamanadatâ (*Vaiśravanadattâ*), daughter-in-law of Patiṭhiya (*Pratishṭhita*), a *gahapati* from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*).[50]

No. 23 = C. 41.

तुबवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दानं [।*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Patiṭhiya (*Pratishṭhita*) from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*).

No. 24 = C. 43.

नदावुनो च नादिविरोहिस च दानं [।*]

"The gift both of Nadâvu (*Nandâyu?*) and of Nâdivirohi (*Nandivirohin*)."

No. 25 = C. 73.

बोधगोठिय धमवढनना दानं [।*]

"The gift of the Bauddha Committee of Trustees from Dhamavaḍhanana (*Dharmavardhanana*."[51]

[44] Regarding this name see the Introduction.

[45] The vowels of the first two syllables of the first word, and of the last two syllables of the second word, are not quite distinct.

[47] Possibly काकणाये is to be read.

[48] Dr. Bhagvânlal Indrâji according to Mr. Fleet, *Corp. Insc. Ind.* vol. III, p. 31, took काकणाये to stand for काकणादे.

[49] The fourth and fifth consonants of the last word but one are not certain. At first sight they look like रदा.

[50] Regarding the precise meaning of गहपति, see the Introduction.

[51] Regarding the explanation of Bodhagoṭhî, see the Introduction. Though the term *Dhamavadhanana* occurs twice, it is probably a mistake for *Dhamavadhana*. Only the latter gives a sense, and its Sanskrit equivalent is mentioned as a village-name in the *Râmâyaṇa*, I, 74, 10, see the *Petersb. Dict.*; *s. v.*

No. 26.

बोधागोठिया धमवढनना दानं [।*][52]

No. 27 = C. 76.[53]

उजेनिया वाकिलियाना दानं [।*]

"The gift of the Vâkiliyas, from Ujjain."

No. 28 = C. 78.

चिरातिय भिकुनिया दनं [।*]

"The gift of the nun Chirâtî (*Kirâtî*)"

No. 29 = C. 79.

सधनस भिकुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Sadhana (*i.e. Sa-dhana* or *Sad-dhana*")).

No. 30 = C. 80.

अस्वदेवये बहदतमातु दानं [।*]

"The gift of Asvadevâ (*Aśvadevâ*), mother of Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*)".

No. 31 = C. 81.

उगिरियकस स्वतिगुतस दानं [।*][54]

"The gift of Svatiguta (*Svâtigupta*), an inhabitant of Ugirâ.

No. 32 = C. 82.

अरहगुताये दानं [।*]

"The gift of Arahagutâ (*Arhadguptâ*)".

No. 33 = C. 84.

यसिलय अंतेवसिनि संघरखिताये दानं [।*]

"The gift of Saṁgharakhitâ (*Saṁgharakshitâ*), pupil of Yasilâ (*Yaśilâ*)".

No. 34 = C. 86.

यसिलाये दानं [।*][55]

"The gift of Yasilâ (*Yaśilâ*)".

No. 35 = C. 87.

सेठिनो पटिकमकारिकाना दानं [।*]

"The gift of the Sheṭh, the great executor of repairs".[56]

[52] This is apparently a second inscription of the same import as No. 25, not a second impression of No. 25. For the size of most letters does not agree in the least and the termination of the first word ends in या instead of in य.

[53] See also I. C. 11.

[54] The subscribed व of स्वतिगुतस is not quite distinct.

[55] Possibly यिसिलाये to be read.

[56] I take पटिकमकारिकाना as *pluralis majestatis*, agreeing with the singular सेठिनो, see above, vol. I, p. 573.

No. 36 = C. 90.

उपिददतस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Upidadata (*Upendradatta*)."

No. 37 = C. 92.

वाघुमता सघदिनाय भिछुनिय दानं [।*][57]

"The gift of the nun Saghadinâ (*Saṁghadattâ*) from Vâghumata."

No. 38 = C. 93.

यखिय भिछुनिये वेदिसा दानं [।*]

"The gift of the nun Yakhî (*Yakshî*) from Vedisa (*Vidiśâ*)."

No. 39 = C. 95.

कुररिये तापसिया मातु दानं [।*]

"The gift of Kurarî, the mother of Tâpasi."[58]

No. 40 = C. 99.

कापासिगामा अरहस दानं [।*][59]

"The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Kâpâsigâma (*Kârpâsigrâma*)".

No. 41 = C. 101.

कटकञुया भदकस दानं [।*][60]

"The gift of Bhadaka (*Bhadraka*) from Kaṭakañu."

No. 42 = C. 102.

अपथकस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Apathaka (*Apârthaka*)".[61]

No. 43 = C. 103.

भोगवढनकस अजितिगुतस [।*]

"(*The gift*) of Ajitiguta (*Ajitigupta*?), inhabitant of Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavardhana*)."

No. 44 = C. 104.

मोरसिहिकटि अरहदिनस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*) in Morasihikaṭa (*Mayûrasiṁhikaṭa*).

No. 45 = C. 105.

भोगवधन धमरखितय सिवनदिनो मातु [।*][62]

"(*The gift*) of Dhamarakhitâ (*Dharmarakshitâ*), mother of Sivanadi (*Sivanandin*) from Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavardhana*)."

[57] Perhaps वाघुमतो.

[58] *Tâpasi* may be either a proper or a family name, as there was a Tâpasiya family (*see* the Introduction).

[59] There are two impressions with these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.

[60] The letters are much blurred.

[61] I take the name to be formed from *apârtha*, "who has renounced (the acquisition of) wealth." It may, of course, also correspond with Sanskrit *alpârthaka*, 'poor.'

[62] There are two impressions bearing these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.

No. 46 = C. 107.

नवगमकसमिकाये उजेनि[ह]ारा दानं [।*]

"The gift of Samikâ (*Sâmikâ*), inhabitant of Navagama (*Navagrâma*) from the district of Ujjain.[63]

No. 47 = C. 108.

L. 1. सिरिगुतस

L. 2. वानिजस दानं [।*]

"The gift of the merchant Siriguta (*Śrîgupta*)."

No. 48 = C. 109.

सुवाहितस पजवतिया मझिमाया दानं [।*][64]

"The gift of Majhimâ (*Madhyamâ*), wife of Subâhita.

No. 49 = C. 110.

L. 1. सुवाहितस गोतिपुत-

L. 2. स राजलिपिकरस

L. 3. दनं [।*]

"The gift of the scribe Subâhita, son of a Gotî (i. e. *of a mother of the Gaupta race*)."

No. 50 = C. 111.

तिरिडपदा नागाय उपासिकाय — —[65]

"(*The gift*) of the female lay disciple Nâgâ, from Tiriḍapada (Tiriḍapadra ?)."

No. 51 = C. 112.

बरुलमि[माय] गोठिया दान [वे]दिसातो [।*][66]

"The gift of the Barulamisa Committee from Vedisa (*Vidiśâ*)."

No. 52 = C. 113.

L. 1. धमरखिताये भिकुनिय काचुपथे

L. 2. दानं [।*][67]

"The gift of the nun Dhamarakhitâ (*Dharmarakshitâ*) in Kâchupatha."

No. 53 = C. 114.

धमरखितस काचुपथस भि[कु]नो दान [।*]

"The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), inhabitant of Kâchupatha."

[63] *Ujenihârâ* may stand for *Ujjeni-âhârâ* (see E. Müller: *Pali Grammar*, pp. 40-41). *Âhâra* is the well-known ancient revenue term, corresponding to the modern Collectorate. It follows that *Navagâma* was situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain.

[64] There is a second copy, which bears only सुवाहितस पजव[त] ... The letters show that it has been taken from another inscription.

[65] The last two syllables दानं and half the preceding य are wanting in the impression.

[66] Possibly बरुलमिमान.

[67] Possibly भिकुनिये ; According to Sir A. Cunningham's copy the letter स has been lost after काचुपथे. I am, however, unable to make any sense out of such a reading.

No. 54 = C. 115.

संधानस भिकु दानं [।*][68]

"The gift of the monk Saṁdhâna."

No. 55 = C. 116.

पुसगिरिनो नावगामकस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyagiri*), inhabitant of Navagâma (*Navagrâma*)."

No. 56 = C. 117.

भिछुकस पाडानियस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Bhichhuka (*Bhikshuka*), inhabitant of Pâḍâna."

No. 57 = C. 124.

L. 1. सामनेरस अबेय-

L. 2. कस सेठिनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of Sâmanera, the Abeyaka Sheṭh."[69]

No. 58 = C. 125.

नदिगुतस दाना भिकुनो [।*][70]

"The gift of Nadiguta (*Nandigupta*), the monk."

No. 59 = C. 127.

अरा[पा]नातो अरहदिन — — — — [।*][71]

"(*The gift*) of Arahadina (*'s mother*) from Arâpâna."

No. 60 = C. 128.

तंबलमडा कुज — दानं [।*][72]

"The gift of Kuja—(?) from Taṁbalamaḍa."(?)

No. 61 = C. 129.

— धुवना धमगुतस भिकुनो दानं [।*][73]

"The gift of the monk Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*) from Madhuvana."

No. 62 = C. 131.

महागिरिनो भिकुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Mahâgiri."

No. 63 = C. 135.

उपसिभस फगुनस भतु भिकुनो [।*]

[68] Read भिछुनो.

[69] See above, No. 11.

[70] The apparent *â*-stroke at the end of दाना may possibly be an *anusvâra*, run together with the द

[71] Sir A. Cunningham completes स मातु दानं.

[72] Last sign of कुज—is not decipherable. I suspect that कुजर, *i. e.* कुञ्जर, is meant (see Bharhut Inscr).. No. 104.

[73] Restore मधुवना.

"The gift of the monk Upasijha (*Upasidhya*), brother of Phaguna (*Phálguṇa*)."

No. 64 = C. 136.

भोगवढनातो इसिरखिताय [।*]

"(*The gift*) of Isirakhitâ (*Ṛishirakshitá*) from Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavardhana*)."

No. 65 = C. 139.

समिदतस भिकुनो दानं [।*]

'The gift of the monk Samidata (*Srámidatta*)."

No. 66 = C. 140—141.

L. 1. देवगिरिनो पचनेकयिकस

L. 2. भिकुनो स अतेवसि — — णो [?।*] [74]

"(*The gift*) of the monk Devagiri, who knows the five Nikâyas,[75] and of his pupil."

No. 67 = C. 142.

पुसकस भिकुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of Pusaka (*Pushyaka*) the monk."

No. 68 = C. 143.

चुडस च धमरखितस च भिकुनं दानं [।*]

"The gift both of Chuḍa (*Kshudra*) and Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*)."

No. 69 = C. 144.

उजेनियि अगिस्मिये दानं [।*]

"The gift of Agisimâ (*Agniśarmá*) in Ujjain." [76]

No. 70 = C. 145.

L. 1 [प्रा]तिठानस भिकुनो दानं

L. 2. अ[यतिस]कस अंतेवासिनो [।*] [77]

"The gift of the monk Prâtiṭhâna[78], pupil of Aya-Tisaka (*the venerable Tishyaka*)."

No. 71 = C. 146.

बुधरखितस भिकुनो दानं एजावतस [।*]

"The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*), the Ejâvata." [79]

[74] Though the last sign looks like णो, I suspect that the writer meant to give *Sa-atevâsino dânam.*

[75] See the Introduction.

[76] Possibly अगिसमये is to be read.

[77] Possibly पतिठानस or पतिथानस.—The other three bracketed syllables are very faint.

[78] See above, No 12.

[79] The etymological meaning of एजावत would be "endowed with desire." This, of course, does not suit here. I take the word to be an adjective, derived from the name of a town.

No. 72 = C. 148.

अरापाना असाडस मातु दानं [।*] [80]

"The gift of Asâḍa's (*Ashâḍha's*) mother, from Arâpâna."

No. 73 = C. 149.

L. 1. उजेनिया ताप-

L. 2. सियानं नुसा-

L. 3. मिताय

L. 4. दानं [।*]

"The gift of Mitâ (*Mitrâ*), daughter-in-law of the Tâpasiyas, from Ujjain."

No. 74 = C. 150.

[भ]रडियस सपुरिसस युगपजकस दानं (।*) [81]

"The gift of the Bharaḍiya, the holy man, the path-(*finder*) of the age." [82]

No. 75 = C. 153.

जोन्हकस भिकुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnaka*)."

No. 76 = C. 154.

धमरखताये मधुवनाकाये दानं [।*] [83]

"The gift of Dhamarakhatâ (*Dharmarakshitâ*), inhabitant of Madhuvana."

No. 77 = C. 155.

माहमोरगिम्हा सिहगिरिनो दानं [।*][84]

"The gift of Sihagiri (*Siṁhagiri*) from Mâhamoragi.

No. 78 = C. 160.

L. 1. धम[सि]रिया भिकुनिये मडलछिकटिकाये

L. 2. दानं [।*][85]

"The gift of the nun Dhamasiri (*Dharmaśrî*), inhabitant of Maḍalachhikaṭa (*Maṇḍalâkshikaṭa* ?)."

No. 79 = C. 161.

L. 1. अविसिनये सुतातिकिनिया

L. 2. मडलछिकटिकाये दानं [।*]

"The gift of Avisinâ (*Avishaṇṇâ*),[86] who is versed in the Sutta-Piṭaka, an inhabitant of Maḍalachhikaṭa."

[80] Possibly असाड्स is to be read. But the wavy line below the ड is probably accidental.

[81] The left side of the initial भ has been almost cut away in the impression.

[82] Or, perhaps, the gift of the holy man of *Bharaḍa*, etc.

[83] Meant for धमरखिताये मधुवनिकाये.

[84] Possibly माहमोरगि°. Though there is a second inscription of this individual, I, C. 28, I suspect that we should read *Mahâmoragirimhâ*, from the great Mayûragiri. Compare Bharhut Inscr. Nos. 81, 94, 95, where *Moragirimhâ* occur as

[85] The third sign of धमसिरिया has been originally सि, which afterwards was altered to सि.

[86] Compare Pali *nisiṇṇa* for *nishaṇṇa*, and the male name *Avisana*; Bhar. Insc. Nos. 141, 142.

No. 80.

L. 1. अविसिनाये सुतातिकिनि—

L. 2. मडलछिकटिकाय दानं [।*][87]

No. 81 = C. 162.

L. 1. सघदेवस वेरोहकटस

L. 2. वाणिजस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Saghadeva (*Saṁghadeva*), a trader, inhabitant of Virohakaṭa."

No. 82 = C. 167.

L. 1. ओडिय

L. 2. नदिनग-

L. 3. रिकय दन [।*]

"The gift of Oḍî, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 83 = C. 180.

अरहदिनस भिखुनो पोखरेयकस दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*)."

No. 84 = C. 181.

L. 1. भदतनागिलस

L. 2. सवानं ञातीनं-

L. 3. दानं थभो [।*][88]

"A pillar, the gift of all the relatives of the venerable Nâgila."

No. 85 = C. 182.

कोररस नागपियस अछावडे सेठिस दानं थभो [।*]

"A pillar, the gift of Nâgapiya (*Nâgapriya*), inhabitant of Kurara,[89] a Sheṭh in Achhâvaḍa."[90]

No. 86 = C. 184.

बुधपालीताया भिखुने[या] दानं [।*][91]

"The gift of the nun Budhapâlitâ."

No. 87 = C. 185.

पोठकस भिखुनो दानं [।*][92]

"The gift of the monk Poṭhaka (*Proshṭhaka*)."

No. 88 = C. 193.

अयचुडस अंतेवासिनो बलमितस दान थभो [।*]

"A pillar, the gift of Balamitra, the pupil of the venerable Chuḍa (*Kshudra*)."

[87] Restore सुतातिकिनिया.

[88] There are two impressions. One shows in l. 2 सवानं and the other सविनं, as Sir A. Cunningham reads. The latter reading gives, however, no sense.

[89] The proper form of the name is *Kurâra*; see No. 98.

[90] This means probably that Nâgapiya had his shop in Achhâvaḍa.

[91] Meant for भिखुनिया.

[92] The apparent â-stroke after पोठ is in my opinion accidental.

No. 89.

अरपान देवकस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Devaka from Arapâna (*Arápána*)."

No. 90.

अरहदिनस दानं रमोरज[हि]कडि — —[92]

"The gift of Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*) in Ramorajakaḍi (?).

No. 91.

अस्ववतिया इसिगुतस वणिजस दानं [।*]

"The gift of the merchant Isiguta (*Ṛishigupta*) from Asvavatî (*Aśvavatí*)."

No. 92.

इसिकस भिखुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Isika (*Ṛishika*)."

No. 93.

L. 3. इसिकस रोहा —

L. 2. णिपदियस दा —[93]

L. 1. नं [।*]

"The gift of Isika (*Ṛishika*), inhabitant of Rohiṇipada."

No. 94.

इसिरखितस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Isirakhita (*Ṛishirakshita*)."

No. 95.

L. 1. उजेनिया विस्वदे-

L. 2. वस पजावतिया

L. 3. मुलाय दानं [।*]

"The gift of Mulâ (*Múlá*), wife of Visvadeva (*Viśvadeva*), from Ujjain."

No. 96.

[उ]दुंबरघरिय [स]चमि[तस] दा[न ।*][94]

"The gift of Sachamita (*Satyamitra*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragṛiha*).

No. 97.

L. 1. क[ट]क[ञु]कस अयपतुडस[95]

L. 2. भिकुनो दानं[।*]

"The gift of the monk, the venerable Patuḍa (?), inhabitant of Kaṭakañu."

[92] The impression seems to be incomplete. The last word probably ended in यस and designated Arahadina as inhabitant of *Ramorajahikaḍa* (?).

[93] The inscription has to be read from below. Read रोहिणि°.

[94] This is a mere scrawl, and the bracketed letters are mostly uncertain.

[95] Most of the letters of l. 1 are very faint, and the first bracketed one is not certain.

No. 98.

कुरारा संवलितस दानं[।*]

"The gift of Saṁvalita from Kurâra."

No. 99.

L. 1. कोरघरस सेठिनो

L. 2. सीहस दानं[।*]

"The gift of the Sheṭh Sîha (*Siṁha*), inhabitant of Kuraghara."

No. 100.

गिरिगुताय भिकुनिया दानं[।*]

"The gift of the nun Giriguta (*Giriguptá*)."

No. 101.

जितमितये भिकुनिये वडिवहनिकाये दानं[।*]

"The gift of the nun Jitamitâ (*Jitámitrá*), inhabitant of Vaḍivahana."

No. 102.

धमताय दानं पुञवढनियाये [।*][96]

"The gift of Dhamatâ (*Dharmadatá*), inhabitant of Puñavaḍhana (*Puṇyavardhana*)."

No. 103.

धमदतस भिकुनो दानं अ[य]भडुकिय[स ।*][97]

"The gift of the monk Dhamadata (*Dharmadatta*), pupil of Aya-Bhaḍuka (*Árya-Bhaṇḍuka, No. 16*)."

No. 104.

L. 1. [पिय]धमाय

L. 2. बोधिय च

L. 3. कोरघरिन

L. 4. भिखुनिनं दानं [।*]

"The gift of Piyadhamâ (*Priyadharmá*) and Bodhi, the nuns of Kuraghara."

No. 105.

पुसये भिकुनिये नदिनगरिकाये दानं [।*]

"The gift of the nun Pusâ (*Pushyá*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 106.

L. 1. पोखरा हिम-

L. 2. गिरिनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of Himagiri from Pokhara (*Pushkara*)."

No. 107.

पोरविखिकस धंमसिवस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Dhammasiva (*Dharmaśiva*), inhabitant of Puravikha(?)."

[96] Probably धमदताय is to be read.

[97] अयभंडुकियस looks almost like अकभडकियस; but see No. 122, where the reading, given above, is plain.

No. 108.

बेदकरा नंदिगि[रि]मातु द[ा]नं [।*]

"The gift of Naṁdigiri's mother from Bedakara."

No. 109.

[भोगवढ]नकस महि[द] — — —[98]

"(*The gift*) of Mahida (*Mahendra*), inhabitant of Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavarānana*)."

No. 110.

L. 1. मधुवनिकाये बुधरखिताये भिछुनिये

L. 2. दानं ।*

"The gift of the nun Budharakhitâ (*Buddharakshitâ*), inhabitant of Madhuvana."

No. 111.

महिसतिय देवभगस [दा]नं [।*]

"The gift of Devabhaga (*Devabhâga ?*) from Mahisatî (*Mâhishmatî*)."

No. 112.

L. 1. यखिलस भिछुनो अयदेवगिरिनो अते-

L. 2. वासिनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakshila*), pupil of the venerable Devagiri."

No. 113.

L. 1. रोहणिपदिय-

L. 2. स निगडिस दा-

L. 3. नं [।*]

"The gift of Nigaḍi, inhabitant of Rohaṇipada (*Rohiṇipada*)."

No. 114.

L. 1. रोहणिपदिय-

L. 2. स बुलिकस

L. 3. दानं [।*]

"The gift of Bulika,[99] inbabitant of Rohaṇipada."

No. 115.

L. 1. रोहणिपदियसि

L. 2. सेठिनो नागदि-

L. 3. नस दानं [।*][1]

"The gift of Sheṭh Nâgadina (*Nâgadatta*), inhabitant of Rohaṇipada."

[98] Restore महिदस दानं.
[99] Compare the *Buli* tribe (Wenzel: *Index*, sub voce) of *Allakappa*.
[1] Read पदियस; the सि stands above the line, and is a correction.

No. 116.

वाडिवहना छडिकस भिछुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Chhaḍika (*Chhardika?*) from Vâḍivahana."

No. 117.

L. 1. वेदिसकय [ह]सरखितास असवारकस

L. 2. पजावति — नागदता[य] दानं [।*][2]

"The gift of Nâgadatâ (*Nágadattá*), wife of the cavallerist Hamsarakhita (*Hamsarakshita*), an inhabitant of Vedisa (*Vidiśá*).

No. 118.

समिकाये सधितिकाये दानं [।*]

"The gift of Samikâ (*Svámiká*) and of her daughter."

No. 119.

सिरिदिनाय भिछुनया नादिनागरिकाय दानं [।*]

"The gift of the nun Siridinâ (*Śrídattá*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 120.

सोयसस दानं भादनकटियस [।*]

"The gift of Soyasa (*Sauyaśasa*), inhabitant of Bhâdanakaṭa."

No. 121.

[रे]वाये उजेनिकाये उपसिकाये दानं [।*]

"The gift of the female lay disciple Revâ, inhabitant of Ujjain."

No. 122.

— — — स भिछुनो दानं अयभंडुकियस [।*][3]

"The gift of the monk . . . . , pupil of the venerable *Bhamḍuka*." [4]

No. 123.

L. 1. — — — — [ते] कन

L. 2. [नो] छहकस

L. 3. — — [म] — — त — स उं

L. 4. — रि — —

TOPE II.

No. 1 = C. 3.

पाडुकुलिकाय गामस दानं [।*]

"The gift of the village of Pâḍukulikâ (*Pâṇḍukuliká*)."

[2] The letters are mostly faint, and the bracketed one is very doubtful.

[3] Possibly another अ may have stood in the beginning.

[4] See above, Nos. 16 and 103

No. 2 = C. 4.

बुधिलस भोग[व]ढनकस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Budhila (*Buddhila*), an inhabitant of Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavardhana*)."

No. 3 = C. 5.

धमदेवय देनं मितसिरिय अंतेवासिनि[य] [।*][5]

"The gift of Dhamadevâ (*Dharmadevá*), (*who is*) a pupil of Mitasiri (*Mitraśrí*)."

No. 4 = C. 6.

इसिलस भिखुनो दाना [।*]

"The gift of the monk Isila (*Ṛishila*)."

No. 5 = C. 11.

विझस भिखुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Vijha (*Vindhya*)."

No. 6 = C. 12.

यखिलस भिकुनो दान [।*]

"The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakshila*)."

No. 7 = C. 13.

L. 1 नागपियस अछाव[ड]

L. 2 स सेठिस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Nâgapiya (*Nágapriya*), a Sheṭh of Achhâvaḍa."[6]

No. 8 = C. 14.

L. 1. सपकाय कोररिय दान

L. 2. भिखुनिय [।*]

"The gift of the nun Sapakâ (*Sarpaká ?*), an inhabitant of Kurara."[7]

No. 9 = C. 16.

L. 1. धमसेनय कोररिय दान भिखुनि

L. 2. य [।*]

"The gift of Dhamasenâ (*Dharmasená*), an inhabitant of Kurara, a nun."

No. 10 = C. 17.

नागपालितय दान थभो [।*]

"A pillar, the gift of Nâgapâlitâ."

No. 11 = C. 25.

[ओ]डिय भिखुनिय थभो दान [।*][8]

"A pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍî."

[5] Read दानं; the third letter of मितसिरिय was originally an सि, which was afterwards corrected to सि.

[6] This inscription can be restored in accordance with No. 85, and C. 192 of Tope I.

[7] Properly कुरार; see I, 98.

[8] Possibly ओडाय.

No. 12 = C. 30.

सघमितस सोनरकस दानं [।*]

"The gift of Saghamita (*Saṁghamitra*), an inhabitant of Sonara (*Sonârî*)."

No. 13 = C. 32.

अ[गि]लस दानं अधपोरिकस [।*]

"The gift of Agila (*Agnila*), inhabitant of Adhapura (*Ardhapura*)."

No. 14 = C. 33.

यसोगिरिनो दानं भिछुनो [।*]

"The gift of Yasogiri (*Yaśogiri*), a monk."

No. 15 = C. 36.

गडाय नादिनागरिकाय [।*]

"(*The gift*) of Gaḍâ, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 16 = C. 38.

अयनादुकस भिखुनो दानं [।*]

"The gift of Aya-Nâduka (*the venerable Nânduka*), a monk."

No. 17.

पुसरखितस दानं [अ]यस अतेवासिनो [।*]

"The gift of Pusarakhita (*Pushyarakshita*), the pupil of Aya (*Ârya, i.e.* the venerable one).

No. 18.

सिहाय दान [।*]

"The gift of Sihâ (*Siṁhâ*).

No. 19.

L. 1. सुमनस भिखुनो

L. 2. दानं [।*]

"The gift of the monk Sumana (*Sumanas*)."

No. 20.

धमगुतस पुसिनिया च दान [।*]

"The gift of Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*) and Pusiniya (*Pushyaṇikâ*)."

No. 21.

विसाखस पाडा — यस [।*][9]

"The gift of Visâkha (*Viśâkha*), an inhabitant of Pâḍâ[na].

[9] Restore पाडानियस, according to I, 56.

APPENDIX.—LISTS OF NAMES.

I.—Monks.

Arahadina I, 83, 90.
Arahaguta I, 18; II, C. 19.
Arahaka II, C. 34.
Balaka II, C. 19.
Balamitra I, 88.
Bhaṁḍuka (Gotiputa) I, 16; °kiya, 103, 122.
Bharaḍiya I, 74.
Budharakhita I, 71.
Chhaḍika I, 116.
Chuḍa I, 68; (aya—) I, 88.
Devagiri I, 66, (aya—) 112.
Dhamadata I, 103.
Dhamagiri I, C. 178.
Dhamaguta I, 61.
Dhamarakhita I, 9, 53, 68.
Dhana I, C. 31.
Dhanaka (aya—) I, C. 151.
Gotiputa—*see* Bhaṁḍuka.
Hâṭiya I, 12.
Isika I, 92 (93?).
Isila II, 4.
Jonaka I, C. 152.
Jonhaka I, 75.
Kâboja I, 7.
Kâda I, 4.
Mahâgiri I, 62.
Nadiguta I, 58.
Nagadina I, C. 10.
Nâduka (aya—) II, 16.
Nâgarakhita II, C. 39.
Nâgila (bhadata—) I, 84; II, C. 1.
Pasanaka (aya) I, 5.[10]
Patuḍa (?) I, 97.
Poṭhaka I, 87.
Prâtiṭhâna I, 12, 70.
Pusa I, C. 29, C, 158.
Pusagiri I, C. 21.
Pusaka I, 67.
Pusarakhita II, 17.
Rahila (aya—) I, C. 37.
Sadhana I, 29.
Saghamita II, C. 7.
Sagharakhita II, C. 40.
Saṁdhâna I, 54.
Samidata I, 65.
Sumana II, 19.
Tisaka (aya—) I, 70.
Upasijha I, 63.
Vâjuka (bhadata—) I, C. 122.
Vejha II, 5.
Visâkha I, C. 123.
Vîra I, C. 186.
Yakhadâ[di]na I, C. 50.
Yakhila I, 112; II. 6.
Yasogiri II, 14.

II.—Nuns.

Achalâ I, 6.
Arahadâsî I, C. 175.
Avisinâ I, 79, 80.
Balikâ I, C. 159.
Bodhi I, 104.
Budhapâlitâ I, 86.
Budharakhitâ I, 110.
Chirâtî I, 28.
Dhamadevâ II, 3.
Dhamarakhitâ I, 52.
Dhamasenâ II, 9.
Dhama[s]iri I, 78.
Dûpasâ (?) I, C. 170.
Gadâ (II, 15?), C. 21, 36.
Girigutâ I, 100.
Hana (?) I, C. 2.
Isidâsî I, C. 169; II, C. 22.
Isidatâ I, C. 132, 133.
Isidinâ I, C. 147.
Jitamitâ I, 101.
Kaḍi I, C. 65.
Mitasiri II, 3.
Mulâ II, C. 21.
Odatikâ I, C. 26.[11]
Odî (I, 82?); II, 11.
Phagulâ II, C. 18.
Piyadhamâ I, 104.
Pusâ I, 105.
Saghadinâ I, 37.
Sapakâ II, 8.
Saṁgharakhitâ I, 33.
Sedi II, C. 43.
Siridinâ I, 119.
Valâ II, C. 15.
Yakhî I, 38; (Yakha) C. 187.
Yamarakhitâ II, C. 20.
Yasilâ I, 33 (34?).

[10] *Pasanaka* occurs as teacher of *Dhamaguta* and *Sagharakhita* in the inscription on a pillar of the Sonâri Tope No. I, Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxiii.

[11] This corresponds to Sanskrit *avadâtikâ*, literally 'the pure one.'

III.—Male names, not marked as clerical.

Agila II, 13.
Ahimita I, C. 8.
Ajitiguta I, 43.
Apathaka I, 42.
Araha I, 40.
Arahaka I, C. 165 (see also List I).
Arahadâsa I, C. 100.
Arahadina I, 44, 90.
Arahatapâlita I, C. 164.
Asâḍa I, 72.
Aṭha (kamika) I, 10.
Bahadata I, 30.
Bahula II, C. 35.
Bhadaka I, 41.
Bhichhuka I, 56.
Budhapâlita (seṭhi) II, C. 8.
Budharakhita II, C. 10, 23.
Budhila I, C. 32; II, 2.
Bulika I, 114.
Chadaguta I, C. 97.
Chheta I, C. 66.
Dadata (?) I, C. 89.
Damaka (?) I, C. 174.
Devaka I, 89.
Devabhaga I, 111.
Dhamadata I, C; 173.
Dhamagiri I, C. 56.
Dhamagirika I, 2; C. 166.
Dhamaguta II, 20.
Dhamapâla I, C. 134.
Dhamarakhita II, C. 2.[12]
Dhamasiva I, 1, 107.
Dhanagiri I, C. 157.
Disarakhita (?) I, C. 42.[13]
Gohila I, C. 77.
Gopâla I, C. 12.
Gotiputa,—*see* Subâhita.
[Haṁ]sarakhita I, 117.
Himagiri I, 106.
Isadâta (?) I, C. 52.
Isiguta (vâṇija) I, 91.
Isika I, 93 (?) (compare also List No. II).
Isipâlîta I, C. 179.
Isimita I, C. 59.
Isirakhita I, 94.
Kekaṭeyaka I, 1, 3.
Kuja (?) I, 60.
Kujara I. C. 94.
Mahida I. 109.
Mulagiri (lekhaka) I. C. 48.
Nadâvu I. 24.
Nâdivirohi I. 24.
Nagadina I. C. 74.
Naṁdigiri I. 108.
Nâgadina I, 115.
Nâgapiya (seṭhi) I, 85; C. 192 · II. 7.
Nigaḍi I, 113.
Opedadata I, C. 62-64.
Patiṭhiya (gahapati) I, 22, 23.
Phaguṇa I, 63.
PusagirfI, 55.
[Sa]chami[ta] I, 96.
Sadatha(?) I, C. 168.
Sagha I, C. 192.
Saghadeva I, 81.
Saghamita II, 12.
Samana I, C. 179.
Saṁghila I, C. 163.
Sâmanera I, 11, 57.
Samika (vânika) I, C. 83, C. 119.
Saṁvalita, I 98.
Sâtila I, C. 98.
Sihagiri I, 77; C. 28 (?) (facsimile, *Sapagaa* ?)
Siharakhita I, 13.
Siriguta (vàṇija) I, 47.
Siripâla I, C. 120.
Sivanadi I, 45.
Siha (sethi) I, 99.
Sîharakhita I, 13.
Sona I, C. 57.
Soyasa I, 120.
Subâhita, Gotiputa (ràjalipikara) I, 18, 49.
Subhaga I, 19.
Svatiguta I, 31.
Upidadata I, 36.
Vaḍa (?) I, C. 172.
Vaḍha I, C. 47.
Vajaguta I, C. 3.
Vijita I, 3.
Vimala I, C. 138.
Visa I, C. 77.
Visâkha II, 21 (see also List I).
Visvadeva I, 95.
Yasopâla I, C. 27, 156.

[12] If the following *sejhasa* stands for *śaikshasya*, this person was an ascetic.
[13] The name is probably wrong

IV.—Females, not marked as nuns.

Agidu[de]vâ I, C. 17.
Agis[i]mâ I, 69.
Arahagutâ I, 32.
Asvadevâ I, 30 ; C. 83.
Balakâ I, C. 61.
Budhâ I, C. 64.
Dâsâ I, C. 46.
Dhamatâ [datâ] I, 102.
Dhamarakhitâ I, 15, 45, 76.
Gadâ II, 15 (compare also List II).
Himadatâ I, C. 63.
Isimitâ I, C. 54, 69.
Isinakhitâ I, 64.
Kâ[ka]ṇâ I, 21.
Kanî I, C. 85.
Kurarî I, 39.
Majhimâ I, 48.
Mayadatâ I, C. 62.
Mitâ (Tâpasiyanaṁ nusâ) I, 73.
Mulâ I, 95.
Muladatâ I, C. 60.
Nâgadatâ I, 117.
Nagamitâ I, C. 72.
Nâgâpalitâ II, 10.
Nâgâ I, 50 ; C. 45.
Oḍî I, 82 (compare also List II).
Padonâ (?) I, C. 51.
Patolâ (?) II, C. 28.
Poṭhâdevâ, I, C. 44.
Pusinî II, 20.
Revâ, I, 121.
Rohunî (?) I, C. 55.
Sagharakhitâ II, C. 22.
Saghâ I, C. 106.
Sâmidarâ [tâ] I, C. 176.
Samikâ I, 46, 118.
Semâkâ (?) I, C. 91.
Sihâ II, 18.
Sihadatâ I, C. 67.
Sonado[de]vâ I, 8 ; C. 17.
Subhagâ I, C. 18.
Tâpasî I, 39.
Vâkalâ devî I, C. 8.
Vasulâ I, C. 88.
Vesamanadatâ I, 22.
Vinhukâ II, C. 24.
Vipulâ I, C. 70.
Vudinâ I, 20.
Yakhadâsî I, C. 171.
Yasilâ I, 35 (see also List No. II).

Geographical names.

Abeyaka (adj.) I, 11, 57.
Achhâvaḍa I, 85 ; (adj.) I, C. 192 ; [14] II, 7.
Adhaporika (adj.) II, 13.
Anaṁmitaka (? adj.) II, C. 10.
Arâpâna I, 59, 72, 89.
Asvavatî I, 91.
Bedakara I, 108.
Bhasikaḍa I, C. 156.
Bhâdanakaṭiya (adj.) I, 120.
Bhogavadhana[15] I, 45 ; °*vaḍhana*, I, 64 ; C. 137; °*vaḍhanaka*, (adj.) I, 43, 109 ; II, 2.
Chahaṭiya (adj.) I, C. 158.
Dhamavaḍhanana (read °*vaḍhana*) I, 25, 26.
Ejâvata (adj.) I, 71.
Erakina[16] I, C. 98.
Kâboja (proper name) I, 7.
Kâchupatha (adj.) I, 52, 53.
Kaṁdaḍigâma I, C. 47 ; °*gâmiya* (adj.) I, C. 45, 46.
Kâpâsigâma I, 40.
Kaṭakañu I, 41 ; °*kañuka* (adj.) I, 97.
Kaṭakareyaka (adj.) I, C. 100.
Kekaṭeyaka (proper name) I ,1, 3.
Kuraghara I, C. 69 ; C. 71-72 ; *Koraghara* (adj.), I, 19, 99, 104.
Kurâra I, 98 ; *kurariya* (adj.) I, C. 138 ; C. 192 ;[17] *kurarî* (adj.) I, C. 133 ; *korara* (adj.) I, 85 ; II, 8, 9 ; C. 15.
Maḍalachhikaṭika (adj.) I, 78, 79, 80 ; C. 159.
Madhuvana I, 61;[18] C. 132 ; °*vanika* (adj.) I, 15, 76,[19] 110.
Mâhamoragi, I, 77 ; *Mahâmo*° I, C. 28.
Mahisati I, 111.
Morasihikaṭa I, 44.
Nadinagara I, 6 ; C. 170 ; *Nâdi*° I, 7 ; *Nadinagarika* (adj.)[20] I, 82, 105 ; C. 147, 169 ; *Nâdinagarika* (adj.) I, 119 ; II, 15.
Navagamaka (adj.) I, 46 ; °*gâmaka*, I, 55 ; °*gâmika*, I, C 53.
Pâḍâniya (adj.) I, 56; II, 21.[21]
Pâdukulikâ II, 1 ; *Paḍukulini*[*ki*]*ya* (adj.) II, C. 8.
Pokhara I, 106 ; °*reyaka* I, 83;[22] C. 23, 39.
Poravikhika (adj) I, 107.
Prâthiṭhâna (proper name) I, 12, 70.
Puñavaḍhaniya (adj.) I, 102.
Ramorajahikaḍi (?) I, 90.

[14] *Achhavaḍa*, on facsimile.
[15] See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 95.
[16] *Dharakina*, on facsimile.
[17] *Kararâya*, on facsimile.
[18] First syllable obliterated.
[19] Spelt °*vanika*.
[20] See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 13.
[21] Third syllable obliterated.
[22] Pokhaṁreyakaḍa [sa], on copy.

VIII.—HARSHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAHAMANA VIGRAHARAJA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1030.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.; Göttingen.

The stone which bears this inscription lies among the ruins of an ancient temple on the top of a hill, called Harsha or "Unchâpahar," which is near the village of "Harasnâth" in the Shaikhâwati province of the Jaypur state of Ràjputâna, about 7 miles south of Sikar and 60 miles north-west of Jaypur, Long. 75° 15, Lat. 27° 31′, *Indian Atlas*, quarter-sheet No. 33, N. E. There it was discovered, in 1834, by Dr. G. E. Rankin and Sergeant E. Dean, who both sent facsimiles of the inscription which it bears to the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1835. And, Dr. Rankin's copy having on the way become so much injured as to be totally illegible, the inscription was edited shortly afterwards from Mr. Dean's facsimile by the Rev. Dr. Mill, with a lithograph prepared by Lieutenant Kittoe, and an account of the ruins on the hill Harsha by Mr. Dean, in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. IV, pp. 361-400.[1] In the course of last year Mr. Fleet kindly presented me with a pencil rubbing of the inscription, found among Sir A. Cunningham's papers, which, though it helped me to amend Dr. Mill's readings in many places, was yet not sufficiently clear to furnish a trustworthy text throughout. I therefore applied for assistance to Dr. Burgess, and owing to his interest and exertions in the matter I am now able to re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions, obtained by Colonel S. S. Jacob for Dr. Burgess; they were prepared by Mr. Lâla Râm Bakhsh of Jaypur.

According to Mr. Dean's account the inscription is on a slab of black stone, about $3\frac{1}{2}''$ thick and 3′ square. It consists of 40 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2′ 11″ broad by 2′ 10″ high. Small portions of the inscribed surface are broken away at the four corners, and the right and left margins are slightly damaged; besides, about a dozen *aksharas* have become illegible in the body of the inscription by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The rest of the writing is well preserved, and may be read with certainty almost throughout. The size of the letters is between $\frac{7}{16}''$ and $\frac{3}{4}''$; it is largest at the top and becomes gradually smaller towards the bottom. The characters

[23] See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, Nos. 22, 32, 85, etc.
[1] See also Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III, pp. 932—937.

are the ordinary northern alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs, and they are skilfully formed and well engraved. The names of the writer and the engraver are not given. The language is Sanskrit, and by far the greater portion of the inscription, to nearly the end of line 33, is in verse. This poetical part is called a *praśasti*, and was composed by Dhîranâga, the son of the *karaṇika* Thîruka (verse 45).—In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; before *r*, *t* is always doubled after a vowel, *e.g.*, in *vichittra*, line 4, and *sûttradhâro* and *dagdha-ttripura*, line 6; and a single *j* is written instead of *jj* in *ujvalaḥ*, line 16, and *visphurajñâna*, line 22. The dental *n* is employed instead of *anusvâra* in *dhvansa*, line 22; the dental sibilant instead of the palatal in *auttareśvaraḥ*, line 22, and in *Chaṁḍasiva*, line 29 (in a verse which offends against the metre); and the dental nasal has been incorrectly changed to the lingual in *prasaṇṇaḥ*, line 15, and wrongly retained in *nirnnâśitâ*, line 17.—Both the verses and the prose part of the inscription contain some words which are not given by the dictionaries or are employed in an unusual sense. To such words attention will be drawn in the notes on the translation.[2]

The proper object of the poetical part of the inscription, which consists of 48 verses, is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva, worshipped under the name of Harsha, on the hill Harsha, by the Śaiva ascetic Allaṭa, and the completion of other works of piety by Allaṭa's disciple Bhàvadyota. But more interesting is the account which is furnished, by way of introduction, of the princes to whose kingdom the hill Harsha belonged and by whom the ascetics were patronised, and of their wars with other princes who have not yet become known from other sources. And the value of the inscription is enhanced by the fact that it yields a considerable number of names of districts and places, and contains several dates, for one of which the corresponding European date may be given with absolute certainty.

The first twelve verses of the inscription are mainly devoted to the glorification of the god Śiva or, as he is more particularly styled here, Harshadeva, of his place of residence, the mountain Harsha, and of the temple erected to the god on that hill. After that the poet, in verses 13-27, celebrates a line of princes belonging to the Chàhamàna family, who are said to have become illustrious through their devotion to the god Harsha. The first prince mentioned is—

1. Gûvaka I., said to have been famous as a hero in the assemblies of the Nâgas and other princes (v. 13). His son was—
2. Chandraràja (v. 14); his son—
3. Gûvaka II. (v. 14); and his son—
4. Chandana, who defeated or slew in battle the Tomara prince Rudrena[3] (v. 14). This prince was succeeded by his son—
5. Vàkpatiràja, who put to flight Tantrapâla, a neighbouring chief, by whom he had been attacked (vv. 15-16). And he again was succeeded by his son—
6. Siṁharâja. This prince, though he is said to have subdued, amongst others, a Tomara leader, who appears to have been allied with a certain Lavaṇa, was evidently defeated by his opponents and probably slain in battle (vv. 17-19). He was succeeded by his son—

[2] See notes 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 77, 78, 81 & 85

[3] I take this name to be equivalent to Rudrapâla.

7. Vigraharâja, ruling at the time when the inscription was composed, who restored the fortune of his family; but nothing specific that need be repeated here is mentioned regarding him, except that he had a younger brother, named Durlabharaja (vv. 20-26). It will appear below that, besides Vigraharâja, Simharaja had two other sons, Chandrarája and Govindarâja, and that he also had a brother, named Vatsarâja.

These seven princes are apparently mentioned in the same order in the inscription from Bijholî of which a rough reading is published in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LV, part I, p. 40. From verse 16 of the present inscription it appears that the country over which they held sway, and in which Harsha was situated, was called Ananta, a name which is repeated in verse 28. The princes with whom they are represented to have been at war I have not hitherto met with in any other inscription, but the fact that two of them are described as Tomaras leads me to suspect that at any rate some of them were ruling the country around Delhi, which we know to have passed from the Tomaras to the Châhamânas in later times.

The contents of the remaining verses of our inscription may be given in very few words. In the country Ananta there lived a sage Viśvarûpa, a devotee of Śiva, who followed the *Pañchârthala* doctrine (v. 28). He had a disciple named Praśasta (v. 29); and his disciple again was Bhâvarakta, also called Allaṭa, who was born in a family of Brâhmans of the Vârgaṭika tribe, and had come to Harsha from the neighbouring Râṇapallikâ, a village where the *Sâmsârika* doctrine was practised. Allaṭa built the magnificent temple of Harshadeva at which the inscription was afterwards put up, but died before he could accomplish all he had intended to do (vv. 30-34). And the works begun by him were therefore completed at his request by his disciple Bhavadyota (vv. 35-42). The temple erected by Allaṭa was built by the architect Chaṇḍaśiva, a son of Vîrabhadra (v. 43), and completed on the 13th of the bright half of Âshâḍha of the year 1013 (line 32). And the sage Allaṭa is (in v. 48) reported to have died in the expired year 1027, when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with the *yoga* Śubha and the *nakshatra* Hasta, on a Monday. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, I find that the corresponding European date is Monday the 8th August, A.D. 970; for in northern Vikrama 1027 expired the *Simha-saṁkrânti* took place on the 26th July, A.D. 970, which was the 6th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada, and the third of the following bright half (of the same Bhâdrapada) was Monday the 8th August, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m. and the *nakshatra* was Hasta up to 12 h. 29 m. and the *yoga* Śubha up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. The date is interesting, because it is the earliest Vikrama date known to me in which the writer has quoted a solar *saṁkrânti*, instead of giving us the name of the lunar month.[4]

To the poetical part of the inscription is appended, in lines 33-40, the following list of endowments of the temple of Harshadeva, which were received up to Âshâḍha-śudi 15 of the (Vikrama) year 1030, the date on which I take the inscription to have been composed:—

The king Simharâja, after having bathed at Pushkaratîrtha, had given the villages Simhagoshṭha in the Tûnakûpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and

[4] The practice is common enough in modern dates of Sanskrit MSS. written in the Bengâli character.

Îśânakûpa[5] in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *vishaya*, and Kaṇhapallikâ in the Sarah-koṭṭa *vishaya*; his brother Vatsarâja the village Kardamakhâta in the Jayapura *vishaya*; the king Vigraharâja the villages Chhattradharâ and Śamkarâṇaka (verse 25); Siṁharâja's other sons Chandrarâja and Govindarâja two hamlets in the Paṭ-ṭabaddhaka and Darbhakaksha *vishayas*; Dhandhuka, an official of Siṁharâja's, the village Mayûrapadra in the Khaṭṭakûpa *vishaya*; and a certain Jayanarâja the village Kolikûpaka. Besides, fields had been given by various pious people, at Madrâ-purikâ, Nimbaḍikâ, Marupallikâ, Harsha, and . . . [ka]lâvaṇapadra. And taxes on salt and on horses had been assigned for the benefit of the temple by the traders (?) of Śâkambharî and by the horse-dealers from the north.

Of the localities in this list, to which may be added the village of Râṇapallikâ near Harsha, mentioned above, few have as yet been identified. Jayapura, Śâkam-bharî and Pushkaratîrtha near Ajmere are well known. Of the rest, Râṇapallikâ must be the village "Ranoli," about 7 miles east of "Harasnâth" and one mile west of "Shishu;" and Nimbaḍikâ, the village "Nimara," 4½ miles south of "Harasnâth," near a salt-lake which may have given its name to . . . . [ka]lâvaṇapadra.

The inscription ends with the usual appeal to future kings to respect these endow-ments.

TEXT.[6]

L. 1. . . . . . . [य][7] ॥

सर्व्वविघ्नशम[नं सुरार्च्चितं][8] पूर्व्वमेव शिव[यो]स्तनूद्भवम् ।

भुक्तिमुक्तिपरमार्थसिद्धिदं तं नमामि वर[दं] ◡ – ◡ ◡[9] ॥[10]–[1.]

. . . . .

2. . . . . [का]कुलितमानसैः ।

स्तूयमानस्तु सद्देवैः पातु वस्त्रिपुरांतकः ॥[11]–[2.]

पादन्यासावनुन्ना नमति वसुमती शेषभोगावलग्ना

[वा(ब्रा)]ह्मत्वैः स[मं?] – ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ – – ◡

3. – – र्कचन्द्रैः ।

भिन्नावस्थं समस्तं भवति हि भुवनं यस्य नृत्ते प्रवृत्ते

स श्रीहर्षाभिधानो जयति पशुपतिर्द्दत्तविश्वानुकंपः ॥[12]–[3.]

सव्ये शूलं त्रिशिखमपरे दोष्णि [भि]क्षाक[पालं]

भूषा – – ◡ ◡ ◡

4. [भु]जगः कंठिका नीलकंठे ।

नेदृग्वेषस्त्रिनयन मया क्वापि दृष्टो विचित्र

[5] See note 79.

[6] From impressions obtained, at the Editor's request, from Col. S. S. Jacob, C. I. E., and made by Lâla Râm Bakhsh of Jaypur.

[7] The words broken away at the beginning were probably ओं ओं नमः शिवाय.

[8] The *aksharas* in these brackets are slightly damaged at the top, but the reading is certain.

[9] The word broken away here was probably गजाननम्.

[10] Metre: Rathoddhatâ.

[11] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[12] Metre: Sragdharâ.

इत्थं गौर्या प्रहसितहर: सस्मित: पातु युष्मान् ॥[13] —[4.]

वेगोद्भुतार्यमादिग्रहगगनतलं व्यश्नुवाना जलौघै-

र्व्यक्कुर्व्वाण्ण स[मु][द्रान्*]

L. 5. चय[व]लितजल्लानर्म्मिमालासहस्रै: ।

देयादभ्यर्थितं व: शशधरधवला खड्गनी चंद्रमौलि-

मौलौ लीलां वहन्ती स्फटविकटजटाव(ब)न्धने चीरकाया: ॥ [14]—[5.]

चंचच्चंद्रार्कतारं भुवननगनदीद्वी[प]सिं[धु]-

6. [प्र]पंचं

विश्वं देवासुराहिप्रमथमुनिवरैर्यच्चमर्त्यै: मनाग्म् ।

यस्येच्छाशक्तिभावादसदपि सकलं जायते लीयते च

सोव्याद्वो हर्षदेवो भुवनविरचनासूत्रधारोप्रमेय: ॥ —[6.]

नूनं वाणाग्निदग्धत्रिपुरसुररिपु-

7. [जा]तहर्ष: महर्षे-

रिंद्राद्यैर्द्देववृंदै: कृतनुतिनतिभि: पूज्यमानोत्र शैले ।

योभग्नाम्नापि हर्षा गिरिशिखरभुवोर्भारतानुग्रहाय

सो[ऽ]व्याद्वो लिंगरूपी द्विगुणितभवनश्चंद्रमौलि: शिवाय ॥ —[7.]

निर्यद्दैत्या[ग्ड]-

8 [भा]ण्डानणुदहनरुचि प्लोषसंभ्रान्तसत्वं(त्वं)

प्रान्तज्वालावलीढद्रुमव(ब)हलमहाधूमधूम्रायिताशम् ।

संरंभारंभभीमस्वनमसमशरोच्छेदि यस्याशशंके

दृष्ट्वा देवै: [स्व]रूपं[16] किमिय[म]समये संहृतिर्व्वी(र्व्वो)भुवे[द्य ॥]—[8.]

9. देव: पुरधगध्यास्ते यमभंकषमुच्चकै: ।

हर्षख्याति: स हर्षाख्यो गिरिरेष[17] पुनातु व: ॥ [18]—[9.]

शूरस्येदं श्लोकं[19] ।

गांगं नो निर्झ[रांभ]: प्रवहति न शुभा नंदनोद्यानलक्ष्मी:

मद्रत्नस्वर्णशृंगामलविविधरुचो नैव — —[20]

10. [स्त?]थात्र ।

अन्यां धत्ते तथापि श्रियमतिशयिनीमेष शैलोद्वितीयां

साक्षाच्छंभुर्यदास्ते तदपि हि परमं कारणं रम्यताया: ॥ [21]—[10.]

अष्टमूर्त्तिर्यमध्यास्ते सिद्धाष्टकविभु: स्वयम् ।

महिमा भूधरस्यास्य परम: कोपि — ◡ ◡[22] ॥ [23]—[11.]

[13] Metre Mandâkrântâ.

[14] Metre of verses 5-8 : Sragdharâ.

[15] Read म.

[16] Originally सरूपं was engraved, but the initial स seems to have been altered to स्व.

[17] Originally °रेषा, altered to °रेष.

[18] Metre . Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[19] Read शूरस्यैष श्लोक:.

[20] The two *aksharas* here broken away were perhaps सौधा.

[21] Metre · Sragdharâ.

[22] The word here broken away was perhaps विद्यते.

[23] Metre . Śloka (Anushṭubh).

Lala Ram Bakhsh, Jaypur, impress.

Scale 3-10ths.

L. 11. [एत×]त्सुवर्णाण्डकांतिप्रवरतममहामण्डपाभोगभद्रं
प्रांतप्रासादमालाविरचितविकटापाण्डुपुत्त्वाभिरामम् ।
मेरो: शृंगोपमानं सुघटितवृषसत्तोरणद्वाररम्यं
नानासद्भोगयुक्तं जयति भगवतो हर्षदेवस्य [ह×]-
12. [र्म्यम्] ॥ [24]—[12.]
आद्य: श्रीगूवकाख्याप्रथितनरपतिश्चाहमानान्वयोभूत्[25]
[26]श्रीमन्नागा[व?]लोकप्रवरनृपसभालब्ध(ब्ध)वीरप्रतिष्ठ: ।
यस्य श्रीहर्षदेवे वरभवनमयी भौतली कीर्त्तिमूर्त्ति-
र्ल्लोकेद्यापि स्थिरैषा प्रतपति परमै: —
13. ◡ — — ◡ — [गै?]: ॥ —[13.]
पुत्त्र: श्रीचंद्रराजोभवदमलयशास्तस्य तीव्रप्रताप:
सूनुस्तस्याथ भूप: प्रथम इव पुनर्गूवकाख्य: प्रतापी ।
तस्माच्छ्रीचंदनोभूत्क्षितिपतिभयदस्तोमरेशं सदर्प्पं
हत्वा रुद्रेनभूपं[27] समर[भुवि]
14. [ब×]लाद्ये[न लब्धा×] जयश्री: ॥ —[14.]
तत: परमतेजस्वी सदा समरजित्वर: ।
श्रीमान्वाक्पतिराजाख्यो महाराजोभवत्सुत: ॥ [28]—[15.]
येनादैन्यं स्वसैन्यं कथमपि दधता वाजिवल्गा मुमुत्तु
प्रागेव त्रासितेभ: सरसि क[रि][29]रटड्डिंडिमैर्ड्डि ◡
15. —[जि?] [30]।
वन्यक्ष्माभर्त्तुराज्ञां समदमभि[व][30] ह्न्नागतोनंतपार्श्वं-
क्ष्मापालस्तंत्रपालो दिशि दिशि गमितो ह्रीविषण्ण: प्रसण्ण(न्न): ॥ [31]—[16.]
शूरस्येदं ।
लोकैर्यो हि महीतले ननु हरिश्चंद्रोपमो गीयते
त्यागैश्च[यं]जयेषु की[र्ति?]-
16. [र×]मला धर्म्मश्च यस्योज्व(ज्ज्व)ल: ।
येनादायि हराय मंदिरकृते भक्त्या प्रभूतं वसु
श्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजसूनुरसम: श्रीसिंहराजोभवत् ॥ [32]—[17.]
हैममारोपितं येन शिवस्य भवनोपरि ।
पूर्ण्णचंद्रोपमं स्वीयं मूर्त्तं य[श] ◡ [पिं?]डक[म् ॥] [33]—[18.]
17. — —[34] ा तोमरनायकं सलवणं सैन्याधिपत्योद्धतं
युद्धे येन नरेश्वरा: प्रतिदिशं निर्न्नां(र्ण्णा)शिता जिष्णुना ।

[24] Metre of verses 12-14 : Sragdharâ.

[25] Read °भूच्छ्री°. The *akshara* र्यो, preceding भूत्, may possibly have been altered to ये.

[26] Originally undoubtedly श्रीमन्नागाव was engraved, but the *akshara* व appears to have been altered subsequently, and the only *akshara* which would suit the context appears to me to be द्य ; I am not certain, however, that the adopted reading is correct.

[27] This word, for which Dr. Mill has read रुद्रेन भूय:, is quite clear and distinct in the original.

[28] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[29] This *akshara* might possibly be read वि

[30] The lower portion of this *akshara* is not quite distinct.

[31] Metre : Sragdharâ.

[32] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[33] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[34] The word, here broken away, was probably either जित्वा or हत्वा.

कारावेश्मनि भूरयश्च विधृतास्तावद्वि यावद्गृहे
तन्मुक्त्यर्थमुपागतो रघुकुले भूचक्रवर्त्ती स्वयम् ॥ [35]—[19.]
श्रीमा-
L. 18. [न्वि*]ग्रहराजोभूत्तत्सुतो वासवोपमः ।
वंशलक्ष्मीर्ज्जयश्रीश्च येनेते विधुरोद्धृते ॥ [36]—[20.]
श्रीसिंहराजरहिता किल चिंतयंती भीतेव संप्रति विभुर्ननु को ममेति ।
येनात्मवा(बा)हुयुगले चिरसन्निवासं संधीरितेति ददता निज-
19. [रा*]ज्यलक्ष्मीः ॥ [37]—[21.]
येन दुष्टदमनेन सर्व्वतः साधिताखिलमही स्ववा(बा)हुभिः ।
लीलयैव वशवर्त्तिनी कृता किंकरीव निजपादयोस्तले ॥ [38]—[22.]
यस्य चारु चरितं सतां सदा शृण्वतां जगति कीर्त्तितं जनैः ।
हृष्टिजातघनरोमकं-
20. ◡ —[39] जायते तनुरलं मुहुर्म्मुहुः ॥ —[23.]
मुक्ताहारैः सुतारैः प्रतरलतुरगैश्चारुवस्त्रैश्च शस्त्रैः
कर्प्पूरैः पूगपूरैर्म्मलयतरुवरैर्हेमभारैरपारैः ।
उद्यद्दानैः समानैश्चलकुलगिरिभिर्द्दन्तिवारैः सदारै-
र्न्निर्व्याजैः प्रातिर — —
21. ◡ ◡ भिरिति भृतैः प्राभृतैर्यः सिषेवे ॥ [40]—[24.]
छत्रधारावरग्रामो द्वितीयः शंकराणकः [।*]
तेनेमौ हर्षना[थाय] [भ]क्त्या दत्तौ सशासनौ ॥ [41]—[25.]
श्रीमद्दुर्लभराजेन योनुजेन विभूषितः [।*]
लक्ष्मणेनेव काकुत्स्थो विष्णुनेव हलायुधः ॥ —[26.]
22. [महा*]राजावली चासौ शंभुभक्तिगुणोदया ।
श्रीहर्षः कुलदेवोस्यास्तस्मादिव्यः कुलक्रमः ॥ —[27.]
अनंतगोचरे श्रीमान् पण्डित श्रीत्तरेस्व(श्व)रः ।
पंचार्थलाकुलाम्नाये[42] विश्वरूपोभवद्गुरुः ॥ —[28.]
दीक्षाजातमलध्वस्तविस्फुरच्चा-[43]
23. [ननि*]र्म्मलः ।
प्रशस्ताख्योभवच्छिष्यस्तस्य पाशुपतः कृती ॥ —[29.]
भा[व][44]रक्तो[भ]वत्तस्य शिष्यो द्विनामतोल्लटः ।
वार्गटिकान्वयोद्भूतसद्विप्रकुलसंभवः ।(॥) —[30.]
हर्षस्यासन्नतो ग्रामः प्रसिद्धो राणपल्लिका ।
सांसारिककुलाम्नायस्ततो यस्य विनि[र्गमः ॥*] —[31.]

[35] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[36] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[37] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.
[38] Metre of verses 22 and 23: Rathoddhatâ.
[39] The two *aksharas* have broken away, were probably टका.
[40] Metre: Sragdharâ.
[41] Metre of verses 25—32: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[42] One would expect to read here पंचार्थलकुलाम्नायो, and I believe that the *akshara* ला has been altered to ल already in the original.
[43] Read °ध्वंसविस्फुरच्छा°.
[44] Originally वि, but apparently altered to व.

L. 24. श्मल्लटच्छद्मना नंदी शिवासन्नस्थितिक्रमः ।
श्रीहर्षाराधने नूनं स्वयं मर्त्त्यमवातरत् ॥ —[32.]
श्राजन्म व्र(ब्र)ह्मचारी दिगमलवसनः संयतात्मा तपस्वी
श्रीहर्षाराधनैकव्यसनशुभमतिस्त्यक्तसंसारमोहः ।
श्रासीद्यो लव्ध(ब्ध)जन्मा भवतर[णधि]यां — ◡
25. — [योः] सुव(ब)न्धु-
स्तेनेदं धर्म्मिवित्तैः सुघटितविकटं कारितं हर्षहर्म्यम् ॥ [45]—[33.]
श्रस्मिंश्चंद्रांकशैले गगनपथलिहोत्तुंगशृंगेप्रमेयं
हर्म्यं श्रीहर्षनामप्रथितपशुपतेः सद्विमानो[प]मानम् ।
दृष्ट्वा सद्भोगयुक्तं व(ब)हुसुरभवनं कारितं येन
26. — —
नासाध्यं किंचिदस्ति स्फुटमिति तपसो निःस्पृहाणां यतीनाम् ॥ —[34.]
श्रासीन्नैष्ठिकरूपो यो दीप्तपाशुपतव्रतः ।
ती[व्र]वेगतपोजातपुण्यापुण्यमलक्षयः ॥ [46]—[35.]
सदा शिवसमाकारस्तस्येश्वरसमद्युतेः ।
भावद्योतोभवच्छिष्यः संदीपितगु-
27. [रुक्र×]मः ॥ —[36.]
गुरोराज्ञामयं प्राप्य प्रतिष्ठासोः शिवालयम् ।
यथाप्रारव्ध(ब्ध)कार्याणामंगीकृतभरोभवत् ॥ —[37.]
पुरस्तात्पर्व्वतस्याधस्त्रितयं येन कारितम् ।
सत्कूपो वाटिका दिव्या गोप्रपा घटितोपलैः ॥ —[38.]
सदैव वहमानेन कूपेन स्वादुवारिणा ।
वाटिकासिच-
28. . . . . प्रपाभरणन्तथा ॥ —[39.]
सत्पुष्पैरर्च्चनं शम्भोः पयःपानं गवामपि ।
कार्यद्वयमिदं सारं दर्शितं पुण्यकांक्षिणाम् ॥ —[40.]
दिगंव(ब)रं जटा भस्म[47] तल्पं च विपुलं मही ।
भिक्षा वृत्तिः करः पात्रं यस्यैतानि परिग्रहः ॥ —[41.]
शिवभवनपु—
29. — — ◡ [पा?]रं यदासीत्तदखिलमुपलौघैः पूरयित्वा गभीरम् ।
समतलसुखगम्यं प्रांगणं तेन कांतं मसृणतरशिलाभिः कारितं वं(बं)धयित्वा ॥ [48]—[42.]
वीरभ[द्र]सुतः ख्यातः सूत्रधारोत्र चंडसिव[49] ।
विश्वकर्म्मेव सर्व्वज्ञो वास्तुविद्या[म]-
— ◡ — [॥×] [50]—[43.]
[ये]न निर्म्मितमिदं मनोहरं शंकरस्य भवनं समंडपम् ।

[45] Metre of verses 33 and 34 : Sragdharâ.
[46] Metre of verses 35-41 Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[47] Originally भस्मं, altered to भस्म.
[48] Metre : Mâlinî.
[49] This word is perfectly clear in the impressions and cannot possibly be read in any other way. It offends against both the metre and grammar.
[50] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[म]व्देवमयचारुतोरणं स्वर्गखंडमिव वेधसा स्वयम् ॥ [51]—[44.]
गंगाधरवरभवनं कर्णाकश्रीरुकसुतेन भक्तेन ।
अक्रियतेयं सुगमा प्रशस्तिरिह धीरनागेन ॥[52] — [45.]
यावच्छंभो ◡ —

31. — ◡ ◡ नसुरनदीचंद्रलेखापतित्वं
यावल्लक्ष्मीर्मुरारेरुरसि विलसति द्योतते कौस्तुभं च ।
गायत्री याव[दा]स्ते सततमुपनता प्रेयसी ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणोन्त
कैलासमा(रा)रमेतत्प्रतपतु भवनं हर्षदेवस्य तावत् ॥[53] —[46.]
अ . .

32. . [ह]नः शंभुः कथं कालस्य गोचरः ।
हर्म्यानिर्म्माणकालस्तु यथादृष्टो निव(ब)ध्यते ॥ [54]—[47.]
संवत् १०१[३] आषाढशुदि १३ शंभोः प्रासादसिद्धिः ॥ ❀ ॥
जातेव्दा(ब्दा)नां सहस्रे त्रिगुणनवयुते सिंहराशौ गतेर्के
शुक्ला यामोत्तृ[ती×]-

33. [या] शुभकरसहिता सोमवारेण तस्याम् ।
आदिष्टः शंभुनामो [ध्रुव]ममलपदं दित्सुना शुद्धमत्वं(त्त्वं)
लब्धा(ब्ध्वा)ंदेहभ(ब)ंधं शिवभवनमभिप्रस्थितो ह्यल्लटोद्य ॥ ❀ ।(॥) [55]—[48.]
स्वस्ति । संवत् १०३० आषाढशुदि १५ निरुद्धं यथालब्ध(ब्ध)शासना[ना] . .

34. . त्रैव लिख्यते । महाराजाधिराजश्रीसिंहराजः स्वभोगे तूनकूपकद्वादशके सिंहगोष्ठं ।[56]
तथा पट्टव(ब)द्धकविषये चैंलकके शानकूपो ।[56] सरकोट्टविषये कर्दहपल्लिकामेवं ग्रामांश्चतुर-
श्चंद्रांकशिखरोपरि . . . [भ×]-

35. गवते श्रीहर्षदेवाय पुण्येहनि श्रीमत्पुष्करतीर्थे स्नात्वा स्नपनार्चनविलेपनोपहारधूपदीपपर्व-
यात्रोत्सवार्थमा शशांकतपनार्णवस्थितेर्यावच्छासनत्वेन प्रददौ । तथैतद्भ्राता श्रीवत्सराज
स्वभोगावाप्तजय[पु][रविष×]-

36. ये कर्दमखातग्रामसदाच्छासनेन । तथा श्रीविग्रहराजेन शासनदत्तग्रामद्वयमुपरिलिखित-
मास्ते । तथा श्रीसिंहराजात्मजौ श्रीचंद्रराजश्रीगोविंदराजौ स्वभोगावाप्तपट्टव(ब)द्धकविषये ।[56]
दर्भकक्षविष[ये] . .

37. [पा]संग्येन स्वहस्तांकितशासनौ [ग्रा?] . . . [द्र]के पट्टकद्वय[56]पल्लिकाग्रामौ भक्त्या वितेरतुः ।
श्रीसिंहराजीयदुःसाध्यश्रीधंधुकः खट्टकूपविषये स्वभुज्यमानमयूरप[द्र]ग्रामं स्वाम्यनुमतः
प्रदत्तवान् । . . . .

38. हिलात्मजः श्रीजयनराजः[58] स्वभुज्यमानकोलिकूपकग्रामं भक्त्या हर्षदेवाय शासनेन दत्तवान् ।(॥)
तथा समस्तश्रीभमहदे[वी]श्या शाकंभर्यां लवणकूटकं प्रति विंशोपकमेकं दत्तं । तथोत्तराप
श्रीयहेडाविकानां[म] . . . .

[51] Metre: Rathoddhatâ.
[52] Metre: Âryâ.
[53] Metre: Sragdharâ.
[54] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[55] Metre: Sragdharâ.
[56] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
[57] The sign of *anusvâra* of the last *akshara* is doubtful.
[58] Originally श्रीजयनीराजः, altered to श्रीजयनराजः.

L. 39. [घ]ाटकं प्रति द्रम्म एको दत्त: ।(॥) पुण्यात्मभिर्द्दत्तानि देवभुज्यमानक्षेत्राणि यथा । म[द्रा]-
पुरिकायां पि[प्प]लवालिकाक्षेत्रं निम्ब(म्ब)डिका[ग्रा]मे दर्भटिकाक्षेत्रं मरुपल्लिकायां [भ्रा]-
टक्षे[त्रं] [ह]र्षे लाटक्षेत्रं . . . . .

40\. . . . [क]लावणपद्रे सेक्यकक्षेत्रं तथात्रैव द्विहल्लिकानं[दि]मोमके द्वहडलमिति ॥
सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनो भूमिपालान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र: ।
सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि [:॥×] [59]—[49.]

TRANSLATION.

[Oṁ !]

[Oṁ ! Adoration to Śiva !]

(*Verse* 1.) I adore him who removes all obstacles, the first-born of Śiva and his spouse, who is worshipped by the gods, [Gajânana,] the granter of boons, who gives enjoyment, salvation, and true perfection.

(2.) May the destroyer of Tripura guard you, who is[60] . . . . . . with bewildered minds, but praised by the true gods!

(3.) Victorious is that Paśupati[61], the bestower of compassion on all, who is named Harsha, the holy, at whose dancing the whole world verily changes its position; [for] the earth, resting on Śesha's hoods, bends low beneath the tread of his feet, [while the sky] with the sun and moon [rises high] with the lifting up of his arms.

(4.) " A three-pointed spear is in thy left hand, in the other an alms-dish; the ornament . . . . ; a serpent serves as necklace for thy blue throat; nowhere have I seen, O three-eyed one, such wondrous vesture;"—may Hara, smiling when thus jestingly addressed by Gaurî, guard you!

(5.) May the river of heaven, who with her masses of water pervades the sky where the sun and the planets are shaken by her velocity, and who with the thousands of lines of her waves puts to shame the oceans with their decreasing water; who, white like the moon, appears like a graceful veil on the crest of the moon-crested (*god*), fast bound with huge uncouth tresses of hair;—may she grant your petitions!

(6.) May the god Harsha, that unfathomable architect for the construction of the world, preserve you,—he by whose will and power all that was not is produced and vanishes again, the universe with its moving moon and sun and stars, with its expanse of worlds, mountains, rivers, islands and oceans, and together with the gods, demons, serpents, his own attendants, excellent sages, Yakshas and mortals!

(7.) May the moon-crested (*god*), who in the form of the Liṅga has (*here*) a twofold dwelling, promote your happiness; he who—full of joy at having burnt Tripura, the enemy of the gods, with the fire of his arrow, (*and*) worshipped on this hill by the joyful divine hosts, Indra and the rest, who praised him and bowed down to him,—verily under the name of Harsha[62] stayed on (*these*) two mountain peaks for the welfare of Bhàrata[63]!

(8.) When the gods saw how his own nature broke forth, like a mighty fire issuing from the hollow of his eye, frightening the creatures with its scorching rays, darkening

[59] Metre: Śâlinî.

[60] The missing portion of the verse probably expressed the idea that Śiva is dreaded by the demons.

[61] *i.e.* Śiva.

[62] *i.e.* 'joy.'

[63] *i.e. Bhâratavarsha*, or India.

the quarters with thick volumes of smoke of the trees which were consumed by its flames all round, roaring terribly in its impetuous progress, (*and*) annihilating the god of love, they became afraid lest the destruction of the world had come, out of season.

(*V.* 9.) May this mountain Harsha, which grazes the clouds on high (*and*) on which the god Harsha, the destroyer of Pura, resides, purify you!

A hero speaks the following verse:—

(10.) The water of the torrents which flows here is indeed not that of the Ganges; here there is not the charming beauty of the garden of paradise; nor are there [palaces] here which glitter brightly all around with their jewelled and gilded pinnacles. Yet this hill possesses another, superior, unrivalled beauty; for that Śambhu dwells here in person is surely a paramount cause of loveliness.

(11.) Since the eight-formed (*god*), the lord of the eight perfections, himself dwells here, this mountain possesses supreme grandeur which baffles description.

(12.) Glorious is this mansion of the holy Harshadeva which is charming with the expanse of its spacious chapels, embellished with eggs of gold, (*and*) pleasing like the sons of Pâṇḍu by reason of the court-yards [64] which are formed by the flights of buildings along its sides. Surpassing in height the peak of Meru, it is beautified by an excellent porch at which a bull is skilfully carved, and is endowed with manifold objects of enjoyment.

(13.) First came the lord of men known as the illustrious Gûvaka, of the Châhamâna family, who attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assemblies of the foremost princes of the world, the illustrious Nâgas and the rest[65]; whose fame, remaining on earth in visible form, as an excellent dwelling for the holy Harshadeva, even now endures here and illumines with great . . . .

(14.) His son was the illustrious Chandrarâja, of spotless fame and fierce valour; and his son was the valorous prince who again, like the first, was named Gûvaka. From him sprang, inspiring kings with fear, the illustrious Chandana, who, when he had slain on the battle-field the proud Tomara lord, prince Rudrena, by force secured the fortune of victory.

(15.) After him came his son, the Mahârâja named Vâkpatirâja, the illustrious, endowed with supreme splendour, ever victorious in battle;

(16.) Who, managing to sustain the spirit of his army, eager to loosen the reins of their chargers, forced Tantrapâla,—the ruler of the country adjacent to Ananta, who had come arrogantly defying (?) the command of the prince whom he should have honoured,—to wander, quieted, overwhelmed with shame, in every direction, after his elephants had before already been frightened . . . by drums . . . . . (?).[66]

[64] The reading of the second line of this verse is quite clear in the impressions, but owing to the word *vikaṭâ* its meaning is not clear to me. *Vikaṭâ* is apparently used here as a feminine substantive, and should, judging from the context, denote both a hall or court-yard and a female, related somehow to the Pâṇḍavas. In the former sense the word is evidently used also in verse 33, below; and as regards the other meaning, it may at any rate be noted that Vikaṭa is the name of one of the hundred sons of Dhṛitarâshṭra.

[65] See note 26, above. I am doubtful about the correctness of my translation, but see no other way of explaining the original text.

[66] I do not properly understand the second line of this verse, which is damaged in the original. *Trâsitebha* might of course also mean 'who had frightened the elephants.' The word *abhivahan* (supposing the reading to be correct) of the third line appears to be used in an altogether unusual sense. Dr. Mill's translation of the second line is: 'even he, having his elephant terrified and driven into a lake by the sounding cymbals of the hostile war elephants.'

A hero speaks :—

(*V.* 17.) Vâkpatirâja's peerless son was the illustrious Siṁharâja, who verily all the earth over is sung of by people as the equal of Hariśchandra, of spotless fame for his liberality, majesty, and victories, and of resplendent virtue. He piously gave abundant wealth to Hara for a temple.

(18.) And on Śiva's dwelling he set a golden dome (?), his own fame in bodily form, resembling the full moon.

(19.) [After having defeated] the Tomara leader, proud of the command of armies, together with Lavaṇa, the victorious one annihilated in war rulers of men in every direction. To him, who kept as many (*princes*) in his prison as he did in his house, the universal sovereign of the earth in Raghu's race came of his own accord to bring him final liberation.[67]

(20.) His son was the illustrious Vigraharâja, resembling Indra, who rescued both the fortune of his family and the Fortune of victory from the distress which had thus befallen them.

(21.) By him the Fortune of his realm, deprived of the illustrious Siṁharâja and as it were frightened at the idea who might now be her lord, was re-assured by offering her a lasting home in his two arms.

(22.) Having subdued with his arms the whole earth by overpowering the wicked on all sides, he easily made it obedient to his commands, so that it was like a servant bowing down at his feet.

(23.) When good men hear his noble conduct constantly celebrated by mankind throughout the world, their bodies again and again are closely covered all over with hairs erect through delight.

(24.) He has been served with many presents, offered without guile and exceedingly pleasing,—with strings of pure pearls, gay steeds, fine garments and weapons; with camphor, quantities of betel, first-rate sandal-wood and endless quantities of gold; and with spirited rutting elephants, huge like moving mountains, together with their mates.

(25.) Piously he has assigned by deeds two villages to the lord Harsha, the excellent village of Chhattradhârâ and Śaṁkarâṇaka.

(26.) He is adorned by his younger brother, the illustrious Durlabharâja, as Râma was by Lakshmaṇa, and as Halâyudha is by Vishṇu.

(27.) This row of great kings had the origin of their virtues in devotion to Śambhu. The holy Harsha is their family-deity; through him has the family become illustrious.—

(28.) In the land of Ananta dwelt the blessed preceptor Viśvarûpa, learned and a devout worshipper of Uttareśvara, whose hereditary doctrine was that of the *Pañchârthalas*.[68]

(29.) His disciple was Praśasta, a true worshipper of (*Śiva*) Paśupati, purified by knowledge which shone brightly because the rite of initiation had removed all stains from it.

[67] The following verse shows more clearly that Siṁharâja had been unfortunate in war and was probably killed in battle. The universal sovereign in Raghu's race, spoken of in this verse, I understand to be the divine Râma (or Vishṇu).

[68] This verse contains the two words *auttareśvara* and *pañchârthala*, which I have not met with elsewhere. The former is derived from *uttareśvara* which we have in *Uttareśvara-tîrtha*, the name of a Tîrtha, and *Uttareśvarâśrama*, the name of a Liṅga, and which apparently is a name of Śiva. *Pañchârthala* is evidently equivalent to *pâñchârthika*, which occurs in line 6 of the Tewar stone inscription of Gayâkarṇadeva (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 211), and the meaning of which is apparent from the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*, translation by Cowell and Gough, p. 103.

(*Vv.* 30 *and* 31.) His disciple was Bhâvarakta, also called[69] Allaṭa, sprung from a family of holy Brâhmans belonging to the Vârgaṭika tribe, who had migrated from the well-known village of Rânapallikâ, near Harsha, where the hereditary doctrine is that of the *Sâṁsârikas.*[70]

(32.) In Allaṭa surely Nandin[71] himself, whose place is ever near Śiva, had descended to the state of mortality, to worship the holy Harsha.

(33.) He who from his birth was a religious student, with mere space for his pure covering, with the soul completely controlled, and practising austerities; whose excellent mind was solely bent on worshipping the holy Harsha, and who had forsaken the infatuation of the outer world; who as soon as he was born was a dear friend ...... of those eager to cross (*the sea of*) life,—he caused to be built this mansion of Harsha with its well-constructed halls (?), with the wealth received from pious people.

(34.) When one sees how on this hill of the moon-decorated (*god*) which with its lofty peaks kisses the path of heaven he built this incomparable mansion of the holy Paśupati, celebrated under the name of Harsha,—this mansion which surpasses the palaces of the immortals and is a home for many gods, endowed with excellent objects of enjoyment,—it becomes evident to one that there is nothing which the penance of sages who have renounced all desires would not accomplish.

(35 *and* 36.) Of him, resplendent like Îśvara, the disciple was Bhâvadyota, always like Śiva himself in appearance, who shed light on the (*spiritual*) lineage of his preceptor. A perpetual religious student and fervently practising the vows of a Pâśupata ascetic, he by fierce austerities acquired holiness and got rid of the defilement of unholy deeds.

(37.) Having received the command of his preceptor about to depart for Śiva's home, he took upon himself to complete the works as they had been commenced.

(38.) To the east of the mountain, at the foot of it, he had three works executed, an excellent well, a beautiful garden, and a cistern for watering cattle, built of stone.

(39.) Watering the garden by means of a well of sweet water which never dries up .... and filling the cistern.

(40.) To worship Śambhu with beautiful flowers and to give water to cattle to drink, these two things have been declared to be the best for people desirous of religious merit to accomplish.

(41.) Raiment consisting of mere space, matted hair, ashes, a broad couch formed by the earth, food received as alms, and the hand used as a drinking-cup,—these represented all his wants.

(42.) Having filled up with masses of stone all that immense .... which was [in front] of Śiva's temple, he caused to be made a beautiful court which, laid out with very smooth stones, is level and pleasant for walking.

(43.) The architect in this (*work*) was Chaṇḍaśiva, the famed son of Vîrabhadra, omniscient like Viśvakarman, in the art of building houses ....

(44.) He built this delightful house of Saṁkara with its chapels, the beautiful porch which contains all the gods, like a portion of heaven made by the creator himself.[72]

[69] This apparently is the meaning of *dvinâmataḥ*, which does not occur elsewhere.

[70] What the doctrines of this sect were I have not been able to find out.

[71] An attendant of Śiva, commonly the bull on which he rides.

[72] In his account of the ruins of the temple, Mr. Dean speaks of a doorway relieved by an architrave of most elaborate sculpture, divided into twelve compartments, in each of which a group from the Hindu Pantheon occupies a place.

(V. 45.) Dhîranâga, the pious son of the *karaṇika*[73] Thîruka, has composed this lucid eulogy here, at the excellent dwelling of Gaṅgâdhara. ।

(46.) As long as Śambhu owns . . . . . .the river of the gods and the moon's crescent, as long as Lakshmî sports and the Kaustubha glitters on the bosom of Mura's foe,[74] as long as Gâyatrî abides near Brahman as his ever-devoted spouse, so long may this Kailâsa-like dwelling of the god Harsha shine forth!

(47.) . . . . . . how should Śambhu come within the range of time? But the time when this mansion was built is recorded here, as we have learnt it.

In the year 1013, on the 13th of the bright half of Âshâḍha, was the temple of Śambhu completed.

(48.) When a thousand and three times nine years had gone,[75] and when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with (the *yoga*) Śubha and (the *nakshatra*) Hasta, on a Monday,[76]—then that Allaṭa, commanded by Śambhu who desired to give him an eternal, undefiled, essentially bright home, departed for the abode of Śiva, about to obtain freedom from bodily existence.[77]—

May it be well!

The following is a record of the endowments as they were severally received up to[78] the 15th of the bright half of Âshâḍha of the year 1030:—

The *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the illustrious Siṁharâja, having on an auspicious day bathed at the sacred Pushkaratîrtha, made over by deed of gift to the holy Harshadeva on the hill of the moon-decorated (*god Harsha*), to be his as long as the moon, the sun and the sea endure, four villages in his possession, *viz.* Siṁhagoshṭha in the Tûnakûpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and Îśânakûpa[79] in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *vishaya*, and Kaṇhapallikâ in the Sarahkoṭṭa *vishaya*, for the purpose of bathing, worshipping and anointing (*the god*), for oblations, incense and lamps, and for the celebration of processions on festive days.

Similarly his brother, the illustrious Vatsaraja, gave by deed the village of Kardamakhâta in the Jayapura *vishaya* which he had become possessed of.

Similarly two villages, already mentioned above,[80] were given by deed by the illustrious Vigraharâja.

Similarly the sons of the illustrious Siṁharâja, the illustrious Chandrarâja and the illustrious Govindarâja, piously presented by deeds bearing their signatures . . . . two hamlets[81] . . . . in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *vishaya* (*and*) the Darbhakaksha *vishaya* which they had become possessed of.

[73] *i.e.* a writer of legal documents.

[74] *i.e.* Vishṇu.

[75] *i.e.* in the expired (Vikrama) year 1027.

[76] The name of the week-day is similarly put in the instrumental case in other dates, where we should have expected the locative.

[77] I take *vaideha* as an abstract noun, derived from *videha* 'bodiless.'

[78] The word of the original, so translated, is *sirnddham*, which I have not met with in this sense elsewhere.

[79] The names of these two villages form in the original a Dvandva compound, which I cannot be sure of having resolved correctly.

[80] See above, verse 25.

[81] Owing to the mutilated state of the text I am unable to translate this sentence properly. In particular I do not see how the meaning of the word *pâṭaka* here differs from that of *pallikâ*. On *pâṭaka* see the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 135.

The illustrious Siṁharâja's *duḥsádhya*,[82] the illustrious Dhandhuka, with the permission of his master, gave the village of Mayûrapadra which he possessed in the Khaṭṭakûpa *vishaya*.

The illustrious Jayanarâja, the son of . . . . . . hila, piously gave by a deed to Harshadeva the village of Kolikûpaka, possessed by him.

Likewise one *viṁśopaka* on every *kûṭaka* of salt was assigned by the most illustrious . . . .[83] at Śâkambharî.

And one *dramma* on every horse was assigned by the . . . . . of horse-dealers[84] from the northern country.

The fields given by pious-minded people and now possessed by the god are as follows: at Madrâpurikâ a *pippalaválikâ*[85] field, at the village of Nimbaḍikâ a *darbhaṭikâ* field, at Marupallikâ a *jháṭa* field, at Harsha a *láṭa* field, at . . . . [ka]-lâvaṇapadra a *sekyaka* field; likewise here at . . . . . .[86] a big plough of land.

(*Verse* 49.) Râmabhadra again and again entreats all the kings to come: this common causeway of religion to princes must at all times be guarded by you!

IX.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUBA OF DIHLÎ.

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The papers relative to Muhammadan inscriptions already published by scholars in India, especially those of the late Professor Blochmann, are so valuable that they have laid a solid foundation for further advances; but the number of inscriptions still unedited must be very large, and their collection and publication may be looked to with confidence for many additions to, and corrections of, our information.

The following inscriptions are from impressions taken by the Archæological Survey officers of the Panjâb circle at diverse places in the former *Súba* of Dihlî.

I.—JHAJHAR (جهجر; in inscr. No. 5 جَجر).

Jhajhar is now the head-quarters of the *taḥsíl* of the same name in the Rohtak District. It is situated in the plain 35 miles west of Dihlî. The town is said to have been founded at the time of the first Muhammadan conquest of Dihlî, and is not seldom mentioned by the chroniclers. Many ruins testify its later importance. In 657 A.H. it is named among other cities which were conferred upon Nuṣrat Khân (*Ṭab. Náṣ*, p. 274); in 756 Fîrôz Shâh dug a large canal from the river Satlaj and prolonged it to Jhajhar, a distance of 48 *krôh* (Firishta, lithographed edition, vol. I, p. 262). In the *Áîn-i-Akbarî* it is registered with 128,417 *bîghas*, 1,422,451 *dáms*, *Sayúrghál* 306,461 *dáms*, 60 cavalry and 1,000 infantry; the castes were Afghâns and Jats. In A. H. 967, when Akbar made his encampment at Jhajhar, Abu'l Ma'âlî, who was set free from his confinement at

[82] This word apparently denotes an office. In other inscriptions we find *duḥsâdhyasâdhanika*.

[83] The word here left untranslated is *bhammaka-deśyâ* about the reading of which there is no doubt. *Deśî* apparently is used in the same sense which it ought to convey here in the Peheva inscription, *ante*, vol. I, p. 187, l. 8, and probably denotes 'a guild;' and in that case *bhammaka* should denote a class of traders. For *viṁśopaka* see *viṁsopaka*, *ante*, vol. I, p. 166. *Kûṭaka* probably denotes a certain weight or measure (of salt).

[84] The original has *keḍâvika* instead of *keḍâvuka*, which occurs in the *Mitâksharâ* on Yâjñavalkya II, 30.

[85] The terms here left untranslated probably denote various kinds of grain.

[86] The words here omitted I do not understand.

Bayâna by Khân Khânân, dared to present himself before the emperor; but the latter was so greatly offended by this that he ordered the rebel again into imprisonment.

The town was almost ruined by the great famine of 1783 A.D., but has since regained its prosperity. The following twelve inscriptions belong to seven mosques in it, and date from the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Hijrat.

1. A loose stone (20½" by 18") from the destroyed Kâlî Masjid, now in the house of Mardàn 'Alî Shâh Bhattîân in the town of Jhajhar, bears the following inscription of four lines[1] :—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنا مسجدا لله بنا الله له مثله فی الجنّة

بنا کرد این مسجد مجلس عالي خان اعظم برکزیده رحمان مربّي جهان

داود خان بن مغفور مرحوم ملک الشرق علاء الدوله والدین ملک میان افغان

سلمه الله عن الحدثات و توّج ثوابه بتاج الرضوان الخامس والعشرین من رمضان سنه تسع و تسعین و سبعمایة

"The Prophet—may he be blessed!—says,—'He who builds a mosque for Allâh, will have built for him a house like it by Allàh in Paradise.'

"This mosque has been built by the high *Majlis*, the great Khân, the chosen of the Merciful, the educator of the world,—

"Dâûd Khân, the pardoned deceased son of the Malik Ashsharq ('Aladdaula) Waddîn Malik Miyân, the Afghân;—

"May God preserve him from bad accidents and crown his reward with the crown of Paradise!—on the twenty-fifth Ramazân 799 [22nd June 1397]."

The date falls in the reign of Maḥmûd Shàh; an inscription of the same year has also been published by Blochmann in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 304.

2. Over the *mihrab* of the Bàzârwallì mosque in the middle of the town, a sandstone slab, measuring 28" by 15½", bears the following five lines :—

بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحيم لا اله الا الله محمّد رسول الله

في زمانهٔ عمدة الخلافت باسط العدل و رافت جلال الدّين

محمّد اکبر بادشاه غازي خلدالله ملکه و سلطانه بناء مسجد ساخته مکرمه

و محسنه بیکه لطباع نواب رومیخان فرمایش سرکار خواج کتور

فی التاریخ السابع والعشرین ۲۷ من شهر رجب رجب قدره سنه سبعین تسعمایة ۹۷۰

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no God, etc.

"In the time of the pillar of the Kalifat, spreading justice and clemency, Jalâladdîn Muḥammad Akbar *Bádisháh-i-Ghází*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his

[1] Here, at Strassburg, I am unable to refer to the *Târîkh-i Badaoni*, the *Jaunpûrnâma*, the *Miftâḥ attavârîkh*, Stewart's *History of Bengal* and other works. I have retained in the transcriptions of the inscriptions the spelling of the originals, adding no wanting dots, *hamzas* or *tashdids*, the poetry excepted; but I have omitted the signs of the short vowels and the *jazmas* which often occur arbitrarily. For the short accounts of the places where the inscriptions have been found, I have consulted Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. To Dr. S. Landauer I am obliged for his kiud assistance in the elucidation of some difficulties.

reign! the erection of the honoured

"And beautiful mosque[2], the lady over natures (?), has been made by the *Nawâb* Rûmî Khân, governor of the *sarkâr* Khwâj Katôr[3] (?),

"On the 27th of the month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 970 [22nd March 1563]."

This inscription is interesting because it gives new information about Rûmî Khân, who is not often mentioned in the histories. Blochmann has noted two services of his in his translation of the *Âîn* (No. 111, p. 424), the one from A.H. 971—one year later than the present inscription—the other of A. H. 983 (No. 146, p. 441). His full name is not certain. Blochmann styles him Rûmî Khân Ustâd Jalabî.[4]

3. Over the northern outside arch of the mosque of Shâh Bura in the north of the town, is a sandstone, measuring 22″ by 19″, bearing the six lines :—

براه حقِ رحد انیق جرن داد　　بنا این مسجد را عزم افتاد
بدورِ شه جلال الدین اکبر　　که ایام بکامِ او مقرن باد
چو کس برسد بدین توان نو کشت　　محمد روست ابراهیم دلشاد
یقین او همدم است با واصلان حق　　که خاطرخستکان مي سازد اباد
بتخصیص انك با قطب زمانه　　سرِ خدمت بجا مي آرد استاد
چو مقصودِ جهانست بده شاه　　خدایا عرِ او را جاردان باد
که نه‌صد بودفزرن شصت و ده وپنج　　شهرِ رمضان که آنرا کرد بنیاد
و صل‌الله علی محمد
زهاتف خواستم اتمام تاریخ　　ندایم جاء سجده فیض ده داد
٩٧٦

Metre: *Hazaj.*

"When God the only one, put away (*my*) misfortune, the building of this mosque was designed.

"In the time of the king Jalâl addîn Akbar—may his days be equal to his desire!—

"Everybody who comes to that mighty one, becomes a new one; Muḥammad Ibrâhîm (*also*) is happy through him.

"He is true and a companion of the followers of God, he exhilarates the afflicted.

"To him especially the pole and time devote their service, the masters.

"As the design of the world is for ten kings, so, O God! may his glory be eternal!

"When nine hundred was increased by sixty and ten and five, it was in the month Ramazân that he laid the foundation. May the friendship of God be over Muḥammad!

[2] *Liṭıbâ'* has been distinctly engraved, but perhaps *aṭbâ'* is to be read and *Bêga-ya* (i.e. *Bêg-î*) *aṭbâ'* synonymous with *daryâ khânlary*—Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 480.

[3] The reading Katôr is somewhat doubtful; the word may be Ganaur or Kanaum, but even if read thus, we get none of the well-known *sarkârs* of the Moghul empire. The same strange use of *farmûyiś* occurs in Nos. 4 and 44.

[4] More famous was the homonymous *mîr âtash* of Humâyûn (died 942), who effected in 942 the conquest of the fort of Chanâṛ by the practice of old Zopyrus' stratagem, after having quitted the service of his former master Sulṭân Bahâdur of Gujarât, which treachery has given matter for the anecdote of Sulṭân Bahâdur's parrot in Khâfi Khân's *Muntakhab allubâb.* The Turks of Europe were celebrated in Asia for their knowledge of artillery, which was always the most remarkable weapon of the Turks in their wars with the Persian Shâhs, a fact that Shâh Ṭahmâsp I. in vain attempts to deny in his Memoirs (*see* my German translation of them, p. 129. Strassburg, Trübner).

'From the heavenly speaker I asked the date of completion, a voice gave me '*jâ (-yî) sijda fayz da*' (Bestow a place of adoration). 976.' [Ramazân 976 began on the 17th February 1569]."

The words of the *târîkh* give only 975. The poetry is very poor and difficult to understand. I do not pretend that my readings are absolutely correct.

4. Over the central arch of the ruined mosque of Miyân Râïb to the south of the Bâzârwallî Masjid is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 19″ by 15″, bearing the following five lines. This mosque is in the last stage of ruin, the yard being filled with filth and sweepings; it is no more used for religious purposes.

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

واشهد ان محمّد عبده ورسوله

كرده بناء عمارت مسجد ميان رائب بن پياره

فی التاريخ عشر من شر(*sic*) ذي الحج

سنه ۹۸۹ فرمايش ميان داود

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion;

"And I testify that Muhammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by Miyân Râïb, son of Piyâra,[6] on the tenth of the month Zi-l-Hajj,

"In the year 989 [5th January 1582]. His commander (*was*) Miyân Dâûd."

5. The graveyard of Miyân Râïb is situated half a mile east of Jhajhar, near the Buawalla tank. A red sandstone over the eastern gateway (27″ by 13″) bears the following inscription of four lines; the lettering is very poor:—

بدوري شاه اكبر كز عدالت مباركه تاج جهان را

ساختن [؟] چون دين بهتر محير ميان رايب ابن پياره

قصبهٔ پر نور ججر سلامت كيان [؟] همهرا

سنه الفه اثنه (*sic*) ماه رمضان محمد دولتياره ارتاجی [؟] ......

"In the time of Shâh Akbar, by whose justice came blessing upon the crown of the world

. . . . "Miyân Râïb, son of Piyâra.

"The town full of light, Jajar, is the repose of all nobles;

"In the year 1002, in the month of Ramazân [began the 21st May 1594] . . . . ."

The marble gravestone itself measures 3′ 8″ by 10½″. It contains the *Kalima* and the words *qabr-î-Miyân Râïb*; round the open middle space runs the *Fâtiha*. At the foot of the stone the Persian sentence has been engraved هرچه آمد برفت 'Whatsoever came has gone'.

6. Over the outside central arch of the mosque attached to the tomb of 'Abd as-Samad, half a mile east of the town near the Buawalla tank, is a red sandstone slab (21″ by 17″), containing the following six lines:—

خوش رواجيست دين اسلامي در زمانه خليفه نور الدّين

يا الهي بباد سال هزار عدل و انصاف استوار متين

[6] Cf the ford of Bâbâ Piyâra on the river Narmadâ, *Iqbâln. Jah.*, p. 301.

کرد مسجد بنای اسمعیل　　ایره رایب که اوست طالب دین
سالِ تاریخ از خرد جستم　　خردم رهنمون هزار و عشرین
کوشه شیني فقیر عبدالصمد　　ابن مکن که قومِ عباسین
از طفیلي محمد عربي　　دین‌داران بروضه خلد برین

Metre : *Khafîf.*

"In a good career is the faith of Islàm in the time of the king Nûraddîn (Jahângir) O God! may his justice and equity stand firm and solid a thousand years!

"This masjid has been built by Ism'aîl Îrah Ràïb, who is a student of the faith.

"I asked the mind the date-year, the guiding mind (*said*) to me '1020' [began 16th March 1611].

"(*I*), a hermit, the poor 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, the son of Makan, who belongs to the family of the 'Abbassides,

"To the companions of Muḥammad the Arabian, the pious ones in the high Paradise."

In No. 11 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's father is named Mankan.

7. Over the gateway of Rustam Khân in the south of the town, on a sandstone, measuring 4 feet by 12¾", are two lines, and flower arabesques:—

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شریك له واشهد ان محمد عبده و رسوله
تاریخ دروازهٔ رستم خان ابن محمد خان سربني سنه ۱۰۲۹

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion; and I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The date of the gateway of Rustam Khân, son of Muḥammad Khân Sarbanî (*is*) 1029' [began 8th December 1619].

"Jahângîr elevated the builder from a commander of 60 to a chief of 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse and named him Rustam Khàn; besides he bestowed on him the government of Gujarât. He put much confidence in him and placed him in 1032 as general under the command of Prince Parwêz, after he had abandoned the service of the rebel Prince Shâhjahân. *Iqbâln. Jah.* 209, *Waqi'ât-i Jah.* in Elliot's *History*, vol. VI, p. 388."

8. Over the central arch of the same mosque as No. 6, on a red sandstone measuring 4′ 7½″ by 9″, is an inscription of two lines; (not *in situ*):—

بدورِ جهانکیر شاهِ جهان　　شد این روضه پر نور حسن شهید
تواریخِ این روضهٔ را، کسي　　هزار و سي و پنج سالش کشید

Metre: *Mutaqârib.*

"In the time of Jahângîr, the king of the world, this light tomb of Ḥasan Shahîd has been made.

"The date of it for a tomb has been brought by somebody (?) in the year 1035" [began 3rd October 1625].

9. Over the central outside arch of the Shaikhânwalla masjid, a soft sandstone slab, measuring 4′ 11″ by 8¼″, contained originally four lines, but the first, in Arabic, has almost vanished. Also the other lines are much injured, and some words are

missing, so that it is not possible to decipher fully the eighteen Persian hemistichs. I give only the beginning and the date:—

بحمدالله که درجهجر کلام . .   نهایت خوبي جهجر . . .
بدورِ شاه نورالدین جهانکیر   که عالي‌تر زشاهانِ جهانست
بنای کرد رستم خان محمد خان   که در زمین بمثلش بي نشانست
. . . .
(مرتب شد عمارت) بتاریخِ دهم از ماهِ رجب   بسن الف و پنج و سی . .

Metre: *Hazaj.*

"In the time of Shâh Nûraddîn Jahângîr, who is more exalted than the kings of the world, Rustam Khân,[6] son of Muḥammad Khân, has built it, who has not his like on the earth."

In the verses that follow the beauty of the mosque is described. The building was completed on the 10th of the month Rajab in the year 1035 [the 7th April 1626].

10. Over the north-west arch of a small *burj* on the west side of the tank of Shâh Ghâzî Kamâl, a short distance north of the town, is a red sandstone, measuring 4′ 11″ by 8″, and containing eight hemistichs, arranged in two lines:—

در زمانه خلیفه نور الدین   حوضِ نادرمثال کرد نشان
رای رایان رای درگهل   بهرِ راحت فراغِ خلقِ جهان
سالِ تاریخ از خرد جستم   خردم کفت در غلو بدان
کوشه‌شیني فقیر عبدالصمد   ابن منکن که صاحب عرفان
سنه هزار سي و شش بود

Metre: *Khafîf.*

"In the time of the king Nûraddîn the tank, which has scarcely its like, became a sign

"Of Râî Râyân Râî Darghal, for the benefit of the happiness of the people of the world,

"I asked the mind the date-year; the mind spoke to me 'Know it in *ghulûw.*'

"(I) the poor hermit 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, the son of Mankan, who is a master of knowledge.

"The year was 1036" [began the 22nd September 1626].

The name of the builder is not certain.

11. Over the central outer arch of Khalâl Khân's masjid, half a mile outside Jhajhar towards the east near the Buawalla tank, on a red sandstone measuring 2′ 9″ by 7½″, sculptured at the ends, is an inscription of three lines:—

بلطف و کرم عنایات کارساز جهان   شده مرتّب و موجود این بلند مکان
بنای مسجد عالي کلال خان کرده   بدور عهد [7]خلایق‌پناه شاهجهان
بسال سی و نهم یکهزار شد موجود   خدای عز وعلا داردش بامن و امان

[6] Concerning Rustam Khân, see above No. 7.   [7] Corrected from خلایق نثاه

Metre: *Mujtass.*

"By the grace and favour of the aids of the settler of the world, this high place has been arranged and constructed.

"Kalâl Khân has built this high mosque in the time of Shâhjahân, the refuge of men.

"It was in the year 1039 [began the 21st August 1629]. God—may he be honoured and exalted!—keeps it in safety and security."

II.—PÂNÎPAT.

Pânîpat lies to the north of Dihlî, as the *Akbarnâma* (II, 35) says 30, according the *Munt. allub.* (I, 50) 40, *krôhs* distant. It dates back to the wars between the Pâṇḍavas and the Kauravas. The modern town stands upon a high mound composed of the *débris* of earlier buildings. Because of its importance in the Muḥammadan period it was frequented by the kings, especially by the Mughal emperors, so that its name occurs very often in the chroniclers. Bâbar, in his *Memoirs*, names it as a considerable city. Besides, it has at several times witnessed decisive battles which were fought on its plains and sealed the fate of the whole ot Upper India. Tîmûr found it a place of consequence where were stored large provisions of wheat. In 933 A. H. Bâbar met Ibrâhîm Lôdî near Pânîpat and defeated him, his adversary himself being killed in the fight. The emperor considered the place of his victory a fortunate one and bestowed as a special favour the government of Pânîpat, together with the gift of the revenues due on one harvest, upon Sulṭân Muḥammad Anghulî, who had bravely assisted him in that battle (*Târîkh-i-salâṭîn-i-Afâghina;* Elliot's *History,* vol. V, p. 34). Sixty years later, Akbar, or speaking more exactly Khân Zamân, conquered Hêmû on the same field. On account of these victories Jahângîr, in his *Tuzaq*, speaks of Pânîpat as of a place 'which has always been a fortunate one for my ancestors' (Transl. of Lowe, p. 47). In 980 it was plundered, together with Sonpat and Karnâl, by the rebel Ibrâhîm Husain Mîrzâ. When Nâdir Shâh entered India, battles were again fought in the vicinity of Pânîpat. In A.D. 1761 Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî gained there his great victory over the Marâṭhas.

The *Âîn* states the area of the district to have been 568,444 *bîghas*, its revenues were 10,756,647 *dâms*, 3,540, 632 *say dâms*, and its contingent amounted to 100 horse and 2,000 foot. It had a castle built of brick. The principal tribes were Afghâns, Gûjars and Ranghars. Two learned men born at Pânîpat in Akbar's reign were Shaikh Zamân, author of a commentary on the *Lawâiḥ* and other excellent works (Badâunî, II, 258), and of the renowned surgeon Shaikh Hasan (*Âîn*).

12. Over the central arch in the western wall of the tomb enclosure of Hâfiz Jamâl, half a mile north of the town, is now fixed the sandstone (3′ 8″ by 13½″) which bears the following inscription. It has been transported thither from Munk, where (from its contents) it seems originally to have belonged to a mosque. The middle of the second line has been completely destroyed by the weather, which has injured also other words and has taken away all dots :—

امر ىىا هده العماره فى عهد السلطان المعطم علاالدىا والدىں ابوالمطفر

مسعود ساه سلطان و حلد ملكه ... بركىه موىك مطفر منصورعلا ىدر الدوله والدىں [ابں]

سعدالامرا ىهلوان السرف (?) . . . مرحوم (?) السلطانى اعزالله ... فى المنتصف من سوال

سىه بلث و اربعىں و سىمانه

"This edifice was ordered to be built in the time of the honoured king 'Aladdunyâ waddîn Abu-l-Muzaffar Mas'ûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his reign . . . . ! . . . . of Pargana Munk, Mużaffar Manṣûr 'Alâ Badr addaula waddîn,

"(son) of the chief of the Amîrs, *Pahlawân ashsharq* . . ., the defunct, the royal—may God increase his . . . . . !—in the middle of Shawwâl 643" [began the 19th February 1246].

This is the first inscription of Mas'ûd Shâh, who reigned from 639 till 644 A.H. He was the son of Fîrôz Shâh and succeeded Bahrâm Shâh on the throne. The name of the father of the grandee is not quite certain; the latter bore the title *Badr addîn*, which Malik Badr addîn Ṣunqar-î-Rûmî (put to death in 639) had before him (*Ṭab. Nâṣ* 255). Afterwards the title was bestowed on Malik Nuṣrat Khân Sunqar-i-Ṣûfî. As two persons could not have the same title at the same time—which is specially stated, *e.g.* in the *Riyáz assalâṭîn*, p. 284—Malik Ṣunqar-î Ṣûfî must have been named Badr addîn, but in the reign of Maḥmûd Shâh, under which king he was more of a *persona grata* than under Mas'ûd, who permitted the Nizâm al Mulk Khwâja Muhazzab addîn to take all functions out of the hands of the Turkish Amîrs. It is not surprising that the name of the Malik of our inscription does not occur in the *Ṭabaqât-î-Nâṣirî* among the Shamsî Maliks, for Minhâj addîn gives also a defective list of the Maliks of Maḥmûd Shâh's reign, from which Major Raverty concludes that the author intended to continue his work to the period falling within his own lifetime.

Pargana Munk has been identified by General Cunningham (*Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 186) with the old Nicæa of Alexander the Great. It is not mentioned in the *Âín*, but it occurs once in the *Akbarnáma*, vol. III, p. 604, where it is said that Akbar gave it to Ziyâ al Mulk.[8]

13. Over the south door of the tomb of Shaikh Jalâl addîn in the east of Pânîpat is a sandstone slab (2′ 8½″ by 19″) bearing four lines; the inscription is not visible from the enclosure owing to a high verandah which has been attached :—

باني اين عمارت فيروز محمد لطف‌الله افغان باني يذخير در عهد سلطان السلاطين

سكندر شاه بهلول شاه سلطان بكرم باري تعالى توفيق يافت تا كنبد حظيره بندكي شيخ

المشايخ والا ولياء شيخ جلال‌الحق والشرع والدين قدس‌الله سره

العزيز براورد بتاريخ دوم ماه شوال سنه اربع و تسعماية

"The builder of this edifice is Fîrôz Muḥammad Luṭfallâh, the Afghân. The builder of this religious edifice, during the time of the king of kings Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl Shâh, the king, by the kindness of God Almighty, found grace to erect the vault of the tomb of the revered Shaikh of Shaikhs and saints, Shaikh Jalâl alḥaq washshar' waddîn—may God sanctify his dear secret! Dated 2nd Shawwâl, 904" (13th May 1499).

[8] Because Blochmann has overlooked the fact that Ziyâ al Mulk is mentioned several times in the *Akbarnâma*, I add here briefly what is there said about him, as a supplement to the *Âîn* Translation, p. 497, No. 276. In 994, he served under Shaikh Farîd Bakhshî; in 1000 A.H., he became Governor of Munk. Afterwards he and Abû Nâṣir were sent as ambassadors to Shâh 'Abbâs of Persia. In 1011 he became *bakhshigar* of the army sent against Bir Singh Dêv Bundêla, the murderer of Abu-l Fazl. In 1012 he was elevated to the rank of a commander of 700 foot and 300 horse. The *Âîn* names him only as a chief of 350.

The words *Bânî-yî în khair* in the first line are doubtful, but, as I cannot make out the correct reading, I have recurred to that of Blochmann, who has published the inscription in the *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, July, p. 141. (Perhaps Pânîpatî should be read, written بانی بتی). In the same place is given an account of Shaikh Jalâl addîn. The inscription falls in the 11th year of Sikandar Shâh Lôdi's reign.

III.—Sewâh.

14. In Sewâh, 4 miles south of Pânîpat, is the tomb of Sayyid Bâyazîd. A sandstone, measuring 13″ by 9″, over the doorway of the dome, bears the following inscription of three lines :—

بنا نموده کنبد سید بایزید شهید
بلو ولد نیت ساکن موضع سواه
سنه ۴ فرخ سیری

"The dome of Sayyid Bâyazîd, the martyr, has been built by Balu, son of Nayat, an inhabitant of the village of Sewâh, in the fourth year of Farrukh Siyar."

Farrukh Siyar really became emperor in 1124 A.H., but he gave orders that Jahândâr Shâh's reign should be considered as rebellion, and that his own reign should date from the 1st Rabî'al awwal 1123 [19th March 1711], *Munt. allub.* II, 737.

IV.—Sonpat (سونپت ' سوني پت ' سونپته).

Sonpat is also a town of great antiquity which is said to have been founded by the earliest Aryan settlers. In the *Áín* it is registered with 283,299 *bíghas*, 7,727,323 *dáms*, 775,105 *say. dáms*, 70 horse, and 1,000 foot. It had a brick fort. The principal tribes were Afghâns and Jats. The following inscriptions are from three mosques and several tombs there. A celebrity buried at Sonpat is Sayyid Naṣîr 'Âbi'dallâh ibn Aḥmad, whose tomb is still extant, but no inscription relative to himself has been discovered. Khizr Khân, son of 'Alâ addîn Muḥammad Khiljî, is said to have made a pilgrimage to the tombs of certain martyrs buried here (Ibn Baṭûta, French edition, vol. III, p. 187).

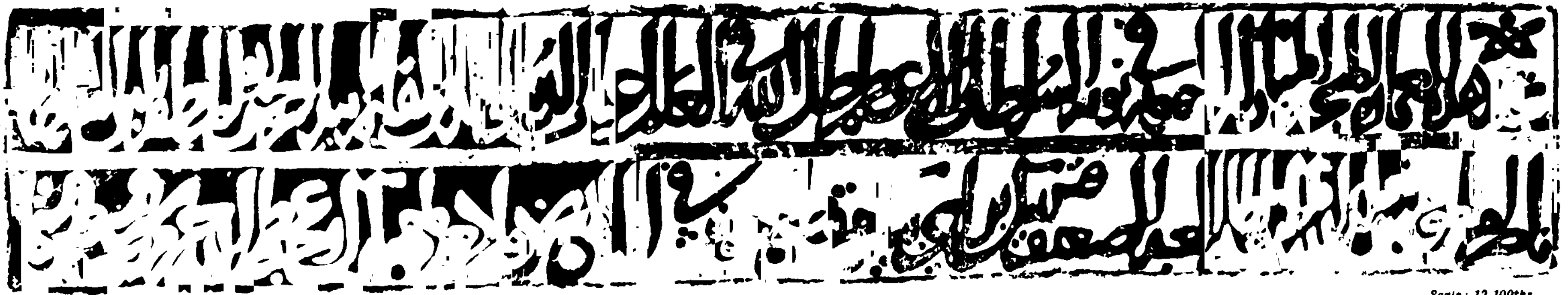
15. Over the central outside arch of a mosque attached to the tomb of Imâm Naṣîr, just outside Sonpat to the south on the Dihlî road, is a sandstone slab (7′ 6″ by 17″) which bears an inscription[9] of two lines, the letters being thick and clumsy :—

تجدد هده العماره المسجد المبارکه المعموره فی دوله السلطان الاعظم ظل الله فی العالم غیاث الدنیا والدین
القایم بتایید الرحمن ابوالمظفر بلبن السلطان
ناصر امیر المومنین خلدالله ملکه و سلطانه العبد الضعیف مبر بلک بن ایی بیلک مقطع سونپت
فی التاریخ دوازدهم ماه مبارک رجب عظم الله حرمته سنه سبعین و ستمایه

"The building of this blessed august mosque was renewed during the reign of the great king, the shadow of God on earth, *Ghiyâth addunyá waddîn*, who stands by the assistance of the merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Balban, the king, the aider of the

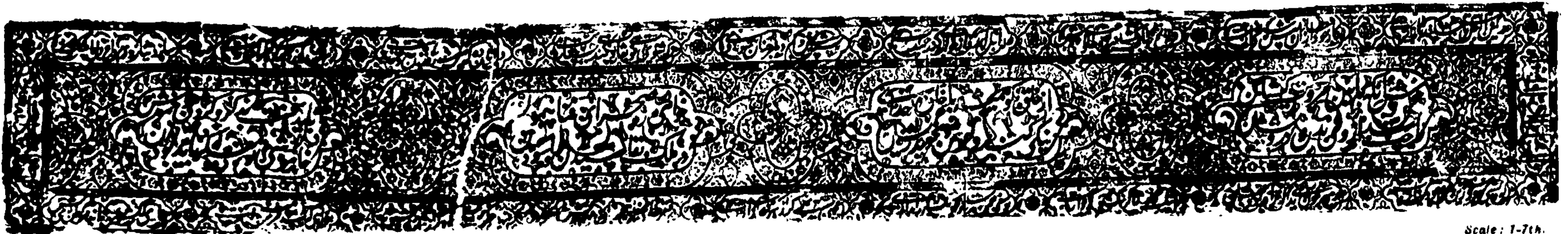
[9] See the facsimile No. i on the accompanying plate. The fact that the late Mr. Blochmann, the acknowledged authority for these inscriptions, has several times given faulty readings in the *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, May, p. 94, where he has published this inscription, may show how easily errors may be committed in deciphering.

I.—SONPAT INSCRIPTION OF GHIYÂS AD DÎN BALBAN, A.H. 670.



Scale: 12-100ths.

II.—ONE SIDE OF A PILLAR AT SONPAT, A.H. 884.



Scale: 1-7th.

III.—MAHIM INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 949.



Scale: 2-9ths.

Ghulam Husain. impress.

Commander of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by the weak slave **Mîr Beg**, son of **Âî Beg**, the *muqti'* of **Sonpat**. Dated the 12th of the blessed month Rajab—may God increase its honour!—670" [13th February 1271].

Three other inscriptions of Balban's time are extant: the first from Barwâla, 680 A.H. (see No. 51); the second from Gaṛhmukhtêsar in the Mîrat District, 682 A.H. (E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dihlí*, p. 136); and the third from Sakît in sarkâr Qanauj, 684 A.H. (*Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1874, May, p. 104[10]).

16. In a part of the graveyard of **Imâm Naṣîr** a square pillar, of coarse black sandstone, is standing, which has been inscribed on each side with Persian verses and some Arabic religious sentences. Its dimensions are 6′ 2½″ by 1′ 3½″ by 10¼″. It is beautifully sculptured and copiously ornamented with flower arabesques and scrolls. The verses in the middle of each side have been written in a large handsome *Ta'alîq*; round these middle pieces run also verses in smaller letters. As there is no information about the builder or the name of the holy man buried in these, the historiographer loses nothing if I omit the marginal hemistichs—18 each on the top and on both sides, and 6 each on the two ends. That it is the tomb of some saint follows from the poetry, which throughout points to a pious man. The date of the erection has been inscribed on the left side of the stone, *viz.* the third Rajab 884 [20th September 1479], which falls in the reign of **Buhlûl Lôdî**.

It has been said that the stone was put up in the time of Aurangzêb, and that it is the tomb of some Pir Yûsuf, but such local tradition is of no value compared with the statement of the stone itself. The stone is broken about 2 feet from the head; it is exposed to the weather, and the margin has thus been ruined in many parts. Besides being broken, the sides near the basement are crumbling and the stones forming the base are very rotten. This beautiful object should be protected.

At the head and foot of the stone the following verses are inscribed (Metre: *Ramal*):—

کر سرا پردهٔ قدرِ تو بر افلاک بود   عاقبت زیرِ سرت زیر خشت خاک بود

"Even if the curtain of thy power were near the heavens, in the end under thy head and armpit will be the dust."

راست‌کن کار خود امروز که عمرت برجاست   که چو آخر شودت عمر بود کارِ تو راست

"Make ready thy work to-day when thou art in full life, so that thy work may be ready when thy life is finished."

Both sides contain two *Rubá'ís* each[11]:—

تاکی ز اصول دین کم و کاست کني   از مطرب ساده نغمه درخواست کني
آهنگِ نوای عین کم کن که اجل   چندان نگذارد که نفس راست کني

"For what length dost thou bid defiance to the fundamentals of the faith, requesting a smooth melody from the musician?

[10] Besides those mentioned there exist the following two inscriptions of Balban; *viz.* at Kôh, or 'Alîgaṛh, A.H. 652 and at Manglaur in taḥsil Ruṛkî, A. H. 683; *see* A. Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, pages 2 and 17.—*Ed. E. I.*

[11] See the facsimile No. ii of the right side of this stone on the plate.

"O eye! resign to thy new purpose, for death scarcely allows the soul to become ready."

کر کار برسمِ صاحب هوش کني   زيبا سخنانِ اهلِ دل کوش کني
با کس نکني بدي و نسبت بتو کس   هرچند بدي کند فراموش کني

"If thou wilt do thy works as a man of judgment, thou must listen to the words of the wise.

"Do evil to no one and nobody will do evil to thee, or whatever evil they do thee forget it."

خوش آنکه بآئينِ مروت‌کيشان   راحت رسد از وی بدلِ درويشان
از خلقِ نکو هميست با خلقِ خدای   نيکي کند و عوض بجويد زيشان

"Happy is one by whose generous practice the heart of the poor receives quiet.

"He belongs to the good people, who does well to the creatures of God and gets reward from them."

خواهي از صحرای فنا پيمودن   در ملکِ بقا رسيدن و آسودن
بايد سخنت بذکر و کردي جرخموش   خاموشي تو بفکر بايد بودن

"If thou wilt pass from the plain of perishableness to the kingdom of eternity and become satisfied,

"Thou must preserve thy words and be like a silent one and always have silence in thy mind."

On the top are inscribed the *Kalima, Qorân*, Sûra II, 256, and some other short sentences.

Respecting the Imâm Naṣir, near whose tomb the inscription has been found, Mr. F. G. Delmerick gives some information in the *Proceedings*, *As. Soc. Beng.* 1873, May, p. 95.

17. Over the eastern doorway of the enclosure of Khwâja Khizr's tomb, a quarter of a mile north of Sonpat, is a red sandstone, measuring 7′ 1″ by 1′, containing two lines:—

مرتب شد عمارت دهليز حظيره ميان خواجه خضر بن دريا خان سرواني رحمة الله عليهما يوم الاثنين الخامس عشر من شهر شوال سنه ثمان عشرين

و تسعماية فی عهد السّلطان العادل الباذل الواثق بنايید الرحمان ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه بن اسکندر شاه بن بهلول سلطان و سلطانه خلد لتناد[12]

"The portico of the tomb of **Miyân Khwâja Khizr**, son of **Daryâ Khân Shîrwânî**—may God have mercy upon both!—was erected on Monday the 15th Shawwâl, 928 [7th September 1522].

"In the time of the just and liberal king, who relies on the assistance of the Merciful, **Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrâhîm Shâh**, son of **Iskandar Shâh**, son of **Buhlûl**, the king—may his kingdom be perpetuated until the resurrection!"

[12] The second last words are uncertain.

18. Over the southern doorway of the same tomb is found another inscription of two lines; the stone measures 9′ 5½″ by 11″. It runs—

بعون الله تبارک و تعالی و فضله عمارت گنبد این حظیره بندگی میان معظم و مکرم میان خواجه خضر مرحوم مغفور بن دریا خان بن شیخ المشایخ شیخ احمد بن ملک المشایخ شیخ مندوکی درویش شیروانی علیهم الرحمة والغفران

مقطع قصبه سونپته درعهد حضرت سلطان السلاطین ممهد قواعد الاسلام و الدین ظل الله فی العالمین الواثق بتایید الرحمن [ابو] المظفر ابراهیم شاه بن سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد ملکه و سلطانه تمام شد بفرمایش لنگر خان خضر در پانزدهم ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه ثلاثین وتسعمایه

"With the help of God, who is blessed and exalted, and by His grace, the building of the vault of this tomb of the great and noble saint, Miyân Khwâja Khizr, the deceased, the pardoned, son of Daryâ Khân, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Aḥmad, son of the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Mandûkî Darwêsh of Shîrwân—may God have mercy and pardon upon them!—

"The *muqti'* of the town of Sonpath, was completed in the time of his Majesty the king of kings, who confirms the laws of Islâm and the faith, the shadow of God in both worlds, who trusts to the aid of the Merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrâhîm Shâh, son of Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by order of Langar Khân Khizr, on the 15th Rajab—may its honour increase!—930" [19th May 1524].[13]

19. Over the central outer arch of a small *masjid* in the *sarâî* near the dispensary, on a brown sandstone slab (21″ by 13″), are two lines. The stone belonged originally to a tomb which is now used as a police rest-house:—

یا الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله یا غافر اغفر ذنوبی (*sic*) یا الله

این حظیره علیخان برادر محمود خان افغان مقطع قصبه سونپته راست کنانید در عهد بابر بادشاه دوم ماه صفر سنه سبع ثلثین و تسعمایه

"O God! There is no God, etc. O forgiving! forgive me my sins, O God!

This tomb has been built by 'Alî Khân, brother of Maḥmûd Khân, the Afghân, *muqti'* of the town of Sonpath, in the time of Bâbar Pâdishâh, on the second of the month Ṣafar 937' [25th September 1530].

'Alî Khân belonged to the Farmulî tribe and is mentioned in Bâbar's *Memoirs* as *'Umdat al A'yân* 'Alî Khân Shaikhzâda-ya Farmulî, in the battle against Rana Sanka (933); in 935 A.H., he was sent against the rebel Baban (pp. 416, 435, 452). Abu-l-Fazl has inserted the same statements in his *Akbarnâma*.

20. Over the outside of a doorway, leading to the west from the enclosure of Imâm Naṣîr, is a sandstone slab (3′ 5″ by 1′ 3″) containing 16 hemistichs in four lines:—

بعالم هیچکس زینسان بنای ندیده تا بنای روزگارست
بدوران شهنشاهی بمانند[14] که در میدان مردی شهریارست

[13] Both inscriptions have been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* 1873, May, p. 94. *et seq.* Mr. Delmerick there identifies the Khwâja Khizr with the homonymous Khân, who is several times mentioned by Firishta.

[14] Corr. from نمایند

جلال‌الدین محمد اکبر آن کل   که از بستانِ معني یادکارست
جهانکیری که جون خاقان و قیصر   غلام و جاکرش مرسوم آرست
امیری کشته باني این بنا را   که طرحِ دولتِ او استوارست
امیرِ کشورِ شوکت علي دوست   که روزِ رزم جون اسپندیارست
عدالت‌پیشهٔ جون او ندیدم   که در ملکِ عدالت شهریارست
جو جستم از خرد سالِ بنایش   بکفتا نهصد و شست و جهارست

Metre: *Hazaj.*

"In the world nobody has seen such a building since the beginning of time;

"It suits to the time of a king who is a sovereign on the battle-field of manliness,—

"Jalâladdîn Muḥammad Akbar, the rose, which is a reminder of the spiritual flower garden;

"A conqueror of the world, who makes (*men*), as the emperor of China and the Cæsar, his accustomed servants and slaves.

"An Amîr was the builder of this building, of whose power the foundation is solid,—

"The chief of the kingdom of the majesty, 'Alî Dôst, who is like Ispandyàr on the day of battle.

"I never saw a practiser of justice like him who is sovereign in the reign of justice.

"When I asked the mind the year of its erection, he said 'It is 964'" [began the 4th November 1556].

'Alî Dôst Khân Bàrbêgî (master of the ceremonies), son of Hasan 'Alî, is mentioned in the *Akbarnáma* (II, 69), 963 A.H. as one of Tardî Beg's officers in the war against Hêmû. A.H. 951 he is named among other nobles who accompanied Humâyûn to Persia (I, 223). In 981 he was attached to Shihâbaddîn Aḥmad Khân; and in 991 he was intrusted with the care of the army and the pay of the soldiers (III, 404). For the last time he is mentioned A.H. 1006 (III, 644). He had a son, Fatḥ Dôst, who died in 989 (III, 354).

21. Over the south outer arch of the masjid of the Qâzîzâdas, in the Maḥalla of the Qâzîzàdas, in the fort of Sonpat, is a rectangular soft sandstone slab, measuring 2′ 6″ by 10″, which contains three lines:—

لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله

خوشا تعمیرِ مسجد زیر افلاک   صفایي عرش جو خوش‌بوی عنبر
زمانی شد بشاهي جان عالم   جلال‌الدین محمد شاه اکبر
شده تاریخي (*sic*) بناء او مسلم   بامر قاضي احمد با بنج دکر
ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه تسع و ستین و تسعمائه

Metre: *Hazaj.*

"There is no God, etc.

"Well! the repairing of the mosque—the clearness of its roof under the heavens is like fragrant ambergris—

"Was in the time of the kingdom of the soul of the world, Jalâladdîn Muḥammad Akbar Shâh.

"The date of the erection has been intrusted to the command of Qâzî Aḥmad and five others (?).

"In the month of Rajab—may God increase its honour!—A. 969" [began the 7th March 1562].

The Qâzîzâdas mentioned in the *Akbarnáma* were all rebels, or *bad-andésh* (*malicious men*); one being a partisan of Ma'ṣûm Khân; another who had the surname *khabítha-ya Máwarannahr* (the impure from Transoxania) obeying Abu-l Ma'âlî's command and attempting to murder Mah Chochuk Begum, Prince Muḥammad Hakîm's mother; a third being united with a pretended son of Mîrzâ Shâhrukh to murder Qâsim Khân.

22. Over the northern outer arch of the same mosque is a second inscription sculptured on a sandstone (measuring 2′ 8″ by 18″) in five lines:—

لااله الا اللّه محمّد الرّسول اللّه

بعهدِ شهنشاه شاهجهان   که اسلام را زینت و زیب داد

چنان مسجد ساخت قاضي نصر   که خلق آورد سوی سجده چکاد

جو تاریخش از عقل جستم بگفت   که مسجد برای خدا نونهاد

مرتب شد عمارت هذه المسجد المبارکة المیمونة فی التاریخ یاردهم شهر ربیع الاول سنه الف و سته و ستین

(Metre: *Mutaqárib.*)

'There is no God, etc.

"In the time of the king of kings, Shâhjahân, who gave ornament and beauty to Islâm, Qâzî Naṣr has repaired the mosque that people might bow the forehead in adoration. When I asked the mind its date, he said 'He has newly built the mosque for God's sake'. The edifice of this blessed and august mosque has been prepared on the 11th of Rabî'al awwal A. 1066" [8th January 1656].

23. In the southern wall, outside Imâm Naṣîr's tomb, is a stone which has been whitewashed so much that the letters of the inscription have been partly ruined. Nor has Imâm Naṣîr's tomb a right to the stone, which originally belonged to a mosque; the dimensions of the inscription, which is in one line, are 3′ 8″ by $4\frac{1}{2}$″. Above the letters there are ornaments in the form of Cufic characters:—

عمارة هدا المسجد بنی العابد الحابل السید ابی بکر (؟) محمد بن الحسن الفضولی ادام الله ثوابهما

فی المحرم سنه احدی وثمانین و الف و مایه

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by the leader, the guardian, the Sayyid Abû Bakr (?) Muḥammad, son of Hasan, the Fuzûlî—may God perpetuate their reward!—in the Muḥarram of 1181."

The first name of the builder and the two last words are very doubtful; instead of 1100, it may also be 700 or 900.

V.—Rohtak and Mahim.

The cities of Rohtak and Mahim have suffered in general the same fate during the Muhammadan period. In the environs of both are to be found many remains of antiquities, also of Hindu origin; in the vicinity of Rohtak have been excavated coins of

Râja Samanta Deva from about 920 A.D.[15] These districts had the misfortune to be plundered by every invader who came to the Panjâb, from Maḥmûd of Ghaznî till the present century, so that there are everywhere remains of destroyed villages; they were laid waste by Maḥmûd the Ghaznavide, by Timur, by Shihâb addîn Ghôrî, by Bâbar, by Nâdir Shâh, by the Marâṭhas, and by the English under General Lake. Now Mahim belongs to the district of Rohtak lying 19 miles north-west of the town of Rohtak; also in former times, before Akbar, both appertained to one *sarkár*, the older name of the tract of country being Hariâna. 'Abbâs Khân states in his *Táríkh-í Shérsháhí* (Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 415) that Shér Shâh 'gave the *sarkár* of Sirhind to *masnad* 'Alî Khawâs Khân as *jágír*, who kept in that *sarkar* his slave Malik Bhagvant at the capital Dihlî. Mîân Aḥmad Khân Sarvânî was *amír*, and 'Âdil Khân and Hâtim Khân *shiqdár* and *faujdár*.' If Dihlî was the capital of Malik Bhagvant's *sarkár*, it is to be supposed that Rohtak and Mahim were also allotted to his province. Under Akbar they were separated: Rohtak fell to the Dihlî *sarkár*, and Mahim to *sarkár* Hiṣâr Fîrôza. The *Âín-î Akbarî* has the following details concerning them: 'Mahim has a fort of burnt brick; 188,080 *bighas*, 4,958,613 *dáms naqdí*, 84,202 *dáms sayurghál*. The inhabitants were Tunwar Râjpûts and Jats, 700 horse, 2,000 foot '(I, 527). 'Rohtak has a fort of burnt brick; 636,835 *bighas*, 8,599,270 *dáms naqdî*, 428,000 *dáms sayurghál*. Jats; 100 horse, 2,000 foot.' (I, 519). At Rohtak Kai Khosrau, grandson of Balban and designated heir of his throne, was murdered by Kai Qobâd's emissaries.

Both towns, especially Mahim, bear traces of great importance in past times. The following inscriptions refer to five mosques at Mahim and four at Rohtak.[16] The most important and interesting of the nineteen Rohtak and Mahim inscriptions is No. 33. below.

21. Over the central outer arch of the new mosque in Rohtak, the tomb-stone of Fîroz Khan is now placed. It measures 3′ 8″ by 8″, and contains two lines. The letters are partly illegible :—

تمام شد ابن بقعه شیر نو... [؟] در عهد نیکو [؟] حضرت بابر بادشاه غازی خلدالله ملکه و سلطانه
ورضه بنکا [؟] مسند عالی [؟]
فیروز خان بن مسند عالی احمد خان بن ...... جمالخان مرحومین بتاریخ دهم ماه ربیع الاخر سنه اربع
و ثلثین و تسعمائه

"This tomb ..... has been finished in the prosperous time of his Majesty Bâbar Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—The tomb of ..... the high *Masnad*

"Fîrôz Khân, son of the high *Masnad* Aḥmad Khân, son of ...... Jamâl Khân, both defunct, on the 10th Rabî'al awwal 934" [4th December 1527].

Fîrôz Khân is mentioned in Bâbar's *Memoirs* and in the *Akbarnáma*, 932 A.H., as a renowned officer who was generously rewarded along with other men of merit by Bâbar after the victory over Ibrâhîm Lôdî. Besides one *krór* of *tankas*—(according to Bâbar's *Memoirs*,—*1 krór* 46 *lakhs* and 5,000 *tankas*, p. 384) from Jaunpûr, he received some *jágír* (*chízí jágír*). The emperor sent him afterwards against Itâwah.

[15] Cunningham's *Reports Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XVI, p. 136.

[16] It may be remarked incidentally that the mention of Rohtak in the text of the *Tabaqât-i Nâṣirí*, p. 217, is not correct, as Captain Raverty states in his translation of that work, p. 693, note 7.

25. Over the central outside arch of the mosque in the *gaṛhî*, or fort, of the Pathâns at **Rohtak** the following inscription of three lines is engraved on a rectangular sandstone—size $16\frac{1}{2}$ by $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The *gaṛhî* of the Pathâns is in the north-west of the town, where the road comes in from Hânsî : —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها و من

جاء بالسيئة فلا يجزى الا مثلها وما توفيقي الا بالله قال عليه السلام

من بني مسجدا في الدنيا فله قصر في الجنة ٩٦٢٥١ ...... سنه ٩٤٥

" In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate ! He who brings a good work shall have ten like it ; but he

" Who brings a bad work shall be recompensed only with the like thereof.[17] My grace does not come through any one but God.[18] He (*the Prophet*), upon whom may God's blessing be, has said :—

He who builds a mosque in the world will have a castle in Paradise.' 96,251 ......[19] A. 945' " [began the 30th May 1538].

26. On a rectangular sandstone over the central outside arch of the *masjid* in the Khiâbân Maḥalla, west of the town Rohtak, is a stone, which measures 13 by 12 inches : the inscription is in three lines, and is worn :—

بعون الله تعالى و رسوله بعمارت اين مسجد در عهد دولت نصير ...... محمد همايون بادشاه غازي

خلد الله ملكه ، سلطانه توفيق يافت الفقير برهان الجنة والدين

محمد جمال ناگوري اچشتي سنه خمس و اربعين و تسعماية ٩٤٥

" With the aid of God almighty and His apostle for the erection of this mosque in the time of the reign of Naṣîr .... Muḥammad Humâyûn Bâdishâh-î Ghâzî—

" May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign !—found grace the poor, chief of the Paradise and the faith,

" Muḥammad Jamâl of Nâgôr, the Chishtî. In the year 945 " [began the 30th May 1538].

The inscription being much defaced some words are doubtful. Humâyûn's common title *naṣîr addîn* does not certainly occur here, though the word after *naṣîr* is not clear.

The **Chishtîs** are a well-known family of Muhammadan saints. There exist shrines of divers members of it in several places. Chishtî saints—*khwâjagân-î chisht* in the inscription on the tombstone of Princess Jahânârâ at Dihlî (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for November 1872, p. 170)—are mentioned in the following published inscriptions :—Qutb addîn Khân Chishtî, commonly known as Shaikh Khûbû (Blochmann, *Âîn*-Translation, p. 496), the foster brother of Shâh Jahângir, in *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for December 1873, p. 199 ; Shaikh Faiz Allâh Chishtî, *ib.*, p. 200 ; Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Shaikh Maḥmûd Chishtî, *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for April 1877, p. 94.

At Nâgôr, the birth-place of Muḥammad Jamâl of our inscription, was a Chishtî shrine.[20] A contemporary and fellow-countryman of his was Shaikh Mubârak, the

[17] *Qorân*, Sûr. vi, 161 (E. H. Palmer's translation).
[18] *Qorân*, Sûr. xi, 90.
[19] There follows a group like a rupee-sign turned upside down.
[20] *See* Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India, Reports*, vol. XIII, p. 51.

father of the poet Shaikh Faizî and of Abu'l Fazl, but in the year 945 Shaikh Mubârak had already left Nâgôr.

27. Over the central outer arch of a mosque at Gaokarân, about half a mile west of Rohtak, a red sandstone (3′ 2″ by 2′ 5″) contains three lines with one line going round the stone as a border. The stone is getting worn partly by the weather and partly by copies being taken from it, but the inscription is quite legible. In the midst of the stone the period of the erection has been engraved in a square در دور جلال الدّین محمد اکبر (in the time of Jalâl addin Muḥammad Akbar)[21]:—

مست جان درویش سپهرِ مکرمت کشده از جان بندهٔ فرمانِ حق
کرده از جان بقعهٔ خیرالامور شد از آن رخشا و قابل آنِ حق
سوی آن مسجد هر آن کس رفته شد عرقِ بحرِ لطف یابی (؟) نانِ حق
زاهدی تاریخِ این مسجد نوشت کفت برکو معبدِ خاصانِ حق

Metre: *Ramal.*

"The Darwêsh Mastjân, the heaven of benignity, has gone out of life a slave of the order of God;

"He has made his soul a temple of good works, he became happy by it, and a receiver of the time of God (of eternity).

"Every man who has come to this mosque shall get a drop of the ocean of the kindness of God's banquet. (?)

"Zâhidî (*or* '*a hermit*') wrote the date of this mosque; he said, 'Say "A temple of God's favourites".' "

The letters of the *târîkh* give 966 [began 14th October 1558].

28. A loose stone standing on a grave in the graveyard near the Dâk Banglâ of Rohtak, on the west side of the Dihlî road, bears an inscription of three lines; its dimensions are 17″ by 16″. On the left side the last letters of each line and the border have been lost:

ساخت شمشیر خان زلطف الله دببد
بر سر قبر پیر صافي دل عا
سعمایة خمس سبعین سال است هجر[ت]

"Shamshêr Khân has made with the favour of God the vault over the tomb of Pîr Ṣâfî-Dil 'Â...975 H. is the year" [began 8th July 1567].

Shamshêr Khân was *shiqqdâr* of *pargana* Rohtak, A. H. 973, as we learn from inscription No. 43. His name occurs several times in the *Akbarnâma.* In 987 he was *Khwâjasarâî* and was sent to Bihâr to quell the disturbances which had broken out there; and to Bengal, together with Râî Purukhôt, Maulânâ Ṭayyib, and Shaikh Najm addîn (III, 284). When a rebellion arose in the same year at Pâtna, Shamshêr Khân was despatched to Banâras (III, 286). In 991 he was one of the four judges who were named for the four "meadows" of the empire, the others being Râja Bîr Bar, Qâsim 'Alî Khân, and Hakîm Humâm (III, 405). Later he seems to have revolted, for it is related that in 1008 the besiegers of Aḥmadnagar received 'the joyful tidings' of his death.[22]

[21] The border contains the passage from the *Qurân*, Sûra ii, 256.

[22] According to a notice on the inscription, a Shamshêr Khân lies buried at Batâla, I know nothing about him.

29. In the wall of the Dogawalli masjid in the north-east of the town on a soft red sandstone (19″ by 16″) is an inscription of four lines which has been so much eaten away by the weather that the decipherment is almost an impossibility. But the year of erection and the name of the king are legible. All I can read runs:—

اسهد [ان لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله] . . . .
بانی . . . . بتوفیق الله در عهد ملک جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی
جلد الله ملکه . . . .
. . . . سنه ۹۷۹

"The builder...by the grace of God in the time of the reign of Jalâl addîn Muḥammad Akbar *Pádisháh-î-Ghâzî*,—may God perpetuate his kingdom!...anno 979" [began 26th May 1571].

The year is perhaps 972, instead of 979.

30. A sandstone partly cylindrical and partly octagonal, each face measuring 19 by 2½″, in a graveyard on the west of the fort of Rohtak, near the western gate of the fort, bears an inscription of nine lines. The rubbing does not permit the decipherment of the fourteen engraved hemistichs; the first and last lines are the same, they contain the date—*sana* 998 (began 10th November 1589). On a brown sandstone (2′ by 6″) over the gateway of the same graveyard has been engraved, *Súra* xlviii, 1.

31. In the south of Rohtak, near the Government school, is a tomb the pillars of which are connected by eight lintels of red sandstone, each measuring 4′ 2½″ by 9″. The single lintels have been inscribed with the following sentences from the *Qorán*: *Bismilláh*, Sûra ii, 256-59 incl., *Kalima*, Sûra cxii. No details of the date or of the builder are found.

32. Over the Dhôbî Gate in the *Maḥalla* of Wazîr Khân, is a sandstone (18″ by 17″) containing an inscription of four lines:—

بعون الله تعالی و رسوله بناء این عمارت در عهد دولت
و خلافت ابوالفتح شهاب الدین محمد صاحب قران ثاني
شاه جهان بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملکه باهتمام خادم المرا . .
پیرخان ابن سرخان سروا باتمام رسید في غره ماه محرم سنه ۱۰۴۴

"With the favour of God Almighty and His apostle, the erection of this building in the time of the reign

"And the Khalifat of Abu-l Fatḥ Shihâb addîn Muḥammad, the second *Ṣâḥibqirán*[23] (Tîmûr)

"Shâhjahân Bâdishâh-î-Ghâzî—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the endeavour of the slave of the...

"Pîr Khân, son of *Sarkhân*, the *Sarwâ*[*nî* ?] has been finished. In the beginning of the month Muḥarram A. 1044" [began 27th January 1634].

33. About half a mile from the Khâna, on the Rohtak road to Mahim, is the tomb of Jamâl Khân. The door has fallen in, but the walls are well built, and will stand many

[23] Elsewhere Shâhjahân is named ثاني صاحب قران a phrase which is to be interpreted *Thâní-yî Ṣâhibqirân*, see Rückert-Pertsch, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, p. 240, note 1, and Teufel, *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. XXXVIII (188), p. 253, note. Titles such as *Thâni-yî Iskandar-i-daurân* or *Thâni-yî Iskandar-i Zûl qarnain* and others occur very often

years yet. A red sand-stone (size 14 by 10½ inches) fixed over the south arch of the tomb, bears the following important inscription :—

بسم اللّه الرّحمن الرّحيم لا اله الّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه

در عهد دولت سلطان السّلاطين جلال الدّين محمّد اكبر پادشاه غازي

مقبول الرّحمن جمال خان بن منصور روضه توفيق يافت راست كنانيد جمال خان را اميد نواب كه

يابد من تاريخ ذى‌القعده(؟) سنه الف و ماية

"In the name, etc. There is no god, etc.

"In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, Jalâl-addîn Muḥammad Akbar Pâdishâh-î-Ghâzî,

"The friend of the Merciful, Jamâl Khân, son of Manṣûr, found grace to build this tomb. Jamâl Khân has hope that he will obtain reward. In the *Zi'lqa'da* A. 1100" [began the 17th August 1689].

This inscription is unique, as no other mention of Muḥammad Akbar, son of Aurangzêb, has till now been found. Prince Akbar proclaimed himself emperor, assisted by the Râjpûts, in 1089, and attempted to maintain the assumed title until 1100, when he fled to Persia. There exist no coins of his. The foregoing inscription shows that he adopted the *julûs* name of his great predecessor, whose name he bore. It is highly interesting to find a document of the rebel king's son in a place lying so far north as Mahim, because Prince Akbar fled to the Marâthas in the beginning of his insurrection and always lived in the Dekhan.[24]

34. In the north wall of the enclosure of the mosque of the Pîrzâdas is a red sandstone, measuring 19″ by 16″, which bears an inscription of five lines :—

در عهد حضرت دولت (*sic*) شهنشاه عالم بناه ظهيرالدين محمد بابر

غازي بادشاه خلداللّه ملكه و سلطانه بنده درگاه مهري

الفقير حقير جانيو سنو اغا ابن شيخ سنو و ساكن حصار شادماني

بتوفيق اللّه تعالى توفيق يافت مسجد در قصبه مهم راس كنانند حق تعالى

مجاب و مستجاب كرداند بمنه و فضله بتاريخ بنجم ماه ربيع الاول سنه ست و ثلثين و تسعمائه

"In the time of the reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the refuge of the world Zahîraddîn Muḥammad Bâbar

"*Ghâzî Bâdishâh*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign !—the slave of the court of the sun,

"The poor, base Janyu Sunu Âghâ, son of Shaikh Sunu, an inhabitant of the town of the joy,

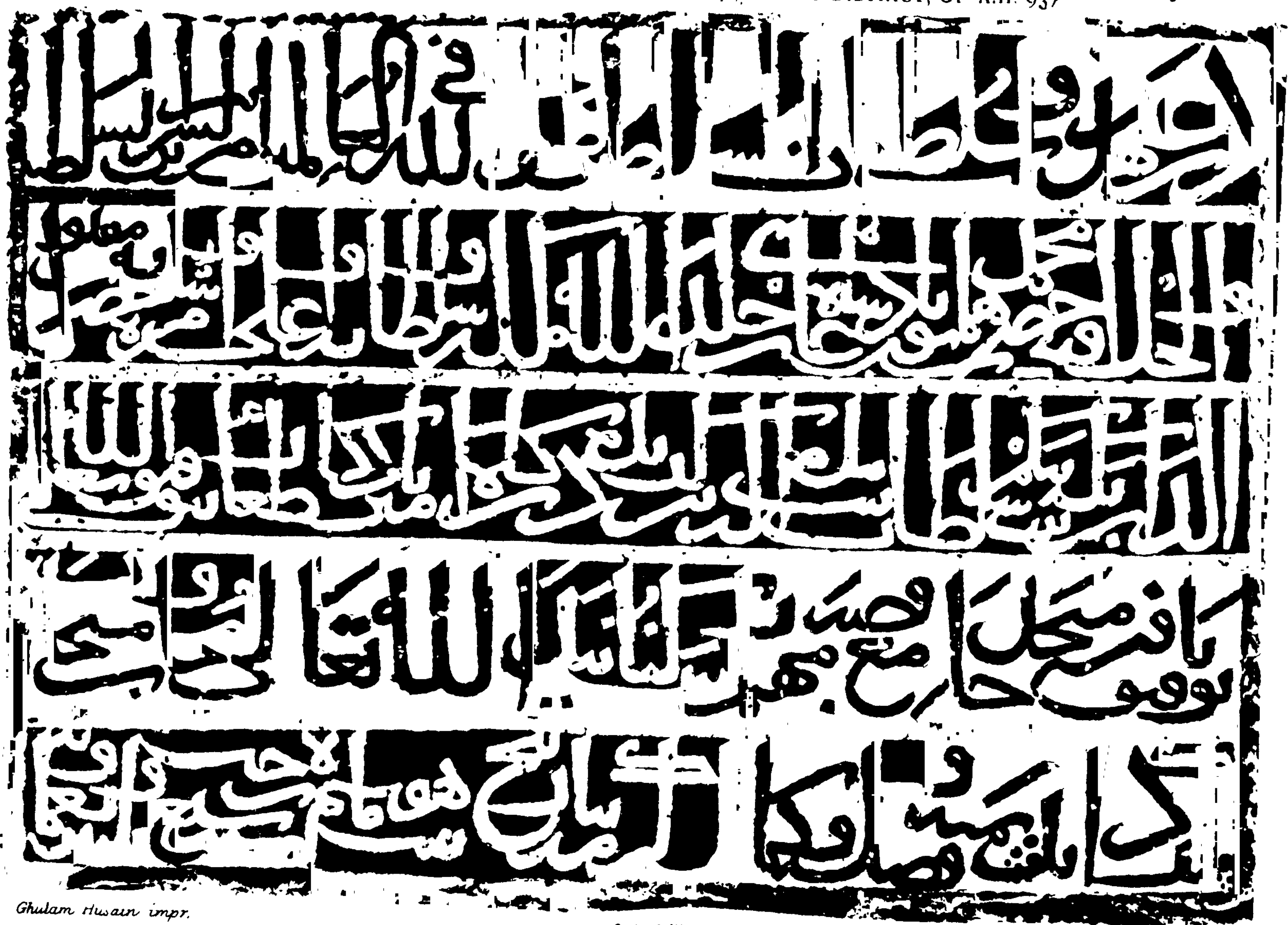
"Through the grace of God Almighty found grace to build[25] the mosque of the town of Mahim—May God Almighty

"Make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and His wisdom !—On the fifth Rabi'al awwal 936" [7th November 1529]

[24] It is not impossible, as I now see that the last word is *samân* and that the inscription belongs to Akbar himself.

[25] *Râs* or *râst kunânîdan* with the meaning 'to build,' occurs several times in the inscriptions. In 19 and 33 *râst* has distinctly been engraved.

IV.—INSCRIPTION OF HUMAYUN FROM MAHIM, ROHTAK DISTRICT, OF A.H. 937



Ghulam Husain impr.

Scale. 1-4th

V.—INSCRIPTION OF AKBAR FROM KHOKRAKOT, NEAR ROHTAK, OF A.H. 973

Ghulam Husain, impr.

Scale: 1-3rd.

35. On an arch over the pulpit of the Jâmi' Masjid in the centre of the town, is an inscription. It is inside the arch on the east side, so that no one can see it without entering the arch and crouching. The stone is a red sandstone; it measures 3′ 1″ by 2′ 2½″ and consists of five lines[26]:—

در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطين ظل الله فى العالمين مزين السرير السلطنة
والخلافة حضرت محمد همايون بادشاه غازى خلدالله ملكه و سلطانه واعلى امره و شانه حضرت مقبول
الدارين بكه بيكم سلطان برگزيده الدين گزيده درگاه امير يادگار طغاى بتوفيق الله تعالى
توفيق يافت مسجد جامع قصبه مهم راس كنانند الله تعالى مجاب و مستجاب
گرداند بمنه وفضله و كمال كرمه بتاريخ هفتم ماه رجب سنه سبع و ثلثين و تسعمائة

"In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, the adorned of the throne of kingdom

"And Khalifat, his Majesty Muḥammad Humâyûn *Pádisháh-i-Ghází*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign and exalt his condition and dignity!—his highness the admitted

"To the palace of Baga Bêgum Sulṭân,[27] the worthy of the faith, the chosen of the court Amîr Yâdgâr Ṭaghâî, by the grace of God Almighty

"Found grace to build the mosque of the town of Mahim—may God Almighty make him accepted and favoured

"Through His kindness and His wisdom and His perfect liberality!—On the 7th Rajab 937 [24th February 1531].'

Respecting Yâdgâr Ṭaghâî the *Akbarnáma* furnishes the following information: One of his girls (according to II, 243 a grand-daughter) gave birth to Prince Alamân, son of Humâyûn, anno 934 (I, 113)[28]; and she most probably is the Baga Bêgum Sulṭân of our inscription. She made a pilgrimage to Makka and Madina in 972 (II, 244), whence she returned in 975 (II, 329). This journey may probably have been why she was styled Hâjî Bêgum. Afterwards she lived at Dihlî, and was in 981 welcomed with great honours by Akbar, who loved her much because she had cured him as a child of six years of vehement tooth-ache by a potent drug (III, 77). Akbar visited her, anno 989, at Dihlî (III, 373). She died in the same year (III, 375). The Hâjî Bêgum, who with other Bêgums made the pilgrimage in 983, was probably not Prince Alamân's mother, who then was too old for such a toilsome journey. Blochmann mentions Hâjî Bêgum in his *Áín*-translation, but he is in error about her descent. In the *Akbarnáma*, II, 243 the words *dukhtar-i-Ṭagháí* are to be understood 'a daughter of (Yâdgâr) Ṭaghâî.'

Over the *mihráb* in the western wall of the mosque a sandstone (8′ 5″ by 10½″) is fixed which contains in two lines *Qorán*, Sûra lxii, 1—8. Round the inside of an arch over the *mihráb* runs the *Kalima* and *Qorán*, Sûra, iii, 16-17 (to *al islámu*).

The Jâmi' mosque was repaired according to inscription No. 39 in A.H. 1078, by Aurangzêb's order.

36. On a rectangular sandstone—size 21 by 13 inches—originally belonging to the old mosque of the butchers, now fixed over the central outer arch of the new masjid at

[26] See the facsimile reproduction No. iv on the accompanying plate.

[27] The words *maqbûl addârin Baga Bêgum Sulṭân saz [â] yida addin* are perhaps uncertain.

[28] Bâbar mentions in his *Memoirs* the chronogram for the birth of the prince invented by Shaikh Abu-l Wâhid, p. 359. According to the *Memoirs*, Alamân's mother was a daughter of Yâdgâr Ṭaghâî. For Bâbar's not agreeing with the name of Alamân see p. 451 (Pavet de Courteille, tome II. p. 363).

Mahim (finished in 1887 A.D.), is the following inscription of three lines, which is considerably worn by exposure to the weather :—

در عهد دولت شهنشاه عالم پناه حضرت محمّد همایون بادشاه

خلد الله ملکه عمارت هذه المسجد توفیق یافت ....

.... قصابان قصبهٔ مهم راس کنانید بتاریخ ماه شعبان سنه اثني و اربعین و تسعمائة

"In the time of the reign of the king of kings, the refuge of the world, His Majesty **Muhammad Humâyûn Bâdishâh**—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom !—.............. found grace to build the edifice of this mosque of the butchers of the city of Mahim. During the month of Sha'bân of the year 942" [began the 25th January 1536].

As some of the letters appear to be broken, it is not possible to decipher the whole inscription. A butcher's mosque is also mentioned at Nâgôr.[29] The mosque was rebuilt in Aurangzêb's time, see inscription No. 40.

37. The rectangular sandstone that bears the following inscription is no longer *in situ*. It is now fixed over the outer doorway of the court of the ruined mosque of the **Qaṣṣâyân**[30] at **Mahim**. The inhabitants know that it is not in its original place ; they say it belonged to a mosque in a quarter of the town called Daulatpûr, the Daulatâbâd of the inscription. The size of the stone which is yet entire is 4′ by 11½ :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم انّا فتحنا لك فتحاً مبیناً کشاد باد بشادي همیشه این درگاه سحر اشهد ان لا اله الا الله

در عهد دولت تند کحضرت سلیماني شیر شاه حسن سور سلطان توفیق یافت بنداء این مسجد

و مقام دولتاباد یوسف ابن حسن سور سید عالي دولتخان

بامید ثواب حدیث نبوي من بني مسجداً بني الله تعالی له قصراً فی الجنّة والحدان ابقاه

الله تعالی فی الدنیا و وفقه الله تعالی علي العدل والاحسان

فی الحادي والعشرین من سهر المبارك المکرّم شهر رمضان سنه نهصد جهل نه بود که میسّر رسانید

الله الکریم الشعّار

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God ! Verily, we have given thee an obvious victory.[31] May this liberal door always be opened with joy ! I testify that there is no god but God.

"In the time of the reign of the king, powerful as Salomo, **Shêr Shâh**, the son of **Ḥasan Sûr**, **Yûsuf ibn Hasan Sûr**, the high Sayyid (surnamed) **Daulatkhân**, found grace to erect this mosque and the place of **Daulatâbâd**,

"In the hope of the reward of the prophet's saying 'He who builds a mosque will have a castle built for him by God Almighty in Paradise, and as for the merciful, God Almighty gives to him long life in the world and protects him for his justice and beneficence.'

It was on the 21st of the blessed and venerable month, month Ramazân of the year 949 [29th December 1542], when it became ready. God is the generous and the omniscient.'

[29] Cunningham's *Reports of Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 51.

[30] See facsimile No. iii, on the plate at p. 138. *Qaṣṣâi* and *qaṣṣâb* occur in Hindûstânî (Shakespeare); see No. 40.

[31] *Qorân Sûr.* xlviii, 1.

It is known that Shêr Shâh built numerous mosques and *kârawânsarâts*, but only very small remains of them have come down to our day. Besides his stately mausoleum at Sahsarâm there exist some ruins of his time at Dihlî.[32] If I am right, the above inscription is the second of Shêr Shâh's reign that is known, the first being published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for May 1874, p. 105 (947 A.H.)

Yûsuf, the builder of the mosque at Mahim, was one of the seven brothers of Shêr Shah (*Târîkh-î Shêrshâhî*, in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 310). He may be the same who built in 958 H. a door to the shrine of Khwâja Quṭb addîn (*Journal Asiatique*, Vème Série, tome XVI, 426).

38. In the south wall of the enclosure of the masjid of the Pîrzâdas (No. 34) is a sandstone, measuring 17″ by 6″, which bears three lines :—

در عهد دولت حضرة بندگان خلافت بداه سلطان

شهاب‌الدين محمد صاحب قران ثاني شاه جهان بادشاه غازي خلد

خلامه ابدًا توفيق يافت شيخ ناصر ابن شيخ الهداد ماهمي سده الف و خمسين واحد

"In the time of the reign of his Majesty the slave (*of God*), the asylum of the Khalifat, the king

"Shihâbaddîn Muḥammad, the second lord of the conjunction, Shâhjahân, *Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî*—may (*God*) perpetuate

"His Khalifat for ever !—Shaikh Nâsir, son of Shaikh Ilâhdâd of Mahim, found grace. A. 1051" [began 12th April 1641].

Khâfî Khân, in his *Muntakhab allubâb* (I, 550) and 'Abd al Hamîd in the *Bâdshâh-nâma* (I, 2, 337) have each inserted an account of Shaikh Nâṣir, whom they mention among other saints and learned men of Shâhjahân's time.[33] Both authors evidently made use of the same sources, Khâfi Khân citing the *Shâhjahânnâma*.[34] I extract the following :—His original name was Nâṣir Muḥammad; he was born at Ajmîr, and lived afterwards in Gujarât. He made many voyages, and at different times attended the emperor. Always, night and day, he was clothed in mail and with a garment of cotton, and he perpetually bore arms. Besides his daily alms, he gave, if urged, all his property to poor men, even the horses and elephants which he had received from the king, and was content if he could get a fire of straw and wood in the open air to care for his own body, eating roots and leaves. Many wonders were effected by him. He was a disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad, son of Sayyid Rafî'addîn, son of Sayyid Ja'far, from Shîrâz.

39. On the south outer arch of the façade of the Jâmi' masjid is a red sandstone (3′ × 1′ 11½″), bearing nine lines :—

در عهد سعادت مهد حد و مد زمين

و زمان خديو مئين و مكان سلطان

السلاطين ظل الله فى‌العالمين محمد اورنكزيب

[32] See Garcin de Tassy : '*Déscription des monuments de Delhi en 1852 d'après le texte hindoustani de Saiyid Ahmad Khân*;' *Journal Asiatique*, Véme Série, tome XVI, *passim*, *e.g.* pages 192 (No. xvii), 426 (No lvii), and 428 (No lviii).

[33] The printed text of 'Abd al Hamid has Shaikh Nâzir.

[34] Many histories of Shâhjahân's reign are so entitled.

بهادر عالمگیر بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملکه
و سلطانه تعمیر مسجد جامع قصبه مهم حسب الحکم اقدس،
باهتمام بنده درگاه خواجه رحمت الله باتمام رسید
الله تعالی مجاب و مستجاب گرداناد بمنه و فضله
فی التاریخ هفدهم شهر محرم الحرام سنه ثمان و
سبعین و الف هجري و سنه عاشر جلوس مبارک

"In the happiness-spreading reign, extended over all the earth
And the time of the master of authority and dignity, the king
"Of kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, Muḥammad Aurangzêb
Bahâdur 'Âlamgîr Bâdishâh-î-Ghâzî—may God perpetuate his kingdom
"And his reign!—the repairing of the Jâmi' masjid of the town of Mahim, according to the holy order,

"Was finished through the endeavour of the slave of the court, Khwâja Raḥmat Allâh—

"May God Almighty make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and wisdom !—

"On the 17th of the month Muḥarram, the holy, A.H. 1078 [9th July 1667], in the tenth year after the blessed accession to the throne."

Sarbuland Khân Khwâja Raḥmat Allâh was a man of great consequence under Shâhjahân and Aurangzêb, and died in 1090. But, as Sarbuland Khân received this title, which is omitted in the inscription, in the 30th year of Shâhjahân (*Maâsir al Umará*, II, 478), *i. e.* 1066, and as he was in 1078 in the Dakkan with Prince Mu'azzam, whence he came back in 1080, it does not seem probable that both were the same person. A homonymous person is named as a commander of 800 soldiers and 200 horsemen under Shâhjahan (*Bádsháhnáma*, II, 741).

40. The following inscription is engraved on a red sandstone (size: 11 by 7 inches), now lying on a heap of bricks in the ruins of the former mosque of the Qaṣṣâyân at Mahim; the whole is in a bad condition and the stone will probably get lost in a short time. The inscription contains eight lines, and is poorly cut:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
در عهد دولت و زمان (؟)
ظل سبحاني ابو الظفر
محيي الدین محمد اورنگ زیب
بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملکه
و سلطانه مسجدرا قصابان
جهان‌گیر (؟) ....
ترتیب کرد در شهر رمضان سنه تسعین و الف

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. In the time of the reign and the life of the divine shadow Abu'l Zafar, Muḥyiddîn Muhammad Aurangzéb

Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!— the mosque of the butchers....was rebuilt. In the month of *Ramazán* 1090" [that month began the 6th October 1679].

The two last lines being hopelessly worn, the name of the restorer is not legible; the year may perhaps have been *sab'ín*. It is interesting to learn from this inscription that the butchers' masjid erected in 942 H. (Inscription No. 36) was repaired a century and a half afterwards.

41. An inscription of five lines is engraved on a rectangular red sandstone (size $17\frac{1}{2}$ by 14 inches) over the northern outer arch of the mosque of Daula Khân in the *garhí* of the Pathâns in Mahim. The building being in a critical condition, the inscription, till lately safe, is now in danger of getting lost:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم   لااله الاّ الله محمدّ رسول الله

يا الله يا فتاح   يا محمّد يا نبي الله

اين عمارت ز بهرِ ربِ كريم   بانيش دوله خانِ والاشان

پدرش بختيارِ نامورى   مغفرت‌دستگاه دريا خان

سالِ اتمام را بعقل و تميز   مسجد مقبره زخان برخوان

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God.

"O God! O opener!

"This edifice for the merciful God[35]

"His father (*was*) a celebrated Bakhtiyâr,

The year of the completion—name with wisdom and discernment:

"O Muhammad! O apostle of God!

"Its builder (*was*) Daula Khân of elevated rank;

"Daryâ Khân whose sins are forgiven.

"*Masjid* [*ú*] *miqbara zi Khán* 'mosque and tomb (*are built*) by the Khân.'"

The letters of the *tárîkh* give 1108 [began 31st July 1696)].

42. Daula Khân, the builder of the mosque of the preceding inscription, erected a tomb for himself in the same year as the masjid. It is now a ruin, and the inscription on its wall being engraved on sandstone (size 2′ 8″ by 1′) will be destroyed when it falls. It runs in four lines—

بسم الله الرحمّن الرّحيم لا اله الاّ الله محمّد رسول الله بندۀ درگاه رحماني

دوله خان محمدي مريد كيلاني دانستم كه چهار يار برحق اين دنياء همه فاني توفيق يافت

در هنگام زندگاني اين مقبرۀسار ساخت از لطف رباني در عهد اورنگ زيب

بادشاه ظل سبحاني بتاريخ ۱۴ شهر رمضان المبارك سنه يكهزار و يكصد و چهارده هجري باهتمام استا

ابو ولد طيب معمار

'In the name, etc. There is no god, etc. The slave of the court of the Merciful Daula Khân Muḥammadî Murîd of Gîlân—

"I knew that the four friends (*the Khalifs*) are over this wholly perishable world —found grace

[35] Metre—*Khafif.*

"In his lifetime to erect this burial-place with the favour of the Lord, during the reign of Aurangzêb

"Bâdishâh, the shadow of God. On the 14th of the month *Ramazán*, the blessed A.H. 1114 [1st February 1703]. Through the effort of the architect *Ustá Abú Valad Tayyib*."

The inserted *Sunní* dogma in the first person seems to be an allusion to the formula *ashhadu an lá iláha illalláh*, etc.

VI.—Khôkarakôt (کهوکره کوت)

43. Khôkarakôt is a village in ruins situated to the north of Rohtak. Over a gateway of the village, built by Shamshêr Khân, a stone was placed, which has been dug up out of the ruins and is now in the Museum at Lahore.[36] Its dimensions are 2′ 2″ by 1′ $7\frac{3}{4}$″ and it bears a bilingual inscription, three lines in Persian and five lines in Hindî.[37] The Persian text runs—

در ایّام سلطنت بندگان حضرت جلال الدّین محمّد اکبر بادشاه غازي
خلد اللّه ملکه ابدا رفعته فی جنات ابا شمشیر خان شقدار پرگنه رهتك عمارت
این دروزه بنیاد نهاد فی شهر المبارکة رمضان سنه نهصد و سه و هفتاد باتمام رسید

"In the days of the empire of the slave (*of God*), his Majesty Jalâl addîn Muhammad Akbar Bâdishâh-î-Ghâzî—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever (*and*) his highness in Paradise!—Abâ Shamshêr Khân, the *shiqqdár* of *pargana* Rohtak,

"Has laid the foundation of this gateway. In the blessed month Ramazàn anno 973 it has been finished" [began 22nd March 1566].

The words *raf'atahu fí jannât Abá* are not certain. There is no doubt that the Shamshêr Khân of this inscription and of No. 28 are the same persons.

VII.—Bohm.

44. The village of Bohm (برهم) is 4 miles east of Rohtak on the road to Dihlî. In the east wall of the tomb of one Mahmûd of Bohm, a stone (3′ $9\frac{1}{2}$″ by 9″) has been recently fixed which contains an inscription of three lines not relative to its present place. The passage from the *Qorân*, Sûra ii, 256, is followed by these words:—

کاتبحروف ابراهیم عرف مواساخانی فرمایش علي قاضي بهائیخان

"The writer (*was*) Ibrâhîm, known as Muwâsâkhânî, by the order of 'Alî Qâzî Bahâîkhân."

VIII.—Hisâr Fîrôza.[38]

45. From a mosque outside the Dihlî gate, situate in the Sarâî Nathûâ Bhatyârâ (a baker). Four lines on a stone 2′ 5″ by 1′ 3″.

[36] See the facsimile No. v, at p. 149.

[37] The Hindî inscription, as Professor G. Bühler informs me, is not quite intelligible. But it is of the same year, A.D. 1566. The date is Samvat 1623, *Vaiśâkha vadi* 15, which corresponds according to Dr. Schram's approximate tables to the 20th April 1566, if the year is taken as an ended northern (*pûrnimânta*) Vikrama-year; the 20th April was the last of Ramazàn. Akbar, Shamshêr Khân and the gate are all mentioned in the Hindî version.

[38] For a short historical account of the town of Hisâr Fîrôza, see Blochmann, *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* 1877, April, p. 92. ff., where some of the following inscriptions have been published.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجدًا لله بني الله تعالى له بيتًا فی الجنة
بعد توفیق الله الملک العلام و برکت حضرت رسالت عم
در عهد میمون و دولت ایام افزون خدایگان ناصر جهان عادل الزمان سلطان الهند و الخراسان رافع
رایات المجاهدات و المغازي محمد همایون پادشاه غازي خلد الله ملکه
و خلافته وابد علی العالمین عدله و رافته بناکرده و مزین گردانید این مسجد مرغوب بعمارت خوب بمرضات
حضرت معبود بنده امیدوار رحمت پروردگار المستعین بالله[39] القوي الرحمان نظر قلي ابن شاه قلیخان
المعروف نظام الدین جانم ترکمان زاد الله تعالی ما اعطاه و بلغه الی ما یتمناه بحرمة[40] [سید] الابرار
والاخیار مورخا فی الرابع من شهر شعبان ختمه الله بالظفر و الامان سنه ۹۳۹ کاتب الحروف عبدالله یوسف احمد
بن رکن الدین

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God Almighty in Paradise.' By the grace of God, the omniscient king, and the blessing of the Lord of prophetship—on whom be peace!—

"In the auspicious time, and the day-increasing reign of the sovereign, the helper of the world, the just one of the age, the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humâyûn, *Pâdishâh-i-Ghâzî*—may God perpetuate his reign

"And his khalifat and extend over both worlds his justice and his compassion! this fine mosque was built and adorned, in beautiful structure, in order to please the Lord, who is adored by the slave who hopes in the mercy of the All-nourisher, who seeks help from God, the strength of the merciful, Nazar Qulî, son of Shâh Qulî Khân,

"Who is known as Nizâm addîn Jânym, the Turkmân—may God increase what He has given him, and bring him to what he desires for the honour of the chief of the pious and the saints!—Dated 4th Sha'bân—may God allow the month to end in victory and security!—anno 939 [1st March 1533]. The writer of these letters is 'Abdallâh Yûsuf Aḥmad, son of Ruknaddîn."

46. The inscription from the Jâmi' mosque of Hiṣâr consists of nine lines, and measures 1′ 11″ by 1′ 5″. The last line is written very closely, and is almost undecipherable on the rubbing, so that I can only accept Mr. Blochmann's readings, whose translation I have also adopted, so far as I approve of it,

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدًا و انه لما قام عبدالله يدعوه كادوا
يكونون عليه لبدًا قال عليه السلام من بني لله مسجدًا يبتغي به وجه الله بنی الله له في الجنة مثله
تمام شد این مسجد در ایام دولت شهنشاه الاعظم والخاقان المعظم مالک رقاب طوایف الامم من الهند و الترک
و العرب و العجم السلطان الفاضل الكامل الولي الوالي والخاقان العادل العلي العالي الذي وجب اطاعته
كاطاعة الله و رسوله بحكم اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول و اولی الامر منکم حافظ بلاد الله
ناصر عباد الله رافع رایات المجاهدات والمغازي محمد همایون بادشاه غازي خلد الله تعالی

[39] By no means الملتجي

[40] Added by Blochmann.

ملكه و في بحار اللطف اجري فلكه بسعي جناب سعادت‌فرجام زبدة فضلا الانام نتيجة امراء العظام
امير محمد بن

عاليجناب امارتمآب مملكت‌پناه نظام‌الدين بيك مدرك بن جناب المغفور المبرور خوشكيلدي ...

بن جناب مغفرت مآب ... ... فردوس[41] مكاني [?]

شد بناي مسجدى بهرِ خدا اندر حصار کو رفيع‌القدر آمد همچو کيوان سربلند

پس که عالي قدر و کيوان هيئت و موزون فتاد هرکه ديد افداد اورا طرحِ اين مسجد پسند

چون پسند آمد تمام اهلِ دل [?] تاريخ او باب . . . . رحمت کفته اند

كاتبه و قايله نظام . . . سنه ۹۴۲

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! [*Qorân*, Sûra lxxii, 18, 19] 'the mosques are God's.' You should not call on any one with God, and 'when God's servant stood up to pray they (*the jinns*) called out to him and well-nigh crowded upon him.' The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God desiring thereby God's honour, will have one like it built for him by God in Paradise.

"This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king of kings, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, the accomplished Sulṭân, the perfect, the chief, the ruler, the just prince, the high, the exalted, whom to obey is as necessary as to obey God and the Prophet, according to (*Qorân*, Sûra iv, 62) 'Obey God, and obey the Apostle and those in authority amongst you,' the guardian of God's countries, the helper of God's servants, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî*—may God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and guide his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amîrs, Amîr Muḥammad, son of the distinguished noble, the meritorious Nizâmaddîn Beg Mîrak, son of the pardoned and purified Khushgeldi . . . . . , son of his highness, whose sins are forgiven . . . .

(Metre: *Ramal*). "A mosque has been built in Hiṣâr for the sake of God, which is as high in dignity as the seventh heaven.

"Because it is high in dignity, and has the aspect of the seventh heaven, and has turned out well-adjusted, every one who saw it has approved of the style of this mosque. Because all people of sense approved of it, its chronogramm is . . . .

"Its writer and composer is Nizâm . . . . A. 942" [began 2nd July 1535].

The father of the builder was already, in Bâbar's time, an officer of Prince Humâyûn (Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 402), who afterwards employed him during his own reign in several situations. In 942, the year of the above inscription, he appointed him commander of the fort of Chanâr, then just conquered (*Akbarnâma*, I, 151). In the report of the victory gained over Rana Sanka (Bâbar's *Memoirs*, pp. 410 ff.) ten grandees bear the title Nizâmaddîn, but that was probably not their proper title, and is only a declamatory addition of the learned composer of the letter.

[41] I do not think that these words are correct.

47. The ruins of Ulugh Beg's mosque are near the Commissariat in the town of Hiṣâr. The inscription consists of five lines; it measures 1′ 4″ by 2′:—

بسم اللّه الرّحمن الرّحيم قال عليه السّلام من بني لله مسجدًا
ابتغي به وجه اللّه تعالى بني اللّه له بيتًا مثله في الجنّة در عهد
ميمون و دولت افزون حضرت سلطان السّلاطين ناصرالدّنيا و
الدّين رافع رايات المجاهداة و المغازي محمد همايون بادشاه غاضي خلد خلافته بانيه
بتوفيق اللّه الصمد امير معظم امير الغ بيك ابن اميريوسف احمد ميراخور وكان في ٩٥١

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! He upon whom may be peace! says, 'He who builds a mosque for God

"[Desiring thereby God Almighty's honour, will have a house like it built for him by God in Paradise.' In the anspicious time

"And the increasing reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the helper of the world

"And the faith, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humâyûn *Bádisháh-i-Gházi*—may God perpetuate his khalifat!—its builder,

"By the grace of God the eternal (*was*) the great Amîr, Amîr Ulugh Beg, son of Amîr Yûsuf Aḥmad, the master of the horse. Dated in 951" [began 25th March 1544].

48. On a dome outside Hiṣâr, about a mile to the east, inside the commissariat godowns, on a slab, measuring 1′5″ by 1′10″, are four lines of very bad poetry—

خوشا روضهٔ گنبد جون بهشت　　گل وخشتِ او مشک و عنبر سرشت
زانفاسِ باغش معطر دماغ　　روان سلسبيلي زاشجارو گشت
دبيرِ فلک گشته بر گردِ او　　که تاريخ بر گنبد آمد نوشت
سنه ٩٧٥
هزار آفرين بر اباي يزيد　　که حکمش ببنياد بنهاد خشت
کاتب کبير

(Metre: *Mutaqárib*). "How beautiful is the dome of the paradise-like mausoleum; its mortar and bricks are like musk and ambergris.

"From the scent of its garden the brain is perfumed; and a *salsabîl* (a spring in paradise) flows from its trees.

"The secretary of heaven (*Mercury*) turned round it, when the date was written on the dome: A. H. 975 [began 8th July 1567].

A thousand praises are due to Bâyazîd, by whose order the bricks were placed on the foundation. The writer was Kabîr."

49. On a mosque in the yard of 'Shêr Buhlûl's mausoleum' outside Hiṣâr, one mile to the south, is an inscription, 2′ 5″ square, in six lines of well-formed *Nasta'lîq*:—

پيروي شرعِ رسول مجتبي عبدالنبي
آنکه ديدارش دهد آئينهٔ دلرا جلا
پيشِ صحنِ روضهٔ بهلول شاه افکند طرح
مسجدی عالي که باشد مسکن اهلِ دعا

بي تکلف هاتفي زد بانک کاین مصرع نویس

در هزار و یکصد و شش یافت اتمام این بنا

Metre: *Ramal.*

"The follower of the law of the Prophet, the chosen one,' **Abd-annabî,**
"Whose sight gives brightness to the mirror of the heart,
"Erected, before the courtyard of **Shâh Buhlûl's** mausoleum,
"A grand mosque, which is to be the dwelling of worshippers.
"A heavenly speaker said without hesitation, 'write the hemistich
"This building was completed in 1106'" [began 22nd August 1694].

An inscription from a tomb near the Commissariat godowns, 6′ 2½″ by 10¼ inches, is of no value, as it consists only of *Qorán, Súra* V. 98.

IX.—Barwâla.

Barwâla is now the head-quarters of a *tahṣîl*, distant 18 miles north-east of Hisâr. In the *Áín-i-Akbarí*, Pargana Barwâla is mentioned as belonging to *Sarkár* Hiṣâr. Its area was 136,799 *bîghas*; the revenues were 1,097,807 *dáms* (109,052 *Say. Dáms.*); the tribes were Sayyids, Malikzâdas, Baqqâls; the military contingent consisted of 100 horse, 1,500 footmen.

50. An inscription from an old mosque, measuring 2′ 5″ by 8″ is in very bad preservation:—

امر بناء هذه المسجد في عهد السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا والدين خلد ملكه

ابوالمظفر کیقباد السلطان محب الاولیا والفقرا تاج الدوله والدین . .

. . . السلطاني دام اقباله في الغره [?] من ربيع الاول سنه ثمان و ثمانين و ستمائه

"This mosque was ordered to be built in the time of the noble king **Mu'izzaddunyâ waddîn**—may (*God*) perpetuate his reign!—

Abu-l-Muzaffar Kaiqobâd, the king, by the glory of the saints and the poor, **Tâjaddaula waddîn** . . the royal—may his prosperity be perpetual!—at the beginning of the Rabî' al awwal 688" [began 25th March 1289].

The inscription is important, as it is the first known of **Kaiqobâd**,[42] son of **Bughrâ Khân**, viceroy of Bengal, the last emperor of the Balbanî Turks, after whom the kingdom was transferred to the Khiljîs.

51. A second Barwâla inscription is of Balban's reign; it consists of two lines. It has also been much injured by the weather. The dimensions are 3′ 3″ by 11 inches:—

نور [?] الاسلام والمسلمين ابو المظفر بلبن السلطان ناصر امير المومنين خلدالله ملكه و سلطانه

. . . . دام اقباله في العشرين من شهر المبارک رمضان عمت مباركته سنه ثمانين و ستمائه

"The light of Islâm and of the Muslims **Abul-Muzaffar Balban**, the king, the helper of the Lord of the Muslims—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!— . . . . may his prosperity be perpetual!—on the 20th of the blessed month Ramazân—may its blessing be general!—680" [2nd January 1282].

The extant Balban inscriptions have been mentioned above under No. 15.

[42] Another inscription of Kaiqobâd, dated A.H. 686, exists in the Saddo masjid at *Amrohâ*, Murâdâbâd district, North-Western Provinces, (*see* A Fuhrer; *l. c.*, page 35).—*Ed. E. I.*

X.—Fathâbâd.

52. In the town of Fathâbâd is a round sandstone pillar, 10′ 2″ high and 6 1¼″ in circumference. It is a pity that it is not possible to decipher this evidently most important document, which consists of thirty-six lines going round the pillar. The letters have been much injured and many patches of the stone have fallen off. Only single words are here and there legible on the rubbings (in five pieces). The inscription belongs to a king of the Tughluq dynasty, and contains long historical accounts. Tughluq Shâh himself is mentioned. An occurring date, the reference of which is not clear, is the first Sha'bân 725 [13th July 1325], which falls in the first year of Muhammad, son of Tughluq Shâh.[43]

XI.—Hânsî.[44]

53. On the Dînî mosque, near the Sarâogyân mandir, is an inscription in three lines, measuring 2′ 9″ by 1′ 4″—

بتوفیق خدای علام و برکت مصطفی علیه‌السّلام در عهد میمون و دولت همایون

خدایگان عالمپناه بادشاه اسلام راعی الانام فیروز شاه السلطان خلدالله ملکه

و سلطانه بنده درگاه شاهین سلطانی بتاریخ غره ذی القعده سنه سبع و ستین و سبعمائه این مسجد بنا کرد

"Through the grace of God the omniscient and the blessing of the chosen Prophet—upon whom be peace!—in the auspicious time and the august reign

"Of the lord, the refuge of the world, the king of Islâm, the shepherd of the people, Fîrôz Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom

"And his reign!—this mosque was erected by the slave of the court, Śâh(î)n, the royal, on the beginning of Zilqa'da, 767" [*10th July 1366*].

54. From the middle arch of Ja'far Beg's mosque. Two lines, 1′ 3″ by 1″, evidently a fragmentary piece, containing the words—

و مظهر کلمة [اللّه] ناصر امیر المو

"......and who manifests the word of God,[45] the helper of the Lord of the faithful."

There is also a defective inscription found on the middle arch of the Jod Goh (?). It consists of two lines (2′ 13″ by 30″) and belongs to the reign of Iltimish (Altamsh), whose name it contains.

Finally, a third inscription, which is found on the back corner of the mosque of Makhdûm Ashraf, measuring 1′ 22″ by 12″, contains some words from *Qorân*, Sûra ix, 19.

[43] I cannot let this opportunity pass of recommending this interesting document to travellers visiting Fathâbâd. From rubbings alone it cannot be deciphered. An examination of the original may perhaps be more successful. It would be necessary to make a transcript directly from the original which would assist in the reading of the rubbing. Ghulâm Husain, one of Mr. C. J. Rodger's staff, who prepared the copies of all the Panjâb inscriptions in this paper, says in a note that Zîn ud Dîn, Extra Assistant Commissioner, spent more than a month at Fathâbâd trying to decipher the inscription, but he had not been able to see what he did

[44] For the history of the town of Hânsî, see *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1877, 117. ffg.

[45] These words occur as an epithet of Husain Shâh in an inscription from A.H. 906 (see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLIII (1874), p. 304, note).

X.—BADAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAYANAPALA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

In November 1780 Charles Wilkins discovered in the vicinity of the town of **Badâl**,[1] in the Dinâjpur District of the Province of Bengal, a stone pillar, about 12 feet high, which was found to contain, at a few feet above the ground, an inscription engraved in the stone. Some years afterwards he succeeded in deciphering and translating this inscription; and his translation was published in 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, pages 131-144, with a drawing of the pillar and a specimen of the characters, and accompanied by some valuable remarks of Sir William Jones. In 1874 Mr. E. V. Westmacott obtained a careless and mutilated transcript of the original text from Paṇḍit Harachandra Chakravartî, which, with a translation by Mr. Pratâpachandra Ghosha, will be found in the *Journal, Asiatic, Society, Bengal*, vol. XLIII, part i, pages 356-63. I now edit the inscription, of which a complete and trustworthy text has not yet been published, from impressions which at Dr. Burgess' request the Government of India has had prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing—28 full lines and one line only 5″ long,—which cover a space of from 1′ 8¼″ to 1′ 10″ broad by 1′ 7¾″ high. With the exception of two *aksharas* each at the commencement of lines 1 and 2, and altogether sixteen *aksharas* at the commencement of lines 25-28, which have become illegible by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and a few slightly damaged *aksharas* in the body of the inscription, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between $\frac{7}{16}$″ and ½.″ The characters are of the same type as, but decidedly more modern than, those of the Ghosrâwâ inscription, of which a photo-lithograph is published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 310, and may be assigned to about the end of the 9th or commencement of the 10th century A.D. They are skilfully formed and well engraved. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the short line 29, which merely records the name of the engraver, **Vishṇubhadra**, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Before *v* the consonant *m* has been retained, instead of being changed to *anusvâra*, in *samvṛita*, line 6, *bhrântam = vikaṭaṁ*, line 8, *samvalgitâś*, line 9, *satâm = vismayaḥ*, line 10, *vâchâm = vaibhavam*, line 20, and *tâdṛiśam = vyadhita*, line 24; and instead of *anusvâra* the guttural nasal has been used in *vaṅśe*, lines 1 and 26, and *vaṅśasya*, line 21, and the dental nasal in *pânsuḥ*, line 7. We also have *-saṅśî* for *-śaṁsî*, line 17, and *-saṅghater* for *-saṁhater*, line 4. Besides, it may be noted that the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed in *vidhivat Ballâ-*, line 11, and *-pitân chatur-*, line 13; and that the sign of *avagraha* has been exceptionally employed in °*bhidhâ 'bhavat*, line 17, and °*târo 'vadat*, line 21. As regards grammar I need draw attention only to the first compound in verse 11, which is formed incorrectly.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (in verses 27 and 28) the erection of a pillar, bearing on its top a figure of the mythical bird Garuḍa,—the pillar on which the inscription still is, but the upper part of which is now missing,—by a Brâhman,

[1] See Montgomery Martin's (Buchanan Hamilton's) *Eastern India*, vol. II. page 672. [Badâl Kacheri is in the south of the Dinâjpur district, 3 miles south-west from the village of Mangalbârî, which is on the borders of the Sagunâ pargaṇa of the Bagurâ (Bogra) district and 7 miles south-west from Damdamâ station on the Northern Bengal State Railway. Badâl is in Long. 88° 58′ E., Lat. 25° 5′ N. (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 119), and the pillar is about a mile north from it. (*Conf.* Hunter's *Stat. Acc. Bengal*, vol. vii, p. 451, and vol. viii, p. 198)—*J. B.*]

BADAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

Ink impression by H. B. W. Garrick.

Scale: 3-8ths of original.

named Râma Guravamiśra. But the inscription is really a *praśasti*, or laudatory account, of Guravamiśra and his ancestors, and it is of some value mainly because it furnishes the names of four of the so-called Pâla kings of Bengal, of whom some of the said Brâhmans were counsellors or ministers.

In the race of Śâṇḍilya there was one [Vishṇu?]; in his lineage was Vîradeva; in his family Pâñchâla; and his son was Garga, the adviser of Dharma (or Dharmapâla), 'the regent of the east' (vv. 1-2). Garga married Ichchhâ, and their son was Darbhapâṇi, who became minister of the king Devapâla (vv. 3-7). He, again, married Śarkarâdevî, who bore to him Someśvara (vv. 8-9). Someśvara married Rallâdevî (v. 10); and their son was Kedâramiśra, by whose counsel the lord of Gauḍa (whom I understand to be Devapâla)[2] is represented to have defeated or held in check the Utkalas, Hûṇas, Draviḍas and Gurjaras (v. 13), and who is intimated to have consecrated the king Śûrapâla (v. 15). And, finally, Kedâramiśra married Vavvâ, a lady born at Devagrâma (v. 16), and she bore to him Râma, called Guravamiśra (v. 18), who was held in high esteem by the king Nârâyaṇapâla (v. 19). There can be no doubt that this last-named Brâhman is the Bhaṭṭa Gurava who is mentioned as *dûtaka* in the Bhâgalpur copper-plate inscription of Nârâyaṇapâla.[3]

Of the four kings mentioned in this inscription three, Dharma[pâla], Devapâla and Nârâyaṇapâla, are well known to us from copper-plate inscriptions. As to Śûrapâla, I readily adopt Dr. Hörnle's suggestion[4] that he is identical with the Vigrahapâla of the Bhâgalpur copper-plate, the immediate predecessor of Nârâyaṇapâla. But regarding the Pâla kings in general my views differ from those of Dr. Hörnle, and I hope to prove before long that the successors of Nârâyaṇapâla were: his son Râjyapâla; his son Gopâla II.; his son Vigrahapâla II.; his son Mahîpâla; his son Nayapâla; and his son Vigrahapâla III.

TEXT.[5]

L. 1. . . :[6] शाण्डिल्यवंशेभूद्वीरदेवस्तदन्वये[7] ।
पाञ्चालो नाम तद्गोत्रे गर्ग्गस्तस्मादजायत ॥[8] — [1.]
शक्रः पुरोदिशि पतिर्न्न दिगन्तरेषु तत्रापि दैत्यपतिभिर्ज्जित एव

2. — ⏑ : [।*]
धर्म्मः कृतस्तधिपस्त्वखिलासु दिक्षु स्वामी मयेति विजहास वृ(बृ)हस्पतिं यः ॥[9] — [2.]
पत्नीच्छा नाम तस्यासीदिच्छेवान्तर्व्विवर्त्तिनी ।
निसर्ग्गनिर्म्मलस्निग्धा कान्तिश्चन्द्र-

3. मसो यथा ॥[10] — [3.]
विद्याचतुष्टयमुखाम्बु(म्बु)रुहात्तलक्ष्मा नैसर्ग्गिकोत्तमपदाधरितत्रिलोकः [।*]
सूनुस्तयोः कमलयोनिरिव द्विजेशः श्रीदर्भपाणिरिति नाम निजन्दधा-

See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, page 308, v. 6.

[3] See *ib.*, page 307.

[4] See the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society Bengal*, Part II, Appendix II; and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, pages 162—165.

[5] From impressions prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, and supplied to me by the editor.

[6] The word which has almost entirely disappeared here was probably विष्णुः ; and it may have been preceded by the symbol for ओं.

[7] Read °वंशे°.

[8] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[9] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[10] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

Y

L. 4. नः ॥[11] — [4.]

आ रेवाजनकान्मतङ्गजमदस्तिम्यच्छिलासङ्हते-[12]
रा गौरीपितुरीश्वरेन्दुकिरणैः पुष्यत्सितिम्नो गिरेः ।
मार्त्तण्डास्तमयोदयारुणजलादा वारिरा-

5. शिद्वया-
न्नीत्वा यस्य भुवं चकार करदां श्रीदेवपालो नृपः ॥[13] — [5.]
माद्यन्नानागजेन्द्रस्रवदनवरतोद्दामदानप्रवाहो-
भृष्टक्षोणीविसर्प्पिप्रव(ब)ल-

6. घनरजःसम्वृताशावकाशं[14] ।
दिक्चक्रायातभूभृत्परिकरविसरद्वाहिनीदुर्व्विलोक-
स्तस्थौ श्रीदेवपालो नृपतिरवसरापेक्षया द्वारि

7. यस्य ॥[15] — [6]
दत्त्वाप्यनल्पमुडुपच्छविपीठमग्रे यस्यासनं नरपतिः सुरराजकल्पः ।
नानानरेन्द्रमुकुटाङ्कितपादपान्सुः सिहांसनं[16] सच-

8. कितः स्वयमाससाद ॥[17] — [7.]
तस्य श्रीशर्क्करादेव्यामंशः सोम इव द्विजः [।×]
अभूत्सोमेश्वरः श्रीमान् परमेश्वरवल्लभः ॥[18] — [8.]
न भ्रान्तम्विकटं[19]

9. धनञ्जयतुलामारुह्य विक्रामता ।[20]
वित्तान्यर्थिषु वर्षता स्तुतिगिरो नोद्गर्व्वमाकर्ण्णिताः ।
नैवोक्ता मधुरम्बहु[21] प्रणयिनः सम्व[ल्गि]ताश्च श्रि-

10. या ।[21]
येनैवं स्वगुणैर्ज्जगद्विसदृशैश्चक्रे सताम्विस्मयः[22] ॥[23] — [9.]
शिव इव करं शिवाया हरिरिव लक्ष्म्या गृहाश्रमप्रेप्सुः [।×]
अनुरूपाया विधि-

11. वत्[24] रल्लादेव्याः स जग्राह ॥[25] — [10.]
आसप्ताजिह्मराजद्द(ह)हलशिखशिखाचुम्वि(म्बि)दिक्चक्रवालो
दुर्व्वारस्फारशक्तिः स्वरसपरिणताशेषविद्या-

12. प्रतिष्ठः ।
ताभ्यां जन्म प्रपेदे विदग्धजनमनोनन्दनः स्वक्रियाभिः
श्रीमान् केदारमिश्रो गुह इव विकसज्जातरूपप्रभावः ॥[26] ॥ — [11.]

[11] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[12] Read °संहते.

[13] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[14] Read °संवृता°. Originally विकाशं was engraved, but the sign for *i* is struck out.

[15] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[16] Read °पांसुः सिंहासनं.

[17] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[18] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[19] Read भ्रान्तं विकट.

[20] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[21] Read मधुरं बहु प्रणयिनः संव°.

[22] Read सतां विस्मयः.

[23] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[24] Read विधिवद्रल्ला°.

[25] Metre: Âryâ.

[26] Metre; Sragdharâ.

L. 13. सकृद्यज्ञसम्पीतान्[27] चतुर्व्विद्यापयोनिधीन् [।×]
अहासागस्त्यसम्पत्तिसुहिरण्वा(ण्या)स्र एव यः ॥[28] — [12.]
उत्कोलितोत्कलकुलं हृतहूणगर्व्वं खर्व्वीकृ-
14. तद्रविडगुर्ज्जरनाथदर्प्पं ।
भूपीठमब्धि(ब्धि)रशनाभरणम्बु(बु)भोज गौडेश्वरश्चिरमुपास्य धियं यदीयां ॥[29] — [13.]
स्वयमपहृतवित्तानर्थिनो यो-
15. ऽभिमेने द्विषति सुहृदि चासीन्निर्व्विवेको यदात्मा ।
भवजलधिनिपाते यस्य भीत्या त्रपा च ।[30] परिरहितकमा(या)यो[31] यः परे धाम्नि रेमे ॥[32] —[14.]
यस्ये-
16. ज्यासु ह(बृ)हस्पतिप्रतिकृतेः श्रीशूरपालो नृपः
साक्षादिन्द्र इव क्षतप्रियब(ब)लो गत्वैव भूयः स्वयं ।
नानाम्भोनिधिमेखलस्य जगतः
17. कल्याणसक्तो[33] चिरं
श्रद्धाम्भःप्लुतमानसो नतशिरा जग्राह पूतम्पयः ॥[34] — [15.]
देवग्रामभवा[35] तस्य पत्नी वव्वाभिधाऽभवत् ॥ [।×]
अतुल्या चलया ल-
18. क्ष्म्या सत्या चाप्य[नपत्य]या[36] ॥[37] — [16.]
सा देवकीव तस्माद्यशोदया स्वीकृतम्पतिं लक्ष्म्याः ।
गोपालप्रियकारकमसूत पुरुषोत्तमन्तनयं ॥[38] ॥ — [17.]
19. जमदग्निकुलोत्पन्नः सम्बन्धक्षत्रचिन्तकः [।×]
यः श्रीगुरवमिश्राख्यो रामो राम इवापरः ॥[39] — [18.]
कुशलो गुणान्विवेक्तुं विजिगीषुर्य्यंनृप-
20. स्य व(ब)हुमेने ।
श्रीनारायणपालः प्रशस्तिरपरास्तु का तस्य ॥[40] — [19.]
वाचाम्वैभवमागमेष्वधिगमं[41] नीतिः पराम्निष्ठतां ।[42]
वेदार्थानुगमादसी-
21. ममहसो वहस्य[43] सम्वन्धितां ।
आसन्निकृणकीर्त्तनेषु महतान्निष्णाततां ज्योतिषो
यस्यानल्पमतेरमेययशसो धर्म्मावतारो ऽवदत् ॥[44] — [20.]
22. यस्मिन्नियः श्रीश्रुति वागधीशे विहाय वैराणि निसर्ग्गजानि ।
उभे स्थिते सत्यमिवादि(धि)गम्यावेकत्र लक्ष्मीश्च सरस्वती च ॥[45] — [21.]
शास्त्रानुशील-

[27] Read °पीतांश्च°.
[28] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[29] Metre : Vasantatilakâ.
[30] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[31] Originally °कमयी, altered to °कमायी.
[32] Metre : Mâlinî.
[33] Read कल्याणवंशी.
[34] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[35] Originally °भव, altered to °भवा.
[36] The lower portion of the *aksharas* in brackets is damaged.
[37] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[38] Metre : Âryâ.
[39] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[40] Metre : Âryâ.
[41] Read वाचां वैभव°.
[42] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[43] Read वंशस्य संब°.
[44] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[45] Metre : Upajâti.

L. 23. नगभीरगुणैर्व्वचोभिर्व्विद्दत्सभासु परवादिमदावलेप: [।*]
उद्दासित: सपदि येन युधि द्विषाञ्च निस्सीमविक्रमधनेन [भ]टाभिमान: ॥[46] — [22.]
24. [आविर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भू]व सहसैव फलं न यस्य यस्तादृगम्यगधित[47] कष्टसुखञ्च किञ्चित् ।
यत्प्राप्य दानपतिमर्थिजनोन्यमेति तत्केलिदानमपि यस्य न जातु
25. — ⏑ ॥ — [23.]
अतिलोमहर्षणेषु[48] [च*] कलियुगवाल्मीकिजन्मपिशुनेषु ।
धर्म्मेतिहासपर्व्वसु पुण्यात्मा य: श्रुतीर्व्वग्रहणोत् ॥[49] — [24.]
असिन्धुप्रसृता यस्य स्वर्धुनी
26. . ⏑ — ⏑ [धा] ।
वाणी प्रसन्नगम्भीरा धिनोति च पुनाति च ॥[50] — [25.]
पितृत्वं स्वयमास्थाय पुत्रत्वमगमत्स्वयं [।*]
व्र(ब्र)ह्मेति पुरुषान् यस्य वङ्के[51] यत्र प्रपेदिरे ॥ — [26.]
शोभो-
27. — ⏑ ⏑ — स्वकीयवपुषो लोकेक्षणप्रार्थिषि
स्वाभिप्राय इवातुलोन्नतिमति स्वप्रेमव(ब)न्धस्थिरे ।
स्पष्टं यस्य इवार्प्पिते कलिह्रदि स्तम्भेत्र ते-
28. [न?] ⏑ ⏑
— — — फणिनां हरे: प्रियसखस्ताक्ष्र्यीयमारोपित: ।(॥)[52] — [27.]
भ्रान्त्वा दिगन्तमखिलं गत्वा पातालमूलमप्यस्मात् ।
यश इ[ह][53] तस्योत्तस्थौ हताहिगरुडच्छलादमल[म् ॥][54] — [28.]
29. सूत्रधारविष्णुभद्रेण[55] प्रशस्ति नशिते[56] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

[Om !]

(*Verse* 1.) In Śâṇḍilya's race was . . . .[57], in his lineage **Vîradeva**, in his family **Pâñchâla**; from him was **Garga** born.

(2.) As he made **Dharma**[58], the regent of the east, sovereign over all the regions, while Indra ruled no other than the eastern quarter, and was even there defeated . . . . by the Daitya chiefs, he laughed Bṛihaspati to scorn.

(3.) His wife was **Ichchhâ**[59], like love dwelling in his heart. By nature pure and tender, she was like the beauty of the moon.

(4.) Their son was the illustrious chief of the twice-born, named **Darbhapâṇi**, who, by his innate high rank rising above the three worlds and distinguished by his

[46] Metre of verses 22 and 23 : Vasantatilakâ.

[47] Read °दृशं क्वचित्.

[48] The *akshara* म was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line. The following च, which I have added, is not in the original.

[49] Metre : Âryâ.

[50] Metre of verses 25 and 26 : Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[51] Read वंश.

[52] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[53] The *akshara* in brackets looks like न, altered to ह.

[54] Metre : Âryâ.

[55] The *akshara* ष was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

[56] One would have expected प्रशस्तिरुत्कीर्णा.

[57] The name, here missing, probably is Vishṇu.

[58] *i. e.* the king *Dharmapâla*, whose adviser Garga is represented to have been.

[59] *i.e.* 'desire, love.'

knowledge of the four Vedas, was like the lotus-born Brahman, the possessor of four lotus-like faces.[60]

(*V.* 5.) By his policy the illustrious prince Devapâla made tributary the earth as far as Revâ's parent[61] whose piles of rocks are moist with the rutting-juice of elephants, as far as Gaurî's father,[62] the mountain which is whitened by the rays of Îśvara's moon, and as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and setting of the sun.

(6.) At his gate stood, awaiting his leisure, the illustrious prince Devapâla, scarce visible among the vast armies attending on princes who had come from all quarters, (*in such numbers*) that the prospect of the regions was hidden by thick clouds of dust rising from the earth, (*though*) swept by the constant and abundant streams of rutting-juice, flowing down from lustful elephants of various breeds.

(7.) Though the prince, who resembled the king of the gods, and the dust of whose feet was marked with the diadems of sundry kings, first offered to him a chair of state with a seat bright as the moon, he ascended his own throne with trembling.

(8.) To him was born, of the illustrious Śarkarâdevî, the twice-born Someśvara, the illustrious, a favourite of the supreme lord, as the moon had sprung from Atri.

(9.) Never exulting, though like Dhanañjaya[63] he displayed unlimited prowess; never listening proudly to words of praise, though he showered riches upon suppliants; and never addressing friends with many honeyed words, though he made them leap with joy by his bounties,—he roused the wonder of good men by such qualities of his, not common in the world.

(10.) Desirous of attaining the state of a householder, he in due form took the hand of Rallâdevî, a suitable spouse, even as Śiva had done of Śivâ, and Hari of Lakshmî.

(11.) From them took his birth the illustrious Kedâramiśra. Filling the circle of the quarters with the flames of abundant (*sacrificial*) fires, radiant with the presence of the gods, of irresistible great might, of a pre-eminence in every branch of knowledge matured from within, and brilliant as glowing gold, he, like unto Guha, delighted the minds of gods and men by his deeds.[64]

(12.) Pouring forth, even as a boy, the oceans of the four Vedas which he had drunk at a single draught, he laughed at Agastya's proficiency.[65]

(13.) Attending to his wise counsel the lord of Gauḍa long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hûṇas, and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Draviḍa and Gurjara.

(14.) He allowed suppliants to take freely away his riches; his mind made no

[60] Darbhapâṇi was *chaturvidya* (or *chaturvedin*). as Brahman is *chaturmukha*; and the epithet *dvijeśa*, applied to him, besides suggests that he was like the moon.

[61] *i.e.* the Vindhya mountains.

[62] *i.e.* the Himâlaya.

[63] *i.e.* Arjuna.

[64] The general meaning of this verse, in which Kedâramiśra is compared to the god of war, Guha or Kârttikeya, is clear enough; but two difficulties are presented by the compound which forms the first line. Since that compound is a Bahuvrîhi, we should have expected a past passive participle, conveying the sense of 'touched' or 'filled,' in the place of *chumbin*, 'kissing,' which is the reading of the original. Besides, when the compound is referred to Kedâramiśra, none of the ordinary meanings of *ajihma* ('not crooked, straightforward, a frog, a fish') appears very appropriate. I therefore incline to think that the writer has confounded the word with *animisha* ('a fish, a god'), and I have translated accordingly. Applied to Guha, the first two compounds of the verse would mean: 'who fills the circle of the quarters with the big crest of his peacock which shines brightly when frogs are near, and who wields an irresistible, large spear'.

[65] Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

distinction between friend and foe; he was both afraid and ashamed to fall into the ocean of worldly existence; and having crushed the attachment to the pleasures of this life, he took delight in the supreme abode.

(*V.* 15.) At the sacrifices of him, the image of Bṛihaspati, the illustrious prince **Śûrapâla**, having destroyed the forces of his enemies, often attended of his own accord, like Indra himself, the destroyer of the demon Vala; and ever desirous of the welfare of the earth, girt by the several oceans, he there with bent head received the pure water,[66] his soul being bathed in the water of faith.

(16.) His wife was **Vavvâ**, born at **Devagrâma**, unlike the fickle Lakshmî and the childless Satî.

(17.) As Devakî gave birth to Purushottama[67], the adopted son of Yaśodâ, Lakshmî's husband, who delighted the cow-herds, so she bore to him a son, famous and compassionate, who was a lord of fortune, and who caused pleasure to the king, being the most excellent of men.

(18.) He, **Râma**,[68] called **Guravamiśra**, the illustrious, born in Jamadagni's race, and conversant with the constellations which bode good fortune, was like another Râma Jâmadagnya, to whom the thriving Kshatriya order caused anxious thought.

(19.) Since the illustrious prince **Nârâyaṇapâla**, desirous of victory, skilful in discerning excellent qualities, held him in high esteem, what need is there of further eulogy?

(20.) The spread of holiness told that he, of no mean intelligence and of immeasurable fame, possessed great power of speech, knowledge of traditional lore, and profound skill in politics; that he belonged to a family which had acquired boundless lustre by searching after the meaning of the Vedas; that he was eager to celebrate the virtues of great men, and was well versed in astronomy.

(21.) In him, who was possessed of fortune, as well as a master of speech, Lakshmî and Sarasvatî resided both together, having forsaken, as it were, their natural enmity and joining in friendship.

(22.) In the assemblies of the learned he at once confounded the pride of self-conceit of opponents by his speeches to which the constant study of the Śâstras imparted deep meaning, just as, possessed of boundless wealth of valour, he did in battle the conceit of bravery of enemies.

(23.) He never uttered words gratifying to the ear of which the fruit became not at once apparent, nor did he ever bestow a gift which the suppliant having received went to another more bountiful donor.[69]

(24.) This pious-minded man expounded the Vedas in books of moral tales, which excited a thrill of joy and showed that he was born a Vâlmîki of the Kali age.

(25.) Being a river of heaven which does not proceed to the ocean . . . . , his pellucid and profound language both delights and purifies.

(26.) To his ancestors and to him people were wont to resort, considering that (*in them*) Brahman himself had first become a father, and that the same Brahman (*in him*) had again become their offspring.

66 *i.e.* the prince, at those sacrifices, was as it were consecrated as sovereign of the earth.

67 *i.e.* the god Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa.

68 Or perhaps, 'this pleasing person, called Guravamiśra.'

69 In other words, he never made a promise which he did not at once fulfil, nor did he mock suppliants with valueless gifts.

(*V.* 27.) He has placed Târkshya,[70] [the foe] of serpents and dear friend of Hari, here on the top of this pillar, the . . . . beauty of which, like that of his own person, attracts the eyes of people, which like his own aspiration rises to an unparalleled height and is firm like his affection, and which clearly is as it were a stake planted in the breast of the Kali age.

(28.) Having roamed to the furthest ends of the world, and hence descended even to the bottom of the lower regions, his spotless fame has risen here in the guise of this Garuḍa with a serpent in his mouth.

This eulogy was incised by the artisan Vishṇubhadra.

XI.—ATAKUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNA III.; DATED SAKA-SAMVAT 872.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice, in 1889, in his *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, pp. 19, 21 (see note 6 below). It is now published in full for, I believe, the first time. I edit it from inked estampages, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultzsch.

Âtakûr is a village about fifteen miles to the north-east of Maṇḍya, which is the head-quarters town of the Maṇḍya Tâlukâ of the Maisûr District in Maisûr. It is shown in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 60, as 'Atcoor,' in Lat. 12° 40′ N., Long. 77° 8′ E.;[1] and it is entered, as 'Atagur,' in the map given in Mr. Rice's *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II, pp. 190-91. In the inscription the name occurs in the slightly different form of Âtukûr. The inscription is on a stone slab, set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challêśaliṅga, about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village. The temple is mentioned in the inscription, by the name of Challêśvara.

Towards the top of the stone there are, in connection with part of the record, the sculptures of a dog and a boar fighting with each other; the dog is on the proper right, and the boar on the proper left; they occupy a space of about 3′ 2″ broad by 1′ 6″ high.— Below this lies the inscription proper, lines 1 to 19, covering a space of about 4′ 11″ broad by 4′ 0″ high. At each side, however, of the boar and the dog, and along the top of the stone, there were left blank spaces, which were subsequently utilised for a slightly later additional record, consisting of four lines, which I have numbered 20 to 23. Lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin of the stone, curve round at the corner, run right along the top, and then curve down into the proper left margin. Line 22 breaks off on the proper right margin with the *ppa* of *pponneraḍuṁ*, and continues on the proper left margin, below the ends of lines 20 and 21. Line 23 is a short line, lying below the ends of lines 20, 21, and 22, on the proper left margin. The writing is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout; and, with the exception of two *aksharas* in line 4, the whole record can be made out with perfect certainty. The

[70] *i. e.* the bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu.

[1] The name seems to be not an uncommon one. The maps show an 'Atagur,' forty-nine miles north-east of Maisûr, and an 'Adagur,' eleven miles north by west of Hassan.

estampages, however, are not suitable for lithography; and, the surface of the stone being apparently rather rough, it would probably be very difficult to obtain impressions which would serve that purpose.— The characters belong to the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet, and are of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The average size of the letters, both in the original inscription and in the addition, is about $1\frac{1}{2}''$.— The language is Old-Kanarese; and, except for two verses in lines 15 to 19, the whole record is in prose.— In respect of orthography the only points that call for special notice are (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *nripa*, line 1, *prithuvî*, line 2, and *krishṇa*, line 3; (2) the use of *b* for *v* in the word *bîra*, lines 16, 18; (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, *e.g.* in *saka*, line 1, and *saktiy-âge*, line 16; and (4) the doubling of *s* after *r*, in *âr=ssagara*, line 17.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a king named Kṛishṇarâja, whom, partly from the date that is given, and partly from the mention of a predecessor, we know to be Kṛishṇa III., a son of Amôghavarsha III., of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty of Mâlkhêḍ: in the body of the inscription, he is also called Kannaradêva; and in the addition at the top of the stone, this form only of his name is used. We are told that he was making a display of triumph, after fighting against and killing a Chôḷa king or chief named Râjâdiṭya, at a place called Takkôla.[2] The inscription then introduces a Gaṅga feudatory of his,[3] called in the body of the record Permânaḍi, and in the addition Bûtuga,[4] who, as we learn from the addition, had killed a certain Râchamalla,[5] the son of Eṟeyapa, and (as the result) was ruling over a Ninety-six-thousand district, which is evidently the well-known Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand. From the addition we also learn that it was Bûtuga himself who slew Râjâditya; treacherously, and while they were out taking the air together: and that, in approbation of the deed, Kṛishṇa III. gave to Bûtuga the districts known as the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Beḷvola Three-hundred, the Purigeṟe Three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ Seventy, and the Bâgenâḍ Seventy.[6] The record then introduces a follower of Bûtuga, named Maṇalarata, of the Sagara lineage, with the hereditary title of "lord of Vaḷabhi." And it proceeds to state that, in recognition of his valour in battle, Permânaḍi-Bûtuga granted some land to a temple of the god Challêśvara (a form of Śiva) at the village of Âtukûr; a stone,— evidently the one bearing this

[2] The fact that Râjâditya died in battle with Kṛishna III., is mentioned also in the large Leyden copper-plate grant (see Dr. Hultzsch's Report No. 79, dated the 6th April 1891); the passage speaks of the "lordly elephant," on which Râjâditya was riding.

[3] The use of the paramount title in *dharma-mahârâjâdhirâja* must be taken, with the use of the name Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarman, to be only an hereditary custom. The construction of the whole record, and the subject-matter of it, show clearly the nature of the relations between Permânaḍi-Bûtuga and Kṛishṇa III.

[4] This name occurs also in the body of the inscription, among the titles of Maṇalarata. That passage (l. 9) is probably enough to show that Permânaḍi and Bûtuga were one and the same person. But the point is rendered quite certain by the other reference to Bûtuga and Maṇalarata in ll. 21-23.— When I wrote the preceding remarks, I overlooked the fact that Bûtuga is distinctly called Permânaḍi-Bûtayya in the Hebbâḷ inscription (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 270).

[5] One might perhaps expect the name of Râjamalla, rather than Râchamalla. But the original very distinctly has *cha* in the second syllable.

[6] Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.*, p. 21) summarised this part of the record thus:— "Moreover, from a subsequent addition "engraved at the top of the same inscription, we learn that this Gaṅga king" [*viz.* the Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarman, or more specifically the Permânaḍi-Bûtuga, of lines 5, 6, 8] "was Râchamalla, the son of Eṟeyappa; also, that he defeated a rival "named Bûtuga, who then proposed to Râjâditya, the Chôla prince mentioned in the previous part of the inscription, to join "him in attacking Kannara Dêva. His treachery becoming thus known, he was defeated and slain, and the provinces of which "he was governor absorbed into the Gaṅga territories."— Mr. Rice's extract from the text (*loc. cit.*, p. 21, note 5) showed that this summary could not be correct, but did not suffice to indicate the real meaning with any completeness and certainty.

inscription,— being set up, to commemorate the grant, on the spot where, a dog having been loosed against a boar, the boar and the dog killed each other. The inscription proper ends with two verses descriptive of the prowess of Maṇalarata. And from the addition we learn that Bûtuga also granted, to Maṇalarata himself, the group of villages known as the Âtukûr Twelve, and the village of Kôṭeyûr of the Beḷvola country.

In the date the only details given are the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 872 (current) (A.D. 949-50), expressed in words. This falls within the limits of the dates already obtained for Kṛishṇa III. And all else that can be said is that, as, by the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, which is the only one that can be made applicable in this case, the Saumya *saṁvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 871 as an expired year, we have in this record another clear instance of the use of a current Śaka year.

This record refers to a variety of places. Âtakûr itself is mentioned, as Âtukûr, in the inscription proper (l. 12), and in the addition at the tcp of the stone (l. 22); and the latter passage shows that it was the chief town of a group of twelve villages. The inscription also mentions (l. 10) a neighbouring village named Beḷatûr, in the Keḷale *nâḍ*; but for these names I cannot find any representatives in the map. It gives Takkôla (l. 4) as the name of the place where Râjâditya was slain; this, again, I cannot identify. In the titles of Permânaḍi-Bûtuga it mentions the town of Koḷâla and the Nandagiri mountain (l. 5). Mr. Rice (*e. g. Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxviii) has taken Koḷâla to be the same with the Kôlâhalapura of the Eastern Gaṅga records, and has identified it with "Kôlâr, in the east of Maisûr." The identity of the two names, Koḷâla and Kôlâhala, is probably established by the statement, in the eastern grants, that Kôlâhala was in the Gaṅgavâḍi *vishaya* (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII., p. 170). The identification of the place with Kôlâr may be correct; but I do not know of any conclusive proof of this point: and I notice, in the map, a small village named 'Kolala' close to Dêvarâyadurg in the Korṭagiri Tâlukâ of the Tumkûr District, Maisûr; this seems to me to suggest that Koḷâla may possibly be the ancient name of Dêvarâyadurg itself. Nandagiri has been identified by Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xlv) with Nandidurg, a fortified hill in the Chikbaḷḷâpur Tâlukâ of the Kôlâr District, Maisûr. And finally, in the titles of Maṇalarata, the inscription mentions the town of Vaḷabhi (l. 7-8), which is, of course, the well-known Valabhî in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. The reference is of interest, as being the only one from Southern India that is known to me; but, whether it may be taken as implying that, like Maṇalarata, the rulers of Valabhî themselves claimed to belong to the lineage of Sagara, seems not very clear. The addition at the top of the stone first mentions a province called the Ninety-six-thousand: this is undoubtedly the well-known Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand, which probably included the whole of Maisûr, and is known, from many other inscriptions, to have been the hereditary territory of the Western Gaṅgas; towards the north it extended as far as Lakkuṇḍi, near Gadag, in Dhârwâḍ (*Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 53). It then mentions a province and four districts which were given by Kṛishṇa III. to Bûtuga; *i.e.* the feudatory government of which was entrusted to Bûtuga. The province is the well-known Banavase Twelve-thousand, which took its appellation from one of the ancient forms of the name of the modern Banawâsi in North Kanara. Of the districts the

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first is the Beḷvola Three-hundred. This district is equally well-known; and its name, being derived from the Kanarese *beḷe*, 'growing corn, a crop,' and *pola*, *hola*, 'a field,' means 'the country of luxuriant crops,' with reference to the fertility of the rich black-soil which constitutes one of its chief features. It included Gadag in the Dhârwâḍ District (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 297), Aṇṇigere in Dhârwâḍ (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 220; apparently Aṇṇigere was then, A. D. 866, the capital of the district), Kurtakôṭi in Dhârwâḍ (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 218), Nargund in Dhârwâḍ and Hûli in Beḷgaum (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 47; here the name is written Beḷvala, and the district is said to be a part of the Kuntala *vishaya*), and Kukkanûr in the Nizam's Dominions (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 275; here the name is written Beluvala, in Nâgarî characters). From the wording of the passage in line 22 of the present inscription it seems not to have included Âtakûr. The second is the Purigeṛe Three-hundred. This, again, is a very well-known district, taking its appellation from the ancient Kanarese name of Lakshmêshwar in the Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâḍ District. The third is the Kisukâḍ Seventy. This was in later times one of the divisions of the hereditary territory of the Sindas of Erambarage; and the chief town of it (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII, p. 272) was Kisuvoḷal or Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal, which is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bijâpur District, near Bâdâmi. To the south it included (*id.*, p. 257) Kiṛu-Narayaṅgal, which is to be identified with Koḍikop, a hamlet of Naregal in the Rôṇ Tâlukâ, Dhârwâḍ. And the fourth is the Bâgenâḍ Seventy. This is plainly identical with the Bâgaḍage Seventy, or Bâgaḍige *nâḍ*, which was another of the divisions of the Sinda territory. I have only recently obtained the means of localising precisely the position of this district, and of determining the town from which it took its name. That town is Bâgalkôṭ in the Bijâpur District. It has long been known to me that the rustics call this place 'Bâṅgaḍîkôṭe;' the popular explanation of which is that some Nawâb assigned it to his wife for pin-money (*lit.* for bangles, *bâṅgaḍî*). And I had a suspicion, but no more, that it might be the ancient Bâgaḍage or Bâgaḍige. All doubt has now been removed by my examination of an inscription on a stone which stands in the courtyard of the Tâlukâ Kachêri at Bâgalkôṭ, and was brought, I understand, from the neighbouring village of Hêrkal, and which mentions "the famous capital, Bâgaḍageya-kôṭe," (*śrîma*[*d-r*]*âjadhâni Bâgaḍag*[*e*]*ya-kôṭeya śrî-mûla*]-[*sthân-â*]*dhi*[*pati*] *Nîlakaṇṭha-paṇḍitadêvaru*; lines 9-10). Taken with the rustic appellation, this is quite sufficient to establish the identity of the two names, Bâgaḍage and Bâgalkôṭ. And finally, in line 22, the addition mentions the village of Kôṭeyûr of the Beḷvola country. This place I cannot identify with any certainty; but it may possibly be either Kurtakôṭi in Dhârwâḍ, or the small village of 'Kotoor,' 3 miles west of Koppaḷ in the Nizam's Dominions (Lat. 15° 20' N., Long. 76° 10' E.).

There can be, I think, no doubt that the Eṛeyapa of this inscription is the Gaṅga king Eṛeyapa or Eṛeyapparasa, ruler of the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand, of the Bêgûr inscription (edited by me, *ante*, Vol. I, p. 346 ff). This record, therefore, fixes the period of the events recorded in the Bêgûr stone, and adds another interesting link in the history of the Western Gaṅgas. It shows internal dissensions among them; for Permânaḍi-Bûtuga, himself a Gaṅga (see lines 5, 6), acquired the province by killing Râchamalla, the son of Eṛeyapa; and Eṛeyapa, though he has been stamped by Mr. Rice as an "usurper" (*e.g. Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. xliv, xlv), was most distinctly of the

Gaṅga lineage (see *ante*, Vol. I, p. 349). Also, the construction of the record, and the grant of districts to Bûtuga by Kṛishṇa III., distinctly prove that at this period the Gaṅgas were feudatories of the Râshṭrakûṭas.

Incidentally it may be noted that, as the period of Eṟeyapparasa is now known to be about A.D. 949, it follows that there is some real probability of the Ayyapadêva of the Bêgûr record being identical with the Western Chalukya Ayyaṇa I., whose period was two generations before A.D. 973-97.

Among the territory given by Kṛishṇa III. to Bûtuga was the Banavase Twelve-thousand. This point is of interest, because this province was the principal component of the territory of the Kâdambas of Banawâsi and Hângal; and the present record shows that they had not the ancient, or at least the uninterrupted, enjoyment of their possessions, which their inscriptions seem to imply.

TEXT.[7]

1 Svas[t]i Sa(śa)ka-nri(nṛi)pa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṅgaḷ=eṇṭu-nûṟ=eḷpatt-eraḍa-neya Śau(sau)myam=emba

2 saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttise [|*] Svasti Amôghavarısha[8]dêva-śrîprithuvi[9]vallabha-paramêśvara-parama-

3 bhaṭṭ[â]raka-pâdapaṅkaja-bhramara[ṁ] n[ṛi]pa-Tri[ṇê]tran=âne-veḍeṅgaṁ vana-gaja-mallaṁ kachchegaṁ Kri(kṛi)shṇarâjaṁ śrîmat

4 Kan[n]aradêva[ṁ] . . ḷû(?)vajaṁ Chôḷa-Râjâdityana mêle [ba]ndu Takkôladoḷ=kâdi kondu bijayaṁ-geyyutt-iḷdu [|*]

5 Sva[st]i [S]atyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmma-dharm[m]amahârâjâdhirâjaṁ Koḷâla-pura-var-êśvaraṁ Nandagiri-nâthaṁ

6 śrîmat Permmânaḍigaḷ nanneya-Gaṅga jaya[d=u]ttaraṅga Gaṅga-G[âṅgê]ya Gaṅga-Nârâyaṇa tan[10]=âḷu

7 Svasti Sakaḷa-lôka-paritâp-âvi(?)hata-[pra]bhâv-âvatâri[ta]-Gaṅga[11]-pravâh-ôdâra-Sagara-vaṁśa Va-

8 ḷabhi-puravar-êśvaran=udâra-Bhagîrathan=iṟiva-beḍeṅgaṁ Sa[gara]-Triṇêtraṁ seṇase-mûgarivoṁ

9 kadan-aika-Su(śû)drakaṁ Bûtugan-aṅkakâṟaṁ śrîmat Maṇalarata[ṅg=a]nuvaradoḷ mechchi bêḍi-koḷḷ=endo-

10 ḍe dayeya meṟe-voḷ(?ḷḷ)=emba Kâḷiyaṁ daye-geyy=endu koṇḍanâ nâya[ṁ] Keḷale-nâḍa Beḷatûra paḍu-

11 vaṇa deseya moṟaḍiyoḷ piri[duṁ pa]ndige viṭṭoḍe paṇḍiyuṁ nâyum=oḍa-sattuvadarkke-

12 y=Atukûroḷ Challêśvarada munde kallan=naḍisi piriya keṟeya keḷage Malti-kâlaṅgadoḷ=ir-kka(kkha)ṇḍuga-

13 maṇṇa[ṁ] koṭṭar=Â maṇṇan=okkal nâḍan=âḷvoṁn[12]=ûran=âḷvor=î maṇṇan=aḷidon=â nâya geyda pâpama[ṁ] koṇḍoṁ-

[7] From the inked est mpages.

[8] Read °*varsha*°.

[9] Read °*pṛithivî*° or °*pṛithvî*°.

[10] We should expect *tann(a)*, with the double *nn*. But I notice that Sanderson's Kanarese Dicti nary gives *nana* as a variant of *nanna*.

[11] Read *gaṅgâ* or *gâṅga*.

[12] Read °*âḷvon*°.

14 n[13]=â sthânaman=âḷva goravan=â kallaṁ pûjisad=uṇḍar=appoḍe[14] nâya geydà pâpamaṁ koṇḍa[n] [||*] Ôm [||*]

15 Uṟad[15]=idir-ânta Chôḷa-chaturaṅga-balaṅgaḷan=aṭṭi muṭṭi taḷt=iṟiv-eḍeg=ôrvvar=appoḍam=idirchchuva

16 gaṇḍaran=âmpev=endu poṭṭaḷisuva[16] bî(vî)raraṁ neṟeye kôṇe(ṇa)me Chôḷane[17] sa(śa)ktiy-âge taḷt=iṟidudan=âve(? me) ka-

17 ṇdev=ene mechchador=âr=Ssagara-Triṇêtranaṁ || Narapati bennoḷ=iḷdon=idir-ântudu vairi-samûham=illi

18 machcharisuvar=ellaruṁ seraguv-âḷdapor=int-ire nendu siṅgad=ant-ire Hari bî(vî)ra-Lakshmi nerav-âg-ire Chô-

19 ḷa[na]-kôṭey=emba sindhurada śir-âgramaṁ biriye pâyidaṁ[18] kadan-aika-Su(śû)drakaṁ [||*] Ôm [||*]

THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

20 Svasti Śrî-Eṟeyapana magaṁ Râchamallanaṁ Bûtugaṁ kâdi kondu tombhatt-aṟu-sâsiramumaṁ[19] âḷutt-ire [|*] Kannaradêva[ṁ] Chôḷanaṁ kâduvandu Bûtugaṁ Râjâdityanaṁ bisugeye kaḷḷan-âgi gurig=iṟidu

21 kâdi kondu Banavase-pannirchchâ(? rchchhâ)siramuṁ Beḷvola-mûnûruṁ Purigeṟe-mûṁnûṟuṁ[20] Kisukâḍ-eḻpattuṁ Bâgenâḍ-eḻpattuva(ma)ṁ Bûtugaṅge Kannaradêvaṁ mechchu-goṭṭaṁ [||*] Bûtuganuṁ[21] Maṇalarata-

22 na munde nind=iṟidudarkke mechchi Âtuk[û]r-ppanneraḍuṁ Beḷvolada Kôṭeyûrumaṁ bâlga[ṁ]

23 [me][22]chchu-goṭṭaṁ [||*] Maṅgaḷa-mahâ-śrî [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! The *saṁvatsara* named Saumya, (*which is*) the eight hundred and seventy-second (*in*) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, being current:—

(Line 2).— Hail! When Kṛishṇarâja (III.), the glorious Kannaradêva,— a very bee at the water-lilies which (*were*) the feet of Amôghavarshadêva (III.), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramêśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*; a very Triṇêtra (Śiva) among kings; a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance); a hero against wild elephants; a (*real*) fighter (or, disputant), — having . . . . come upon the Chôḷa, Râjâditya, and having fought and killed (*him*) at Takkôla, was going in triumph:—

(L. 5).— Hail! (*He who has the hereditary titles of*) the pious *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarman; the lord of Koḷâla, the best of towns; (*and*) the lord

[13] Read *koṇḍon*°.

[14] This seems to be the reading; but °*appoḍ=â* would be better.

[15] Metre: Champakamâlâ; and in the following verse.

[16] The *prâsa* is wrong here; in the third syllable of this word, there ought properly to be *ṟi*, instead of *ḷi*.

[17] This *ne* was omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

[18] Read *pâyidan=â*.

[19] Read °*sâsiramaṁ*; the copulative ending is not required here.

[20] Read °*mûnûruṁ*.

[21] Read *bûtugaṁ*; here, again, the copulative ending is not required.

[22] I cannot find the place where this syllable, *me*, stands in the original; perhaps the *akshara* was omitted altogether.

of the mountain Nandagiri,— (*viz.*) the illustrious Permânaḍi, the truthful Gaṅga, the arch of victory, a very Gâṅgêya among the Gaṅgas, a very Nârâyaṇa among the Gaṅgas,—

(L. 7).— Hail !,— being pleased in battle with his follower, the illustrious Maṇalarata,— who is of the lineage of Sagara, which brought down the stream of the (river) Gaṅgâ through (*its*) prowess that was unimpeded in causing the affliction of all mankind; (*who has the hereditary title of*) the lord of Vaḷabhi, the best of towns; who is as noble as Bhagîratha; who is a marvel among men who pierce; who is a very Triṇêtra among the Sagaras; who cuts off noses when he is angry; who is a very Śûdraka (*devoted*) only to war; (*and*) who is the arithmetician of Bûtuga,— said " Prefer a request !" Thereupon, Kâḷiya, who is called " the shining river (?) of kindness," said, " Do (*this*) favour !" Then they loosed his dog at a [great] boar, on the hill in the western quarter of (the village of) Beḷatûr of (the district called) Keḷale *nâḍ*. And then, having set up a stone in front of the temple of (the god) Challêśvara at Âtukûr, at (*the place where*) the boar and the dog killed each other,[23] he (Permânaḍi) gave[24] land yielding two *khaṇḍugas* (*of grain*), at the site called Maltikâlaṅga below the large tank.

(L. 13).— Any cultivator (*who destroys*) that land, (*or*) the ruler of the district (*if he does so*), (*or*) any governors of the village who destroy [25] this land,— he incurs (*the guilt of*) the sin committed by that dog! If the *Gorava*, who presides over that locality, eats without doing worship to that stone, he incurs (*the guilt of*) the sin committed by (*that*) dog! Ôm!

(L. 15).— Saying " We ourselves saw how powerfully the Chôḷa, like a male buffalo *in coitu*, approached and pierced the heroes who were vaunting (*their*) prowess [26] in saying ' Pursuing and besetting the forces of the army of the Chôḷa which, blazing (*with wrath*), have opposed (*us*), we will resist the valiant men who confront (*us*), if (*indeed*) there be any (*to make a stand*) at the place of meeting and piercing,' "— what people have failed to express approbation of him who is a very Triṇêtra among the Sagaras? The king was at (*his*) back; a multitude of enemies opposed (*him*) in front; all the people here, emulously rivalling each other, are bathed (*in perspiration*) to the (*very*) edges of (*their*) garments;— under these circumstances he, a very Śûdraka (*devoted*) only to war, dripping (*with sweat*), with the assistance of (the god) Hari (*and*) the brave Lakshmî, passed on like a lion, cleaving open the forehead of the elephant that was called " the fortress of the Chôḷa." [27] Ôm!

THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

(L. 20).— Hail! When Bûtuga, having fought and killed Râchamalla, the son of the glorious Eṟeyapa, was governing the Ninety-six-thousand:— At the time when Kannaradêva was warring against the Chôḷa, Bûtuga treacherously,[28] while (*they*) were taking the air (*together*), aimed at and pierced, and thus fought against and killed,

[23] *lit.* " died together."

[24] *lit.* " they gave " (*koṭṭar*); the word is in apposition with *permmânaḍigaḷ* (l. 6).

[25] *lit.* " who destroys " (*aḷidon*); this sentence illustrates well the change of construction from the singular to the plural, and back again (compare *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 146, note 15). The words " this land " are rather unnecessary after the ' that land ' which stands at the beginning of the sentence.

[26] *poṭṭaḷisuva* seems to be some derivative from *pôṭari*, ' a brave man;' see note 16 above, regarding the *prâsa*.

[27] See note 2 above.

[28] *lit.* " as a thief."

Râjâditya; and then Kannaradêva gave to Bûtuga, in token of approbation, the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Beḷvola Three-hundred, the Purigere Three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ Seventy, and the Bâgenâḍ Seventy.

(L. 21).— Being pleased with the manner in which Maṇalarata stood out in front and pierced (*his foes*), Bûtuga gave (*to him*), in token of approbation, for subsistence, the Âtukûr Twelve, and the village of Kôṭeyûr of (*the*) Beḷvola (*country*). (*May there be*) auspicious and great good fortune!

XIII.—KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF THE CHEDI LAKSHMANARAJA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription[1] was found at Kâritalâî, a village in the Muḍwârâ Subdivision of the Jabalpur District of the Central Provinces (*Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 89, Latitude 24° 3′ North, Longitude 80° 46′ East), whence it has been removed to the Jabalpur Museum. And an account of the contents[2] of the inscription has been given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, page 81. I now edit the text from a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

The inscription is only the concluding portion of an apparently much longer inscription the upper part of which is missing. The writing of what remains covers a space of 3′ 8″ broad by 4′ 3½″ high; but of this, again, a large piece, about 1′ broad by 1′ 8″ high, is broken away at the lower proper right corner, and a small piece at the upper left corner. Besides, the stone is broken in several pieces, and some *aksharas* have thereby become damaged or illegible in the body of the inscription. The average size of the letters is 1″. The characters, well formed and skilfully engraved, are Nâgarî of about the end of the 10th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the words *yaś=cha*, in line 5, and *kiṁ vahunâ*, in line 26, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography it will be sufficient to state that *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*, and that the sign of the *jihvâmûlîya* once occurs in line 9, and the sign of the *upadhmânîya* once in line 30.

The missing introductory portion of the inscription in all probability contained a number of verses eulogising the earlier Chedi (or Kalachuri) rulers of Tripurî, especially Yuvarâjadeva and Lakshmaṇarâja, who are actually mentioned in the sequel. In verses 2-6 of the extant text we are told that in the family of the sage Bharadvâja there was a Brâhman, named Bhâkamiśra, who was chief minister of the king Yuvarâjadeva; and in verses 7-17 that he had a son, Someśvara (in verse 9 described as *bhaṭṭa-Someśvara-dîkshita*), who became minister of the Chedi lord, the illustrious Lakshmaṇarâja. And the proper object of the inscription is to record that this Someśvara built a temple of Vishṇu, at which the inscription evidently was put up, and which is glorified in verses 18-29. Beyond this, verses 1-29 contain nothing of interest.

[1] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, p. 8; also Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 117.

[2] This account, which no doubt was furnished by some native assistant, is very incorrect. Here it will be sufficient to say that the word, which was interpreted to denote a place called *Pâṭangir* is really a name of the planet Saturn; see line 24 of the text.

From verse 30 it appears that near the temple there was a *pura* (or *brahmapura*, as it is more commonly called) for eight learned Brâhmans; and the rest of the inscription enumerates various donations, made for their maintenance and in favour of the temple generally. To the Brâhmans mentioned the king, apparently Lakshmaṇarâja, gave the village of Dîrghaśâkhika (verse 30). To the temple he assigned, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, another village, the name of which has not been preserved (verse 31); while his queen, Râhaḍâ, gave the village of Chakrahradî (verse 32). Another donation was made, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, by the illustrious Śaṅka[ragaṇa, the king's son(?)], a devout worshipper of Vishṇu (verse 33); and at a solar eclipse were given (it is not certain by whom) the village Chhallipâṭaka in the district of Dhavalaharâ and the village Antarapâṭa (verse 34). Several fields, and the village Vaṭagartikâ in the Mâlâ 'group of twelve,' are besides mentioned among the donations to Vishṇu, after the founder of the temple called 'the holy *Somasvâmideva*, in the mutilated verses 35-37[3]. And finally verses 38-42 enumerate various taxes and tolls[4] which had to be paid in favour of the temple.

The kings Yuvarâjadeva and Lakshmaṇarâja, mentioned in this inscription, undoubtedly are Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva and his son Lakshmaṇarâja, the father of Śaṁkaragaṇa, of the Bilhari inscription (*ante*, vol. I, page 253); and accordingly the present inscription is older than the Bilhari inscription, and must have been composed some time between the middle and end of the 10th century A.D.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, none have been identified with certainty; but I suspect Dîrghaśâkhika to be the village Dighee of the maps, about 6 miles south-east of Kâritalâi (or Kareetullae).

TEXT.[5]

L. 1. . . . .[6]

2. [7]मेस्त्रीणि पदानि वा॰नमहापावाय कच्छाद्दौ ।
प्र[त्य]र्चीकृतदान एष तु जनैः प्रादादनभ्यर्थितो
ग्रामान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणजातये व(ब)हु[तरांस्तु]ष्टान्तरा[त्मा] ⏑ – [॥*][8]–[1].

3. वंशाद्भरद्वाजमुनेरननाद्गुणानतो[9] धर्म्म इवापरो[भू]त् ।
श्रीभाकमिश्रः क्षितिपप्रणम्यः ग्रश्वत्कृतार्थीकृतमार्गणौघः ॥[10] –[2].
कुण्ठितधिषणो धिष[णो] . .[11]

[3] The mutilated state of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word *khârivâpa*, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean 'a field sown with a *khâri* of grain', or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of Kâritalâi.

[4] I am unable to explain fully all the particulars stated in the mutilated verses 38-42. Verse 40 again contains the word *deśi*, mentioned *ante*, p. 130, note 83.

[5] From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by the editor.

[6] Of this line only the lower part of about half the number of *aksharas*, which it contained, is preserved; but what remains is sufficient to show that this was not the first line of the inscription.

[7] The last *akshara* of the preceding line must have bee nभू. The poet is speaking of the Daitya Bali, with whom he evidently compares a king (probably the Chedi Lakshmaṇarâja), who must have been spoken of in the lost portion of the inscription.

[8] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[9] I should have expected to read here वंशे भरद्वाजमुनेरनूने गुणोन्नतो.

[10] Metre: Uprjâti.

[11] The *aksharas*, here broken away, probably were षौस्थः, *i.e.* धषौस्थः.

L. 4. सौम्यो वु(बु)धो न वु(बु)धः ।
अकविः कविरपि यस्मादतिशहोप्येवमयहस्थितं ॥[12] —[3].
यदनवधिवितानप्रज्वलज्जातवेदस्ततरखरतापोत्तप्तगात्री धरित्री ।
दिग्गिभभुज[ग]-
5. राजानन्तकूर्म्मैः समूहे कलितदवथुपीडानष्टधैर्यैः कथंचित् ॥[13] —[4].
यश्च ॥
अचीकरत्कुत्र[14] न देववेश्मान्यचीखनत्कुत्र न वा सरांसि ।
अविव्यधत्कुत्र[15] न कूपवा[पी]-
6. रङ्कूपत्रामवणानि कुत्र ॥[16] —[5].
अवाप्य यं श्रीयुवराजदेवो धराधरं प्राच्यमिवांशुमाली ।
प्रापोन्नतिं व्यस्तसमस्तदोषां मन्त्रिप्रधानं कुलगोत्रचारं ॥[17] —[6].
न संदिग्धे वे-
7. दे द्रवदवधिवो(बो)द्धा पदविधेरतर्क्यंस्तर्केष्वप्यनवममतिस्तन्त्रगतिषु ।
य आद्यो वेदान्ते स्मरणनिपुणः काव्यसरणेः[18] स तस्यासीत्सूनुः प्रथित इह सोमेश्वर इति ॥[19] —[7].
पुस्ते-
8. नपास्तमतिरप्रतिमश्चरित्रे तौर्य्यत्रिके किमपि यः कुशलो व(ब)भूव ।
हस्त्यश्वपालनपरीक्षणकर्म्मशास्त्रे रत्नत्रयेप्यनुपमो धुरि धीमतां च ॥[20] —[8].
एका कला मूर्ध्नि श[शा]-
9. ङ्कमौलेरिन्दोः कलाः पञ्चदश प्रसिद्धाः ।
श्रीभट्टसोमेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कल्याः[21] कलाङ्कार्त्तयितुं क्षती कः ॥[22] —[9].
मेरुः सञ्चितकाञ्चनैकनिचयः पुञ्जत्तुषारोत्करे-
कङ्कूतो[हर]जा-
10. द्य एव हिमवान्नौद्री गिरिः स्फाटिकः ।
अर्थिप्रत्तसमस्तहेमनिवहः प्रेक्षैकवो(बो)धावधिः
सौम्योसावुपमीयते कथमिव क्ष्माभृत्त्रयेणासुना ॥[23] —[10].
अपा[स्तकुं]कुमं ये-
11. न नवनीतमनीयत ।
वपुःप्रणयितां यस्य वह्निभिर्दुःकरं[24] हि किं ॥[25] —[11].
अपास्तकाञ्चिर्धृत[मुंज]रज्जुर्म्मलद्दुगूलो [छ?]त[दू?]रवासाः ।
अलौकि[कत्वेन][विशे]षचारुर्य[द्यो]-
12. षितां पर्व्वणि वेष एषः ॥[26] —[12].
अग्नीदग्नीन्विहर विधिवद्दृग्धि होमोपयुक्ता-
मध्वर्य्यो गां स्रुचमपि समं चालयाशु स्रुवेण ।
तस्मैर्व्वाभिर्भवतु सविधे गार्हपत्यस्य प-

[12] Metre: Udgîti.

[13] Metre: Mâlinî.

[14] Originally अचीकरकरत्कुत्र was engraved, but the first *aksharas* कर are struck out.

[15] Originally अविव्यिध°, but altered to अविव्यध°.

[16] Metre: Upendravajrâ.

[17] Metre: Upajâti.

[18] It is somewhat doubtful whether °सरणे: or °सरणि: was engraved.

[19] Metre: Śikhariṇî.

[20] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[21] Originally कल्य:, altered to कल्या:.

[22] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[23] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[24] Read वपुष्° and °र्दुष्करं.

[25] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh)

[26] Metre: Upajâti.

L. 13. क्वो-

त्येवं प्रोचुर्गृहशुकगणा यज्वनो यस्य सन्धौ ॥[27] —[13].

अन्तर्व्वंशिक वासमन्दिरमही गन्धोदकैः चाल्यतां

वारस्त्रीजन देहि भास्वरशिखा[ा]न्प्रदीपान्व(न्व)हन् ॥(।)

त्वं से-

14. रन्ध्रि निधेहि गन्धमखिलं राज्ञि त्वमप्यादृता

वेषे स्या इति शा(सा)रिकोदितमभूत्सायं [य]दन्तःपुरे[28] ॥[29] —[14].

विश्वेपि विश्वजित्कोटिमगमन्सप्ततन्तवः ।

[स*][र्व्वं]स्वं ददतस्तस्य श्रीमच्चेदीन्द्र[म]-

15. न्त्रिणः ॥[30] —[15].

[शस्तं] यद्यज्ञभूमौ रणशिरसि सदा शंसितं होतृसूतै-

र्गीतं षड्जादिभेदैरतिमधुरगिरोद्गातृभिर्गाथकैश्च ।

अध्वर्युः [क]र्म्मवर्य्यः प्रचरति च करी दानसंसि-

16. क्तहस्त-

स्तस्य श्रीभट्टसोमेश्वरगुणगणने के वयं तुच्छवाचः ॥[31] —[16].

यात[32] त्वमाधिरोहं [भ्र]श्यति दोला भृतिश्रमात्किञ्चित् ।

17. श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराज स्कन्धमदाद्यस्य दोलायां ॥[33] —[17].

प्रासादोयमकारि तेन कृतिना देवस्य दैत्यद्रुहः

श्रीमच्चेदिनरेन्द्रमन्त्रितिलकेनाच्छादिताशामुखः ।

यस्योच्चैः [पव]नाहतो ध्वजपटः प्रेङ्खन्वियद्गामिनां(नः)[34]

संज्ञां [व्या]-

18. घुटने करोत्यविरतं स्वाध्वनीतिध्रुवं ॥[35] —[18].

ऋजुरति व(ब)हिरन्तरादधानः कुटिलतरत्वमधःकृतान्यकीर्त्तिः । ।

[पि] ◡ ◡ इव समुन्नतो विभाति प्रकटविलङ्घितसर्व्वलोक एष[:॥*][36] —[19].

19. लक्ष्मीन्दधानोपि पु[रे] ददानो विमुक्तिमादर्शि(र्शि)तविश्वरूपः ॥

[क]च्चामगाह्विष्यत दानवारेरेषोप्ययां[द्य] ◡ ◡ [वा]मनत्वं ॥[37] —[20].

अलमलमुरुवंशप्रान्तसंसक्तशुक्लांशुकघटित[श]-

20. रीरेणोच्छ्रितेन ध्वजे[न] ।

[38]कनक[क]लशरोचिर्द्दण्डलम्बप्रवाहामरसरिदिह धत्ते केतुतामेव नित्यं ॥[39] —[21].

[उ]न्नतानां परिष्वङ्गो गुणाय महते यतः ।

अपि दुर्द्दर्शनो भानुर्भवत्त-

[27] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

[28] The *akshara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

[29] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[30] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[31] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[32] The exact meaning of this line I do not understand.

[33] Metre, Âryâ.

[34] This correction appears to have been made already in the original.

[35] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[36] Metre, Pushpitâgrâ.

[37] Metre, Upajâti.

[38] The *akshara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

[39] Metre, Mâlinî.

L. 21. त सुदर्श(र्श)नः ॥[40] —[22].

ध्वजपटविकटान्तभ्रान्तिसर्पत्समीरे मिलदमरसरित्केवश्यभश्योत्तमाङ्गे ।

तरणिरननुभूतं यामयुग्माभिगम्ये निजरथतुरगाणां वातपृष्ठन्द-[41]

22. [दा]ति ॥[42] —[23].

अस्यांतुङ्गो[त्त]माङ्गानवरतगमनोद्घृष्टिसीदद्रथाङ्गः

प्रातः प्रातर्दिनेशो घटयति युगलं चक्रयोर्व्वीतसंख्यं[43] ।

शङ्के कूटान्तरालस्थपुटनिपतनोत्था-

23. ◡ — — ◡ [द]ण्डः

सायं सायं जनानां[44] कलयति नितरामत्तवर्ग्गं समग्रं ॥[45] —[24].

नयति रथमसुच्चेद्दक्षिणेनोत्तरेण क्षरति हि दिवसानां कुञ्चनप्राञ्चनानि ।

त-

24. ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — [मि]रुयातेप्यभिज्ञो भुवमनभिविलंघ्य प्राप्य सोदत्यमन्दं ॥[46] —[25]

अलङ्घ्यशिखरश्रेणिलङ्घनव्यसनादिव ।

पातङ्गिरङ्घ्(ङ्घ्रि)व्यापत्तिरसपात्रमभू-

25. ◡ — [॥*][47] —[26].

— — — ◡ ◡ — [व]राहचरणक्षोदादुदञ्चत्किणं

पृष्ठं मे तव तत्त्व[णोद्]तविसप्राया शिरःसन्ततिः ।

मा गाङ्गमितोपसर्प्प निदधे तत्तावदेतद्भुवं

कूर्म्मस्यापि [व]-

26. — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ वाहे भवन् ॥[48] —[27].

किं व(ब)हुना ॥

मत्व[प्रामा]दराजोय नियतं प्रतिभाति नः ।

यदस्य केतुदण्डाग्रलग्नम्छला(त्वा)यते विधुः ॥[49] —[28].

स्थेयादाकल्पमेतत्सु-

27. ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — [रमुख्य]-

व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डाधारमूर्द्धा [दृढ]तरजगतीनिश्चलोभावशङ्को: ।

कल्पस्यावस्थिति स्तान्मुररिपुशरणं यावदेतच्चकास्तो-

त्येतच्चाशंसनं

28. — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — [क्र]रूपं ॥[50] —[29].

न्यवीविश[त्पुरे] चास्मिन्नष्टौ भट्टान्वसूनिव ।

दीर्घशाखिकनामानमेभ्यो ग्राममदान्नृपः ॥[51] —[30].

श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराजो ग्रामं देवा-

[40] Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

[41] Read °भतां and वातस्पृष्ट°.

[42] Metre, Mâlinî.

[43] This may have been altered to °सख्यं in the original.

[44] Possibly this has been altered to चतानां.

[45] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[46] Metre, Mâlinî.

[47] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[48] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[49] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[50] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[51] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

L. 29. . . . . . . [।ˣ]

. . . . दादस्मै ग्रहे भानोः ॥[52] —[31].

नृपानुमत्या भक्त्या च स्वीयया तस्य राह्डा ।

ग्रामं चक्रह्रदीमस्मै महादेवी व्यश्रिश्रणत् ॥[53] —[32].

श्रीशङ्क-

30. . . . . स्मै ।

देवाय दानशौण्डो ग्रहणे सोमस्य वैष्णव[?]परमः ॥[54] —[33].

धवलह्रदामंव(ब)डं प्रायच्छच्छल्लिपाटकं ग्रामं ।

भानोरन्तरपाटं ग्रहणे देवा-

31. . . . . [॥ˣ][55] —[34].

. . . . [ल्चेत्र]कं ददौ ।

तत्समीपे वराहाय क्षेत्रं द्वादशखण्डकं ॥[56] —[35].

मालाद्वादशके ग्रामं शासनं वटगर्त्तिकां ।

स्वकीये शासने श्रीमान्व[ल्ले]

32. . . . . [॥ˣ] —[36].

. . . . [यतेः] ।

श्रीसोमस्वामिदेवाय खारीवापमिहागतः ॥ —[37].

पुरपत्तनयोः स्थानः[57] शुल्कमिकादशीं ददौ ।

द्वादशीमपि यात्रायाः षो-

33. . . . . [॥ˣ] —[38].

. . . . का तथा ।

नित्यमेकां घटीं गोण्यां षोडशीद्वितयं तथा ॥ —[39].

कषायपञ्चके देशिहानमध्ये न्यवेदयत् ।

सार्द्धाविंशमंशं च वा(बा)ह्यं पाद-

34. . . . . [॥ˣ] —[40].

. . . . ।

[वागू]लिकप्रधानस्य पर्णपञ्चाशतं ददौ । (॥) —[41].

पर्णपञ्चाशदपरा दत्ता पायटिभिस्तथा ।

खलभिक्षाचतस्रस्य मण्डलं सकलं ददौ ॥ —[42].

[52] Metre, Âryâ.

[53] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[54] Metre, Udgîti.

[55] Metre, Âryâ.

[56] Metre, from here to the end, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[57] All this is quite clear in the rubbing.

XIII.—NAGPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE RULERS OF MALAVA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1161.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, which is on a slab of stone in the Nâgpur Museum, was first edited and translated into English, in 1843, by Bâl Gaṅgâdhar Śâstrî, from a copy sent to him by Dr. Stevenson, who had received it from Mr. L. R. Reid.[1] And a few years later it was re-edited, with a German translation, by Professor Lassen.[2] In addition to the previously published text Lassen was enabled to use a copy of the text sent to him by Sir W. Erskine, which was reported to have been taken from a copper-plate at Sattârâ.[3] On the value of the two published editions it is unnecessary to express an opinion, but I may say that Professor Lassen once or twice has unjustly censured the Hindu translator for having misunderstood the original, in passages where the English translation, if not altogether correct, shows its author to have had a fairly accurate idea of what the writer of the original meant to say. And I must add that, for the proper understanding of some really difficult verses, more help may be derived from the English than from the German translation. I now re-edit this inscription from excellent estampages, prepared and supplied to me some time ago by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

The main body of the inscription contains 40 lines of writing which cover a space of 4′ 5½″ broad by 2′ 8¼″ high; and beneath it, and separated from it by a narrow empty space, is an additional line about 4′ 11½″ long. No part of the writing is entirely lost, but the lower half of the stone has suffered greatly, apparently from exposure to the weather, and in consequence many single *aksharas* and whole groups of words are either badly damaged or only faintly visible. I nevertheless hope that, with the exception of about a dozen syllables (in lines 21, 33, and 37) which I have been unable to restore, and a few others which have been marked as doubtful, my transcript may be taken to be an accurate and trustworthy copy of the original text. The size of the letters in lines 1-40 is about ⅝″, in the separate line 41 about ⅞″. The characters are Nâgarî of the beginning of the 12th century A. D.; they include the sign of the *jihvâmûlîya*[4] in *vâshpâmbhalikaṇa*, in line 12. The language is Sanskṛit; and, excepting the introductory *om oṁ namo Bhâratyai* and the date *saṁ 1161* at the end of line 40, the inscription is throughout in verse. The whole has been written and engraved with such care and accuracy that the orthography is almost perfect and calls for very few remarks. Except in the word *nirbbhara*, in line 16,[5] the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Besides, attention need only be drawn to the wrong spellings °*shanna* for °*shaṇṇa*, in lines 6 and 10, *nistṛiṁśa* for *nistriṁśa*, in line 16, *chakshuḥkarṇṇam* for *chakshushkarṇṇam*, in

[1] See *Journal, Bombay Asiatic Society*, vol. I, p. 259.

[2] See *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. VII, p. 194.

[3] According to Lassen his copy was marked on the title page 'Sanscrit No. 57,' and he believed it to have belonged to a collection of transcripts of inscriptions at Bombay. Having studied Lassen's text as well as his notes, and compared his various readings with my estampages, I feel certain that, what Lassen was told about the origin of the copy sent to him, was incorrect, and that there never has existed such a copper-plate as is mentioned by him. In my opinion, what he received from Sir W. Erskine was simply another transcript of the stone inscription, made by a Paṇḍit and brought to Bombay. To prove this in detail would be a waste of time It will be sufficient to say that Lassen's copy furnishes no help wherever the stone is damaged, and that its readings in these places are just such as might be suggested by an intelligent Paṇḍit.

[4] This sign of the *jihvâmûlîya* is hardly to be distinguished here from the sign for *sh*:

[5] But not in line 41, where we read *nirbharau*.

line 24, *tajñair* for *tajjñair*, in line 35, and *vidhadhvaṁ* for *vidhaddhvaṁ*, in line 41. The language is correct.[6] It contains several uncommon words; but the only word which is used in a sense for which I can find no authority is *brahmâṇḍakhaṇḍa*, apparently denoting 'the vault of heaven' or 'the firmament,' in lines 5, 7, 11, and 13. As regards versification, the author has twice offended against an elementary rule of metrics, in line 3 of verse 28 and line 1 of verse 31. The style of the whole poem is highly bombastic and artificial, and the author has not without reason (in verse 57) exhorted his readers to exert themselves well and to make their intellect sharp as the point of *kuśa* grass.

The inscription is a *Praśasti* or laudatory account of the Paramâra rulers of Mâlava, from Vairisiṁha (II.) to Lakshmadeva, the son of Udayâditya and (probably elder) brother of Naravarmadeva; but, compared with its great length, the actual facts reported in it are few indeed. Beginning with seven benedictory verses, the poet (in verses 8-15) tells the well-known fable how on mount Arbuda (or Âbû) the sage Vasishṭha, when his wonderful cow Nandinî was being carried off by Viśvâmitra, produced from the sacred fire the hero Paramâra, who defeated Viśvâmitra and became afterwards the founder of the royal family here eulogized. The first king of this family, mentioned by the poet, is Vairisiṁha (vv. 16-19). He was succeeded by his son Sîyaka (vv. 20-22); and after him came his son Muñjarâja (vv. 23-25), Muñjarâja's younger brother Sindhurâja (vv. 26-28), and Sindhurâja's son Bhojadeva (vv. 29-31). The description of these five kings is purely conventional and for the historian worthless. In verse 32 the poet intimates that Bhojadeva's end was unfortunate; and he relates that, during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, Bhojadeva's relative Udayâditya became king, whose great achievement was that he freed the land from the dominion of (the Chedi) Karṇa who, joined by the Karṇâṭas,[7] had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean (vv. 32-34). Udayâditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, the glorification of whom takes up no less than twenty verses (vv. 35-54). According to the poet's account Lakshmadeva subjugated the earth in all directions; but the only tangible and probably true facts mentioned are an expedition undertaken against Tripurî (v. 39), the well-known capital of the Chedi kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turushkas or Muhammadan invaders alluded to in verse 54, which speaks of the king's encampment on the banks of the river Vaṅkshu, and contains a well-known play on the word kira.[8]

To the above laudatory account verses 55 and 56 add, that Lakshmadeva, at the time of a solar eclipse, had granted, it is not clear to whom, two villages in the Vyâpura *maṇḍala*, and that his brother, the king Naravarmadeva, afterwards assigned the village of Mokhalapâṭaka instead. Naravarmadeva, moreover, ordered (the architect) Lakshmîdhara to build the temple at which this inscription was put up, and which is said to have been adorned with many eulogies and hymns composed by (the king) himself. From this last remark I feel strongly inclined to believe that this *praśasti*, the author of which is not mentioned, was likewise composed by no less a personage than the king Naravarmadeva.

[6] The use of *udbhavat* in the first compound of verse 20, for *udbhava*, I ascribe to an error of the writer.

[7] As Karṇa is joined here with the Karṇâṭas, so the lord of Chedi apparently is joined with the Karṇâṭas in the Udaypur *Praśasti*, *ante*, vol I, p. 235, line 20.

[8] See, *e g.*, above, p. 15, verse 12.

This main part of the inscription closes with the date, the (Vikrama) year 1161 = A. D. 1104-5. The additional line 41 (vv. 57 and 58) appeals to the reader to study carefully and with impartiality and to appreciate properly the poem, here set before him.

The history of the earlier Paramâras of Mâlava, down to Udayâditya, has been fully treated of by Professor Bühler, *ante*, vol. I, pp. 223-233. The names of the later rulers of the same dynasty I have given from their copper-plate grants in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, pp. 346-347. All these later records make Naravarman the immediate successor of Udayâditya, and so does the inscription from Madhukargadh, the substance of which is given in *the Transactions Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. I, p. 226. But from the present inscription it is clear that Udayâditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, and he by his brother Naravarman; and the dates available show that Lakshmadeva's reign falls between the years A. D. 1080 and 1104.

TEXT.[9]

L. 1. ओं[10] [॥*] ओं नमो भारत्यै ॥

प्रसादौदार्यमाधुर्यसमाधिसमतादयः ।

युवयोर्ये गुणाः सन्ति वाग्देव्यौ तेपि सन्तु नः ॥[11]—[1].

एक एव भुवनत्रयेपि स श्रीपतिर्भवतु वो विभूतये ।

यस्य मध्यमपदस्थितोप्यमी भास्करप्रभृतयश्चकासति ॥[12]—[2].

जातिं वृत्तञ्च वि[भ्राणा][13] गु-

2. णालंकारचारवः ।

सरमाश्च प्रसीदन्तु सूक्तयः सूरयश्च नः ॥[14]—[3].

दुर्द्धरारिपुरभङ्गभीषणो भूरिभूतिसविशे[षभूषणः][15]।

[रा]जराजकृतसत्क्रियः क्रियादङ्घ्रिवंशसदृशः शिवः शिवं ॥[16]—[4].

जाता महार्णवोत्पन्ने ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डशुक्तिसंपुटे ।

महेश[स्याचिं]-

3. ता मुक्ता जयन्त्यम्भोजयोनयः ॥[17]—[5].

वैराग्यं च सरागतां च नृशिरोमालां च माल्यानि च

व्याघ्रानेकपचर्म्मणी च वसने चाहींश्च हारादि च ।

यद्भूतिं च विलेपनं च भजते भीमं च भव्यं च त-

द्विश्याद्रूपमुमारमारमणयोर्भुक्तिं च मुक्तिं च वः ॥[18]—[6].

वैश्वरूप्यं सम[भ्य]-

4. स्य मीनाद्याकृतिकैतवात् ।

स्वाभिन्ननिर्म्मिताशेषविश्वो विष्णुः पुनातु वः ॥[19]—[7].

[9] From impressions supplied to me by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

[10] Expressed by a symbol.

[11] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[12] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.

[13] Read बिभ्राणा. The *aksharas* in brackets are much damaged, but I believe the reading to be correct. There is no doubt about the words जातिं वृत्तञ्च.

[14] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[15] The *aksharas* in these brackets are almost entirely illegible.

[16] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.

[17] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[18] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[19] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

अस्ति ग्रस्तगिरीन्द्रगर्व्वगरिमा नीलाश्मसानूल्लस-
ल्कान्तिव्रातविडम्वि(म्बि)ताम्व(म्ब)रतल: श्रीमान्नगेन्द्रोर्व्वु(र्ब्बु)द: ।
यस्य व्योमतलोद्दिलङ्घिशिखरप्राग्भारपद्माकर-
प्रेङ्खत्पद्मपरागचक्रमि-
L. 5. तरव्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डखण्डायर्त ॥[20]—[8].
देवैराव्रुतमभ्रमण्डलमिदं मर्त्त्यैश्च भूमण्डलं
कृत्वा धर्म्मतुलायमानवपुषो यस्यान्तर्यान्त्यस्य च ।
जाने यावदवैतुमिच्छति विधि: किं गुडमित्येतयो-
रूर्द्ध्वं तावदगादमर्त्त्यशिखरिस्तम्भान्नभोमण्डलं ॥ —[9].
लेभे विभिद्य जलधिप्र-
6. धि भूमिचक्रमाकाशचक्रमपि येन दिगन्तनेमि ।
संसारवर्त्मनि महाविषमे निपन्न(ण्ण)भग्नोन्नतैकतटविश्वरथाचलश्मी: ॥[21]—[10].
तस्मिन्वेदविदां वर: स भगवानाकाशगङ्गापय:-
पूरप्लावितकान्तकोमलतटे तिष्ठद्वसिष्ठो मुनि: ।
यस्त्रेतानलधूमवर्त्तियमु-
7. नां प्रीत्यै पितुर्व्र(ब्र)ह्मणो
गङ्गासङ्गमसिद्धये समनयद्व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डखण्डं प्रति ॥[22]—[11].
विद्यामहासरिदुपान्तविवर्त्तिघोरसंसारसैकतविपक्षममक्रमिते ।
यस्य त्रिलोकरथमुत्पथसंप्रवृत्तमुत्तारयन्ति शतशोप्युपदेशधुर्या: ॥[23]—[12].
आयातस्य कदाचन क्षितिपतेराच्छिन्दत: कौशिक-
ख्याति-
8 थ्योचितवस्तुजातजननादानन्दिनीं नन्दिनीं ।
निर्ज्जता कुपितेन तेन हविषा संहर्षिताद्द(द्व)र्हिषो
वीर: श्रीपरमार इत्यनुपम: सत्याभिधानोभवत् ॥[24]—[13].
राज्यवर्द्धनविशालधर्म्मभृत्सत्यकेतुपृथुकीर्त्तिपार्थिव: ।
वर्द्धतेयमहिमांशुचन्द्रम:संततिप्रतिकृतिर्यदन्वय-
9. : ॥[25]—[14].
वराजरामराजितोनलोद्भव: सभारत: ।
ग्रहेन्द्रचन्द्रयोरिव व्यजायतायमन्वय: ॥ ❁ ॥[26]—[15].
वंशेस्मिन्वैरिसिंह: क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूरिभूतिप्रभाव-
प्रागल्भ्यौदार्यशौर्यप्रचयपरिचयप्राज्यसौराज्यसिद्धि: ।
नम्रक्ष्मापालभालस्थलदलितलुलत्कान्तको-
10. टीरकोटि-
वुप्यन्माणिक्यचक्रस्थपुटितमणिमत्पादपीठोपकण्ठ: ॥[27]—[16].
सर्व्वाशाविजयप्रयाणसमये यस्येन्द्रनीलप्रभै-

[20] Metre of verses 8 and 9, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[21] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[22] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[23] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[24] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[25] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.
[26] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[27] Metre, Sragdharâ.

न्मायूरातपवारणैः शुशुभिरे नष्टावकाशा दिशः ।
सर्प्पन्मत्तकरीन्द्रचक्रचरणप्राग्भारदीर्ण्णस्थिरा-
रन्ध्रोद्भूतविषन्न(गण)शेषसविष-
L. 11. श्वासावरुद्धा इव ॥[28]—[17].
पाताले वडवामुखानलमिषात्पृथ्वीतले च स्फुर-
त्सौवर्ण्णाचलकैतवाद्वियति च व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डखण्डच्छलात् ।
[च]श्चत्काञ्चनचक्रवालवलयव्याजाच्च दिङ्मण्डले
यस्याद्यापि समुल्लसत्यविदलीभूतः प्रतापानलः ॥ —[18].
स्वर्लोकेषु च विद्विषत्क्षितिषु च व्यालेन्द्रगेहेषु च
12. स्वाराजं च रिपुव्रजं च मुरजिन्नागाधिराजं च यः ।
ऐश्वर्येण च विक्रमेण च धराभारक्षमत्वेन च
न्यक्कुर्व्वंश्च पराभवंश्च समतिक्रामंश्च पृथ्वीमपात् ॥ ❀ —[19].
तस्माद्वैरिनृपावरोधनवधूवैधव्यदुःखोद्भव-
द्वा(वा)ष्पाम्भ:कणशान्तकोपदहनः श्रीसीयकोभून्नृपः ।
13. आविर्भावितनूतनस्थितिरयं व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डखण्डच्छला-
द्यस्याद्यापि विलोक्यते विय[द्]धोधूमः[29] प्रतापानलः ॥ —[20].
अनुगगनमुदस्थुः स्थूलमुक्तोच्चया ये यदसिदलितकुप्यत्कुम्भिकुम्भस्थलेभ्यः ।
सततमपि पतन्तस्तेद्य यावन्न पृथ्वीं पृथुलतरलताराव्या-
14. जभाजो भजन्ते ॥[30] —[21].
अत्याश्चर्यमदृष्टमश्रुतमिदं कस्मै समाचक्ष्महे
को न्वेतत्प्रतिपद्यते च तदपि प्रस्तूयते कौतुकात् ।
उद्धृत्यापि वसुंधरामसदृशीं लब्धा(ब्ध्वा)पि लक्ष्मीं च यः
कुर्व्वन्कार्यमनेकशः सुमनसामागान्न वैकुण्ठता ॥ ❀ ॥[31] —[22].
तस्माद्वै-
15. रिवरूथिनीव(ब)हुविधप्रारब्ध(ब्ध)[यु]द्धाध्वर-
प्रध्वंसैकपिनाकपाणिरजनि श्रीमुञ्जराजो नृपः ।
प्रायः प्रावृतवान्पिपालयिषया यस्य प्रतापानलो
लोकालोकमहामहीध्रवलयव्याजान्महीमण्डलं ॥ —[23].
यस्मिन्सर्प्पति लीलयापि ललितैः सैन्यैः समुज्जृ-
16. म्भितं
वाहव्यूहविसारिधूलिपटलव्यालुप्तदिङ्मण्डलैः ।
अत्यद्रो[न्द्र]करीन्द्र[मच्च]यपदप्रेङ्खोलनोच्छृङ्खल-
प्रेङ्खच्छृङ्खलनादनिर्भरभृतव्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डभाण्डोदरैः ॥ —[24].
यन्निस्तृं(स्त्रिं)शनिरस्तमस्तकतया लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा)न्यथा दुर्लभं
देवत्वं स्वकव(ब)न्धमु[द्]तमधो दृष्ट्वा भटै-

[28] Metre of verses 17-20, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[29] Originally वियदधो° was engraved, but it has been altered to वियदधो°.

[30] Metre, Mâlinî.

[31] Metre of verses 22-26, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

L 17. र्व्वेष्टितं ।

संहर्षात्पततो विमानशिखरादाश्लिष्य कण्ठे हठा-

द्वीरा[ग्रङ्ग]ररागिणो रुधिरे संभूय सिद्धाङ्गना: ॥ ❀ ॥ —[25].

तस्यासीदथ पार्थिव: पृथुयशा: श्रीसिन्धुराजोनुज:

स्फूर्ज्जद्वाडवपावकस्फुट[म]ह:[सौन्द]र्य्यशौर्यानल: ।

य: संग्रामयु-

18. गान्तवल्गितभुजादुर्व्वातदूरोल्लस-

त्कल्लोलायितमण्डलाग्रप[ट]लेनामज्जयद्भूभृत: ॥ —[26].

व्रजति जयिनि यत्रामित्रजातेन जज्ञे तरलतुरगवेगोद्भूतभूरेणुराजि: ।

विकटकरटिभारभ्रष्टभूपृष्ठरन्ध्रादुदित इव समन्तादन्तकालाग्निधूम: ॥[32]—[27].

गाम्भीर्यं प्रल-

19. यार्ण्णवस्य च व(ब)लं कल्पान्तवातस्य च

स्थेमानं कमठेशितुश्च [गुरु]तां [व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्ड]भाण्डस्य च ।

तेज: कालहुताशनस्य च महीयस्त्वं द्युचक्रस्य च

स्वीकृत्येव विनिर्म्मितं यमविदु: प्रत्याजि पृथ्वीभुज: ॥ ❀ ॥[33]—[28].

तत्सूनुर्भुवनैकभूषणमभूद्भूपालचूडामणि-

20. च्छायाडम्व(म्ब)रचुम्वि(म्बि)तांह्रिकमल: श्रीभोजदेवो नृप: ।

यस्याद्या[पि] स[माश्र]यन्ति चरणौ शक्रासना[ध्या]सिन:[34]

स्सर्व्वाव(ब)न्धविनम्रनिर्ज्जरनटत्कोटीरकोटित्विष: ॥ —[29].

रटत्पटहपाटवप्रकटझञ्झरस्फूर्ज्जितस्फुरड्डमरुडम्व(म्ब)रोड्डमरडिण्डिमोड्डामरा ।

स्फु-

21. टत्करटकुञ्जरप्रपदसंपतत्संभ्रमभ्रमद्भवन[म]भ्रमज्जग[ति] यच्चमू[रुच्च]कै: ॥[35]—[30].

वकुण्ठ: कमलासनाय चतुरास्याय स्वयंभू: पुन:

पञ्चास्याय हराय शम्भुरपि षड्वक्त्राय पुत्राय च ।

सनानीरपि दन्दशूकपतयेजस्रं सहस्राननना-

याद्यापि स्पृहय-

22. त्यमर्त्त्यसमितौ य[त्कीर्त्ति]मुत्कीर्त्तयन् ॥ ❀ ॥[36]—[31].

तस्मिन्वासवव(ब)न्धुतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुले

मग्नस्वामिनि तस्य व(ब)न्धुरुदयादित्योभवद्भूपति: ।

येनोद्धृत्य महार्ण्णवोपममिलत्कर्ण्णाटकर्ण्णप्र[भु]-

मुर्व्वीपालकदर्थितां भुवमिमां श्रीमद्वराहायितं ॥ —[32].

य-

23. स्यादुग्रतरप्रताप[पवनो]पारूढदुर्द्दर्शता-

सादृश्योत्थरविभ्रमादभिमुखै: प्रापश्चि यै: पश्चता ।

[32] Metre, Mâlinî.

[33] Metre of verses 28 and 29, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The third line of verse 28 has no cesure after the 12th syllable.

[34] The *akshara* in bracketed looks as if originally र्था had been engraved.

[35] Metre, Pṛithvî.

[36] Metre of verses 31-37, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Here, again, the first line of verse 31 has no cesure after the 12th syllable.

मन्ये सोयमिति प्रतीतिविततामर्षप्रकर्षेण ते
भि[त्त्वा] भास्करमण्डलं रिपुभटाः प्रापुः परां निर्वृतिं ॥ —[33].
एकस्यां समितौ विलोक्य विजयं य-
L. 24. स्यापरस्यां स्तुव-
[न्स्वो?] — — [वक्त्र?]तां समर्थयति दृग्जिह्वासहस्रद्वये ।
किंत्वानन्दनिमीलितेक्षणतया श्रोतैः सुखैर्व्वञ्चित-
[37]श्चक्षुःकर्ण्णमकर्ण्णमप्यहिपतिः स्वीयं वपुर्न्निन्दति ॥ ❁ ॥ —[34].
पुत्रस्तस्य जगत्त्रयैकतरणेः सम्यक्प्रजापालन-
व्यापारप्र-
25. वणः प्रजापतिरिव श्रीलक्ष्मदेवोभवत् ।
नीत्या येन मनुस्तथानुविदधे नासौ न वैवस्वतः
सर्व्वत्रापि सदाप्यवर्द्धत यथा कीर्त्तिर्न्नवैव स्वतः ॥ —[35].
संभूय म्रियतां गुरुर्व्व(र्ब्ब)लभराङ्गः कूर्म्मराजादयः
सद्यो नश्यत [वा द्रु]तं नमत वा प्रत्य-
26. र्थिपृथ्वीभुजः ।
चक्षुर्म्मत्तु पिधीयतामनिमिषाः पांसुः पुरा पूरय-
त्येवं व्याहरति प्रयाणपटहो यस्य स्वनच्छद्मना ॥ —[36].
यस्मिन्सर्प्प[ति] वा(बा)न्धवोपि विधुरैः पूर्व्वैः परित्यज्यते
कल्याणस्य कथापि कातरतया नापेक्ष्यते दक्षिणैः ।
आशावल्लिरस-
27. त्फलेति विकलैर्न्निश्चीयते पश्चिमै-
र्भर्त्तुं केवलमुत्तमैर्न्नृपतिभिर्द्देधाप्ययोध्यास्यते ॥ —[37].
प्रयाति यस्मिन्प्रथमं दिशं हरेर्जिहीर्षयानन्यसमानदन्तिनां ।
यथाविशद्गौडपतेः पुरं दर[स्तथा]शशङ्के सहसा पुरंदरः ॥[38]—[38].
उत्साहोन्नतिसन्निमित्तजनि-
28. ताजस्रप्रयाणक्रमे-
णाक्रम्य त्रिपुरीं रणैकरसिकान्वि[ध्वं]स्य विद्वेषिणः ।
येनावास्यत विन्ध्यनिर्झरमरुत्संचारचारुल्लस-
त्कोलोद्यानलतावितानवसतौ रेवोपकण्ठ[स्थ]ले ॥[39]—[39].
जातानि जन्यश्रममार्ज्जनानि वीजानि यत्कुञ्जरमञ्जनानि ।
तटाचलो-
29. च्चाटनतत्परायाः रेवाप्रवाहोर्म्मिपरंपरायाः ॥[40]—[40].
ये व्यालोलकरालनिर्झरकराः कुम्भायमानोन्नम-
त्कूटान्ताः कटकान्तभागविगलद्दानायमानाम्भसः ।
प्रायस्तेपि विरोधिसिन्धुरधिया यद्वाहिनीवारणै-
रुन्मीलन्मदमेदुरैर्व्वि(र्ब्बि)भिदिरे विन्ध्यस्य

[37] Read चक्षुष्क°.
[38] Metre, Upendravajrá
[39] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[40] Metre, Upajâti.

L. 30. पादाचला: ।(॥)[41]—[41].

स्फार[त्वक्षा]रवारस्खगितगुरुतटीकूटकुट्टाकटङ्क-

प्रायप्रेङ्खत्खुराग्रत्वरित[ह]रिचमूचक्रच[ङ्कु]म्यमाणा: ।

येनालङ्घ्यन्त सेनाकरिकरटतटोद्दामदानाम्बु(म्बु)गन्ध-

व्याविद्धागण्यवन्यद्विपकुलपटलध्यामला विन्ध्यपादा: ॥[42]—[42].

ये दिक्सिन्धुरव(ब)-

31. न्धव: चयमकल्लोलादिस[त्ता]भृत:

क्रीडाक्रोडकुटुम्ब(म्ब)का[न्ति]जलमुक्तव्र(ब्र)ह्मचर्याजुष: ।

यत्सेनान्तपगन्धसिन्धुरमरुन्मैत्रीविहस्तीकृतै-

स्तैरप्यङ्गकलिङ्गकुञ्जरकुलैर्युद्धा[य] व(ब)द्धोञ्जलि: ॥[43]—[43].

देवासौ पुरुषोत्तम: स भगवानाश्रिश्रिये य: श्रिया

32. येनेदं व(ब)लिवैरिव(ब)न्धविधिना विश्वं समाश्वासितं ।

येनाधारि वसुन्धरेति दधत: सानन्दमन्दाचलतां

यस्य प्राच्यपयोनिधौ वु(बु)धजनैर्व्याजस्तुति: प्रस्तुता ॥ —[44].

ये कल्पानलधूममण्डलनिभा: कादम्बि(म्बि)नीविद्विष:

संवर्त्तोल्लसितान्धकारसुहृदस्तुव्य-

33. द्वियद्वा(बा)न्धवा: ।

[व] — — ◡ ◡ [श्चान्दव]श्रमनुदे पा[थो]वगाहोद्यतै-

र्यत्सामन्तमतङ्गजैरधरितास्तेप्यम्बु(म्बु)धेरूर्मय: ॥ —[45].

कुम्भसंभवसोदर्यं यत्रापाचीमुपा[र्च्छ]ति ।

चोलाद्यैर्मी[च]के[भूत्वा] विन्ध्यवा(बा)न्धवतादधे ॥[44]—[46].

ली[ला]ब्ध:प्लवने यदीयपृतनासामन्त-

34. सीमन्तिनी-

श्रोणि[श्रे]णि[विशी]र्यमाण[श]नासुक्ता: पतन्ति स्म या: ।

ताभि: संप्रति पप्रथेनु पृथिवीं यत्ताम्रपर्णीपय:

पश्चाद्यापि तदेव पाण्डानृपते[र्क्की]वातवे [आ]य[ते] ॥[45]—[47].

स्वामित्वेप स सेतुरत्रभवतो रामस्य यो मारुति-

प्रायोपाहृत-

35. शैलशृङ्गरचितो वर्दि[णुविन्ध्या]यते ।

इत्या[दृ]त्य कुतूहलेन कथितं तस्ने(स्मै)रवद्याय य:

सेनाहास्तिकसेतुनैव विदधे द्वीपान्तरोपक्रमं ॥ —[48].

अथावभञ्ज्योभयथा यमाशां यस्या[नघे] सर्प्पति सैन्यसङ्घे ।

अभूत्स्वकीयां ककुभं व्यपायाद्गो-

36. पायितुं पाशभृदप्यपाश: ॥[46]—[49]

मैनाकप्रमुखा वसन्ति कुहचित्कालाम्बिरास्ते क्वचि-

त्सन्ति क्वापि तिमिंगिलप्रभृतय: कुत्रापि शेते हरि: ।

[41] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[42] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[43] Metre of verses 43-45, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[44] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[45] Metre of verses 47 and 48, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[46] Metre, Upajâti.

एतद्वेत्ति न कोपि यत्र जलधौ [त]स्याप्य[शेषं] पय[:]
[पीत्वा] यत्करिभि: कृतैकचुलुकैस्तैस्तै-
L. 37. रगस्त्यायितं ॥[47]—[50].
यै: संभूय तिमिङ्गिलप्रभृतिभि: संसर्प्पिणस्त[न्व]ते
पोताधानसव(ब)न्धुतां शिखरिणो मैनाकमुख्या अपि ।
भ्राम्यन्मन्दरडम्व(म्ब)राणि दधिरे[48] तैरप्यशेषेम्वु(म्बु)धौ
यत्सेनागजराज[पीव]रकरा — — ◡ नोच्छृङ्खलै: ॥ —[51].
अथातितित्वोरिव राज-
38. राजमन्यं तदाशां प्रति यस्य यातु: ।
द्विधापि भीत्युज्झितवित्तपाशैर्भूपै: प्रतीपैर्व्विभयैर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूवे ॥[49]—[52].
आरामा: समरा मरावपि तदा पुन्नागपूगादिम-
द्रुल्मान्तर्व्वनदेवतायितजयश्रीमद्यश:पादपा: ।
यस्यासन्भुजदण्डच[ण्डि]मलसल्लोलासिलत्वीकृत-
क्षोणीपालक-
39. पालमण्डलगलत्कीलालकुल्याकुला: ॥[50]—[53].
खेलोत्खाततुरुष्कदत्तविलसद्दाहावलोवेल्लन-
क्राम्यत्कुङ्कुमकेसराधिकमृदौ वंक्षूपकण्ठस्थले ।
येनावास्य सरस्वतीसविधतासाधिक्यवाक्पाटव-
स्वाटूनुत्कट[प]त्रिपञ्जरगत: कीराधिपोध्याप्यत ॥ —[54].
तेन व्यापुरमण्डले सुकृति-
40. ना यस्मै ग्रहेन्द्रग्रहे
यद्ग्रामद्वयमग्रियेण विधिना विश्राणितं श्रद्धया ।
तद्दाता नरवर्म्मदेवनृपति: पश्चात्परीवर्त्य त-
द्ग्रामं मोखलपाटकाख्यमदिशद्देशत्रयस्येच्छया ॥ ❁ ॥ [51]—[55].
तेन स्वयंकृतानेकप्रशस्तिस्तुतिचित्रितं ।
श्रीमल्लक्ष्मीधरेणैतद्देवागारमकार्यंत ॥[52]—[56].
सं ११६१ ॥
41. ओं
हंहो वु(बु)धा: साधु समुत्सहध्वं कुशाग्रकल्पां च धियं विधध्वं[53] ।
मध्यस्थभावं च समाश्रयध्वं सुखं च न: सूक्तिसुधामुपाध्वं ॥[54]—[57].
वन्दनीयावुभौ सूक्तिश्रोतारौ तौ विपश्चितौ ।
यावत्तु सुश्वत: सान्द्रमानन्दालस्यनिर्भ्भ(र्भ)रौ ॥ ❁ ॥ [55]—[58].

[47] Metre of verses 50 and 51, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[48] Originally धिधिरे seems to have been engraved.
[49] Metre, Upajâti.
[50] Metre of verses 53-55, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[51] Originally °द्देशत्रय° was engraved.
[52] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[53] Read विधत्त.
[54] Metre, Upajâti.
[55] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

TRANSLATION.

Oṁ!

Oṁ! Adoration to Bhâratî![56]

(*Verse* 1). O goddess of speech and divine Durgâ! Let simplicity,[57] force, sweetness, depth, harmony, and whatever other qualities you possess, let them all be shared by us!

(2). May Lakshmî's husband, that sole lord of fortune in all the three worlds, grant you prosperity,—he from whose middle stride even[58] the sun and the other luminaries yonder shine forth!

(3). May good utterances, clad in *játi* and *vṛitta* metres,[59] pleasing by their style and by figures of speech, and expressive of poetical sentiment, be gracious to us! And may sages be so, men of taste, of noble birth and good conduct, who charm with the qualities that adorn them!

(4). May Śiva grant whatever is auspicious,—he who, terrific when he destroys the irresistible foe Pura, singularly embellished with copious ashes, and revered by the lord[60] of the Yakshas, resembles this fire-born race,[61] which is terrible when it breaks the strongholds of irresistible foes, is exquisitely adorned with abundant good fortune, and paid homage to by the kings of kings!

(5). Glory be to the lotus-born Brahman who, engendered in the mundane egg which was produced in the great ocean, and, when set free, an object of reverence for Śiva, is like the pearls which grow in the oyster-shells of the sea, and are prized by great lords!

(6). May that form[62] of the husbands of Umâ and Lakshmî grant you both enjoyment and salvation, which, both passionless and passionate, wearing both a wreath of human skulls and flower-garlands, clad both in tiger and elephant skins and in costly garments, adorned both with serpents and with pearl-strings and other ornaments, and both smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes, is fearful as well as auspicious!

(7). May Vishṇu purify you, who, in the guise of a fish and other creatures having assumed one after another all forms, made the whole universe not differing from himself!

(8). Well-known is the glorious mount Arbuda, which utterly humbles the pride of the noblest of mountains, and rivals the firmament with the rich splendour radiating from its sapphire crest. The circle of the pollen of the lotuses that swing to and fro in the pools on its broad sky-piercing top looks as if it were indeed another vault of heaven.

(9). I fancy, it was when the creator, wishing to know whether the gods or the mortals were purer, attached the round of heaven, filled with the former, and this orb of

[56] *I.e.*, the goddess of speech or eloquence.

[57] For the exact definitions of *prasâda*, *audârya*, *mâdhurya*, *samâdhi* and *samatâ*, denoting certain qualities of style, see, *e.g.*, *Kâvyâdarśa* I, 45, 76, 51, 93, and 47. But these terms should be understood here, not only in their technical, but also in their ordinary senses, 'serenity of disposition,' etc.

[58] The *madhyamaṁ Vaishṇavaṁ padam*, 'Vishṇu's middle stride,' is the air. The idea which the poet intends to convey apparently is, that, if Vishṇu's *madhyama-pada* already is so high, his *uttama-pada* must be infinitely higher still.

[59] See *Indische Studien*, vol. VIII, pp. 180 and 192.

[60] *I.e.*, the god Kuvera.

[61] *I.e.*, the Paramâra family which will be eulogised in the following.

[62] *I.e.*, the form of Hari-Hara or Vishṇu-Śiva; see *ante*, vol. I, p. 311, note 47.

the earth, filled with the latter, to the two extremities of this mountain, using it as a balance of virtue, that the round of heaven rose higher even than the top of mount Meru![63]

(V. 10). Piercing with one end the ocean-surrounded orb of the earth, and with the other the horizon-encircled round of the sky, this mountain has assumed the glorious appearance of an axle of the chariot of the universe, one side of which lies down, broken on the rugged road of this world, while the other is lifted upwards.

(11). On this mountain, whose slopes, bathed by the streams of water of the heavenly Ganges, are pleasant and soft, dwelt that chief of those versed in the Vedas, the venerable sage Vasishṭha, who, to delight his father Brahman, led the Yamunâ, enveloped in the smoke of the three sacred fires, up to the vault of heaven, to effect her junction with the Ganges.

(12). His hundreds of precepts, like horses, extricate the chariot of the three worlds, so that it may proceed without hindrance, when, turned into a wrong road, it has stuck fast in the terrible quicksand of worldly affairs, bordering on the great stream of knowledge.

(13). Once upon a time, when the royal descendant[64] of Kuśika visited him and took by force the cow Nandinî, which caused delight by yielding all things suitable for hospitable entertainment, Vasishṭha, enraged, pleased the fire by an oblation, and from that fire sprang, to conquer Viśvâmitra, the unparalelled hero, the illustrious Paramâra, rightly so named.[65]

(14). Ever prosperous is his family here, which, made up of rulers illustrious for having increased the realm, who were supporters of the law, whose banner was truth and whose fame is widely spread, is an image of the solar and lunar lines, in which there were the princes Râjyavardhana, Viśâla, Dharmabhṛit, Satyaketu, and Pṛithukîrti.

(15). This family, unsurpassed by the blessed never-aging immortals, sprung from fire, and taking delight in the assemblies of the learned, has been propagated like those of the Sun and the Moon, which are adorned by the eminent Aja and Râma, gave birth to Nala, and include the descendants of Bharata.

(16). In this race there was the king Vairisiṁha, whose rule was supremely prosperous, because he was abundantly endowed with good fortune, might, resoluteness, generosity and bravery; while the ground around his jewel-inlaid foot-stool was made uneven by the mass of rubies, broken from the edges of the tremulous handsome diadems which fell from the foreheads of kings who bowed down before him.

(17). When he set out to conquer all the quarters, the regions of space, withdrawn from view, were beautified by his umbrellas of peacocks' feathers, shining like sapphires, so that they seemed enveloped in the poisonous breath of the distressed serpent Śesha, rising up through the fissures of the earth, rent as it was by the massive feet of the arrays of his marching rutty elephants.

(18). Not to be interfered with, the fire of his prowess shines forth even now, in the lower regions under the guise of the fire proceeding from the mare's mouth, on the earth under that of the glittering golden mountain, in the sky as the starry firmament, and near the confines of space as a range of mountains of quivering gold.

[63] Literally, 'higher than the pillar-like mountain of the immortals.' What the poet wishes to convey is, the mount Arbuda is higher even than the fabulous mountain Meru.

[64] *I.e.*, Viśvâmitra.

[65] *Viz.*, 'the slayer of enemies.' See *ante*, vol. I, p. 236, verse 6.

(V. 19). He ruled the earth, humbling Indra in heaven by his majesty, defeating host of enemies in hostile lands by his valour, and surpassing Vishṇu's lord of serpents in his serpent-home by his ability to uphold the earth.

(20). From him sprang the illustrious king Sîyaka, the fire of whose wrath was extinguished by the tears, caused by the pangs of widowhood, of the royal ladies of hostile princes; while the fire of his prowess even now is perceived here, in the guise of the starry firmament, presenting a novel appearance inasmuch as the smoke, in the guise of the atmosphere, is beneath it.

(21). The clusters of big pearls, which flew up into the air from the frontal globes of furious elephants cleft by his sword, though constantly falling down, have, disguised as they are as large sparkling stars, not even now reached the earth.

(22). To whom shall we tell this great unseen and unheard-of wonder? Or who will understand it? Yet for curiosity's sake we report it: Although he delivered the earth, although he wedded the unique goddess of fortune, although again and again he did the work of the gods, he never was Vaikuṇṭha.[66]

(23). From him was born the illustrious king Muñjarâja, who alone, with the bow in his hand, put an end to many a fight commenced by hostile armies, as Śiva did to (Daksha's) sacrifice;[67] and the fire of whose prowess, to protect the orb of the earth, used to envelop it under the guise of the belt of the lofty Lokâloka mountains.

(24). Even when he was marching for mere pleasure, his frolicsome soldiers turned out in such numbers that the horizon was obscured by the clouds of dust, raised by the squadrons of his cavalry, and that the cavity of the universe was completely filled with the excessive noise of the trembling chains, swung to and fro by the feet of the arrays of his huge elephants, taller than the hugest mountains.

(25). When, having their heads struck off by his sword, heroes had obtained the rare fortune of being transformed into divine beings, and when, proudly viewing their bodies below surrounded by champions, eager for the fray, they were throwing themselves from the aerial cars, they were joyfully embraced and forcibly held back by the Siddha women, clustering round them.

(26). After him his younger brother, the far-famed illustrious Sindhurâja, became king, the fire of whose bravery bore the brilliant beautiful lustre of the roaring submarine fire. As the mass of waves, raised by the fierce blast which springs up at the destruction of the world, submerges the mountains, so the broad scimitar, brandished by his arm, when it was lifted in war, dealt out destruction to princes.

(27). When this prince marched forth victoriously, the cloud of dust raised by the onset of his fleet horses appeared to the host of his enemies like the smoke of the all-devouring fire rising all round from the fissures of the surface of the earth, broken by the weight of his formidable elephants.

(28). In every battle princes found out that the creator had as it were combined in him the depth of the ocean and the might of the wind, as they are at the destruction of the world, the firmness of the lord of tortoises, the weight of the whole universe, the splendour of the all-destroying fire, and the magnitude of the celestial vault.

[66] Vaikuṇṭha, *i.e.*, Vishṇu, uplifted the earth, obtained Lakshmî, and did the work of the gods; the king freed the earth from troubles, secured fortune, acted for the benefit of well-minded people, and never indeed showed dullness or indolence (*âgân na vai kuṇṭhatâm*).

[67] See the first verse of the first act of Kâlidâsa's *Śâkuntala*, and Sir M. Monier-Williams' note on it.

(V. 29). His son was the unique ornament of the world, the illustrious king **Bhojadeva**, whose lotus-feet were richly adorned with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings, and on whose feet rests even now, while he is occupying Indra's throne, the vivid splendour of the edges of the diadems of the immortals, bowed down with envy.

(30). His army, distinguished by the sharp sound of roaring kettle-drums, by the thunder of loud *jharjharas*,[68] by a multitude of shrill *ḍamarus*, and by tabors heard above the tumult, roamed, filling the world with its noise, over the whole earth, thrown into confusion under the footsteps of his rutty elephants.

(31). Even now, when they recite his fame in the assembly of the gods, Vaikuṇṭha is ever jealous of the four-mouthed Brahman, Svayambhû again of the five-mouthed Hara, Śambhu too of his six-mouthed son Kârttikeya, and this leader of the divine hosts of the lord of serpents with his thousand mouths.

(32). When he had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods[69] in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation **Udayâditya** became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by **Karṇa**, who, joined by the **Karṇâṭas**, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar.[70]

(33). The hostile champions who met their death facing this king, similar to the sun and confounded with it because the terrible fire of his valour made him difficult to look at, I fancy that they became supremely happy, when, their fury heightened by the belief that the luminary was their opponent, they split the orb of the sun.[71]

(34). The lord of serpents, having in battle witnessed his victory and eulogizing it in an assembly, ... shows that his thousands of eyes and tongues indeed serve a purpose; but, cheated of the pleasure of listening when he has closed his eyes with delight, he scorns his body because, bereft of ears, it must use the eyes in their stead.

(35). A son of that sun of the three worlds was the illustrious **Lakshmadeva**, resembling the lord of creatures in his eagerness properly to rule his subjects; who verily in his conduct so allowed himself to be guided by that son of Vivasvat, Manu, that everywhere and at all times new fame grew up for him of its own accord.

(36). This is what his marching-drum proclaims, under the pretence of resounding: 'Join together, you king of tortoises and ye others, in upholding the earth, heavy with the load of this army! Either perish at once or bow down speedily, ye opposing princes! Quickly shut your eyes, O gods, before the dust fills them!'

(37). When he marches, the princes of the east, bewildered, forsake even their relatives; those of the south in their perplexity take no note even of good news; the princes of the west find out to their sorrow that the creeping-plant of hope bears no good fruit to them; while those of the north throw themselves on their swords, and thus court death as the best and only fate left to them.[72]

(38). When, desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he first proceeded to Hari's

[68] *Jharjhara* and *ḍamaru* are names of certain kinds of drums.

[69] *Kulyâkula* would also mean 'crowded with nobles.'

[70] *I.e.*, Vishṇu in his boar-incarnation, in which he raised the earth from the bottom of the sea with his tusks.

[71] See the *Parâśara-smṛiti*, Calcutta ed., p. 626: *Dvâv imau purushau loke sûrya-maṇḍala-bhedinau, parivrâḍ yogayuktaś cha rane châbhimukho hataḥ.*

[72] I take the words *dvedhâpy ayodhyâsyate* to mean, that the princes of the north did what is expressed by *ayodhyâsyate*, in the two senses which these words are capable of conveying. *Ayo, i.e. ayaḥ*, may be taken as the nominative of either the neuter *ayas*, 'iron, steel,' or the masculine *aya*, 'favourable fortune.' Compare below, verses 49 and 52.

quarter,[73] then, just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa, so Purandara even was of a sudden filled with apprehension.

(V. 39). When in the course of an unchecked expedition, undertaken in the height of power and under favourable auspices, he had attacked Tripurî and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries, he encamped on the banks of the Revâ, where his tents were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains.

(40). The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Revà a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river-banks.

(41). Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, taking them for the elephants of the enemy because their tremulous broad torrents appeared like trunks, their projecting peaks like frontal globes, and the water flowing from their ridges like rutting-juice.

(42). He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land, and which were black with herds of countless wild elephants, excited by the odour of the rutting-juice which thickly covered the broad cheeks of the elephants of his army.

(43). Even the troops of elephants of Aṅga and Kaliṅga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain-clouds, dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime,—even they had to sue for mercy, when they were bewildered[74] by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of his army.

(44). Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully: 'O lord, it was the holy Purushottama to whom Fortune resorted, who relieved this universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth'.[75]

(45). The elephants of his feudatories, eager to plunge into the water to . . . . get rid of the fatigue of battle, worsted even those ocean-waves which resemble the circle of smoke of the all-consuming fire, and rival a bank of clouds, and are befriended with the darkness that spreads at the universal dissolution, when they harbour the down-breaking sky.

(46). When, like the pitcher-born Agastya, he directed his steps towards the south, the Cholas and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountains.[76]

(47). The water of the Tâmraparṇî which is famed all the earth over for the pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles on their hips, behold, even to this day that water affords a livelihood to the Pâṇḍya chief.[77]

[73] *I.e.*, the east.

[74] The word of the original would also mean 'deprived of their trunks.'

[75] The words translated by 'it was the holy Purushottama' and 'the enemy Bali' would also mean 'glorious is that chief of men' and 'powerful enemies.'

[76] See Mr. S. P. Paṇḍit's note on Kâlidâsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* VI, 61.

[77] See *ib.*, notes on verses IV, 49 and 50.

(V. 48). Respectfully informed by the people, that the dam before him, which looked like the growing Vindhya range, was the bridge of the holy Râma, constructed of many mountain-peaks which were fetched by Mâruti, he listened attentively, but scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army.

(49). When his army afterwards, having reduced both the quarter and the expectations of Yama, continued its march unscathed, the noose-bearing Varuṇa despaired of guarding his own quarter from destruction.[78]

(50). It is surely in some ocean or other that the Mainâka and the other mountains rest, that the all-devouring fire dwells, that the Timiṅgilas and other monsters live, and that Hari sleeps; but where this is, nobody has discovered at any of the oceans at which his elephants, in swallowing all the water at a single draught, have severally acted the part of Agastya.[79]

(51). By those same Timiṅgilas and other monsters of the sea, floating about in company with which the Mainâka and other mountains appeared like shoals of young fish, by them, unchecked . . . . in the whole ocean, the massive trunks of the lordly elephants of his army were made to assume the marvellous appearance of revolving Mandara mountains.

(52). Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings, he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of Yakshas, the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of Kuvera.[80]

(53). And all the time even in the wilderness his wars were pleasure-gardens the trees of which were his fame, reared in the midst of multitudes of distinguished warriors as among Punnâga and betel-nut creepers, and attended by the Fortune of victory who acted as a forest-deity in the thicket of his troops; gardens which were irrigated by the streams of blood flowing down from many skulls of princes, aimed at by the flashing sword which was fiercely wielded by his strong arm.

(54). Being encamped on the banks of the Vaṅkshu,[81] which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron-filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turushka whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kîra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatî was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage.

(55). This blessed (king), on the occasion of a solar eclipse, piously gave[82] with due rites two villages in the Vyâpura *maṇḍala*. Afterwards his brother, the king Naravarmadeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhalapâṭaka, at the request of the three places.

(56). And he has ordered the illustrious Lakshmîdhara to construct this temple, which is adorned with many eulogies and hymns, composed by himself.

[78] Yama, the ruler of the dead, is the regent of the south, and Varuṇa the regent of the west.

[79] Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

[80] Kuvera, the chief of the Yakshas, is the regent of the northern quarter.

[81] According to Sir M. Monier-Williams' dictionary, a small arm or branch of the Ganges.

[82] The original does not say in whose favour the donation was made, but contains only the relative *yasmai*, in reference to which the demonstrative *tasmai* would have to be supplied in the second half of the verse.

The year 1161.

Oṁ!

(V. 57). O ye learned! Exert yourselves well, and make your intellect sharp as the point of *kuśa* grass! Try to judge with impartiality, and with pleasure do homage to the nectar of our poetry!

(58). Blessed are both those wise men, the poet and who listens to him, who completely overcome with delight shed plentiful tears of joy.

XIV.—FURTHER JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURÂ.

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The impressions of the subjoined inscriptions have all been furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer. Nos. i—viii, x—xxi, xxiii—xxxvii and xxxix—xli belong to the splendid discoveries which Dr. Führer made in the Kankâlî Tîla at Mathurâ during the period from November 1890 to March 1891.[1] No. ix comes from the same site, but was discovered during the working season of 1889-90. No. xxii is identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 19 (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xv), and No. xxxviii with Mr. Growse's No. 5 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 218). No. xlii is a Buddhist inscription, brought by Dr. Führer from Kâman or Kâdambavana. I have added it, because it helps to interpret more correctly a sign used in one of the Jaina inscriptions, and possesses some interest in other respects.

The earliest among these inscriptions, which probably cover more than 1,200 years, is without doubt No. i, which shows exceedingly archaic characters. Its letters do not differ very much from those of Aśoka's edicts, and they look somewhat older than those in Dhanabhûti's inscription on the gateway of the Bharhut Stûpa which is dated in the reign of the Śuṅgas (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 138). It may, therefore, be assigned to the middle of the second century B.C. Its language is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, which shows a few peculiarities, partly traceable in other ancient documents. The genitive in *âsa* from *a*-stems, instead of *assa*, occurs in one of the older votive inscriptions at Bharhut.[2] It may be explained by the substitution of the long vowel and a single consonant for the short vowel and a double consonant. The lengthening of the initial *a* of *âṁtevâsi*, which is also found in *âṁtevâsini*, No. iv, finds an analogy in the curious *paryântaṁ*, which occurs twice in Âpastamba's *Dharmasûtra*, I. 3, 9, 23 and I. 3, 11, 33, and has been explained in the Introduction to the second edition of that work (p. v, note 4). The use of the nominative at the end of the first part of the compound *pâsâdotoranaṁ* is well known from the inscriptions of the Indo-Skythic period, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 375 and below. Possibly it is found also in one of the votive inscriptions from the Sânchi Stûpa, No. i, see *ante*, p. 90.

Next in age comes No. ii, the inscription from the reign of the Mahâkshatrapa Śoḍâsa. The existence of this ruler was first made known by Sir A. Cunningham, who found another inscription with his name in the Kankâlî Tîla, (see *Arch. Surv. Rep.*,

[1] Dr. Führer has sent me during the period mentioned altogether 74 inscriptions, among which 64 are new Jaina inscriptions from the Kankâlî Tîla. Those not given in this paper are either very small fragments of no particular interest or not readable with any certainty.

[2] See Dr. E. Hultzsch's article *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. XL, p. 60ff., No. 145.

vol. III, p. 30, and plate xiii, No. 1). On the evidence of his coins, which resemble those of Azes, Sir A. Cunningham placed Śoḍâsa about 80—70 B.C., and conjectured that he was a son of Rajubula, another Satrap of Mathurâ. The latter conjecture is confirmed, as he has stated of late, by a passage on Dr. Bhagvânlâl's lion-pillar, where Śoḍâsa is called the son of Rajula.[3] Though the precise date assigned to Śoḍâsa may be doubted, still he must have ruled at Mathurà in the first century B.C., before the time of Kanishka and his successors. I do not dare to offer for the present any conjecture regarding the era which Śoḍâsa uses. Sir A. Cunningham (*loc. cit.*) is inclined to identify it with that used by the Mahârâja Moga and other foreign rulers of Northern India. The inscription No. ii is also in pure Prakrit of the Pali type. The next inscription, No. iii, mentions also a Mahâkshatrapa, whose name seems to have begun with Ma. It is to this circumstance that it owes its place. Its appearance indicates that it is much later than No. ii, and as it is incised on a sculpture cut out of the back of that on which No. x is found, it must be later than the latter. Still its date will fall before the time of Kanishka, as the Mahâkshatrapas of Mathurâ must have passed away before the Kushanas reigned there. The *maṅgala* of the inscription, the only portion fully preserved, is in pure Sanskrit.

The next seven inscriptions, Nos. iv—x, which have been grouped under the name "archaic," all belong in my opinion to the period before Kanishka. But I am not able to say anything regarding their relative position towards each other or towards Nos. ii and iii. The chief differences which separate them from the documents of the Kushana-period are the use of the tripartite subscribed *ya*, the want of the loop on the left side of the ordinary *ya*, the *da*, slightly open to the left (which occurs in Nos. iv and ix), and the well developed vertical stroke and symmetrical shape of the *ta*. The *va* has a very curious shape in the word *Śivayaśâ*, No. v, l. 2*a*, as it consists of two triangles with the apexes joined. The language of most of them is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, but No. iv shows one Sanskrit form and No. vii is apparently in pure Sanskrit. With respect to No. ix I must add that I am inclined to identify the Gotîputra Îdrapâla or Îdrapâlita with Gotîputra, "the black cobra for the Śakas and the Poṭhayas" mentioned in No. xxxiii of the collection, published *ante*, vol. I, p. 396. If that is correct, the document must go back to the times before the consolidation of the foreign rule at Mathurâ.

The next group, Nos. xi—xxiv, consists of the dated inscriptions which in my opinion all belong to the time of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vâsudeva. Not one shows the name of a king. Nevertheless, I believe that nobody, who carefully compares them with the dated documents, mentioning the three kings, will come to a different conclusion. The dates range within the well-known limits from Saṁvat 4 to Saṁvat 98. The characters and the language are of the same mixed types described in the introduction to my first paper, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371ff. I have nothing to add to the remarks made there on the alphabet and the spelling. As regards the language, I will only call attention to a few points. The few verbal forms, *bhavatu*, No. xiii, *astu*, No. xviii, and *nirvartayati*, No. xx, are pure Sanskrit. No. xxiii, where we have *śishyasya ganisya*

[3] *Academy* of April 25th, 1891, p. 397. On an impression of the inscriptions on the lion-pillar, which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Burgess, I, too, read *Rajulasa putra Suḍase chhatrava.* But I do not feel quite certain that *Rajula* and *Rajubula* are the same person, nor that the words given above, which stand in two consecutive lines with other signs in between, are really connected.

Nandiye, furnishes an exact analogy to the curious form *Haganaṁdia* in No. ix of the collection in vol. I, and shows that masculine *i*-stems really take the terminations of the feminine. Possibly No. xxix, which shows *ganisya uggahiniya*, furnishes a third instance. Very interesting, too, are the numerous cases where the nominative takes the place of the crude form, both in this and in the next group. Among the remarkable words I note *asma* or *asmi kshuṇe*, "at that moment," in Nos. xv, xxiv and xlii, *paṇa* "fifty" in No. xvii and *dvâpaṇâ* "fifty-two" in No. xviii, among which the latter possesses some interest on account of the Mahârâshṭrî *bâvaṇṇa* and the *bâvan* or *bâvaṇ* of various modern vernaculars.

After this group have been placed thirteen inscriptions, Nos. xxv—xxxvii, which in my opinion, likewise belong to the period of Kanishka and his successors, though it is impossible to exactly fix their dates. With respect to Nos. xxv—xxvii, which show the names of Devaputra Huvishka and Devaputra Huksha, as well as the titles *mâhârâja râjâtiraja*, the correctness of my view is evident. It can also be proved or made probable for some others, *e.g.*, No. xxxiv, which mentions the venerable Balatrâta and his pupil Sandhi. Both names occur in No. v of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol. I, p. 384), which is dated in the year 25. Again, No. xxxvi certainly did bear a date, which may have been Saṁvat 50, and tne teacher Jeshṭahasti, mentioned in No. xxxvii, is known from No. xiv of the earlier collection, where the name of his pupil, looking like *Mahalo*, has to be read Mihilo, on the evidence of the new inscription With respect to these two inscriptions, as well as to Nos. xxviii, xxix and xxxiii, the close resemblance of the letters to those of the inscriptions, showing the names of the three kings, must be allowed its due weight. I must, however, admit that Nos. xxx and xxxi are somewhat doubtful, and that they may possibly have to be transferred to the archaic group, belonging to the time before Kanishka. The characters of some of these thirteen inscriptions show a few peculiarities worthy of note. In *pratimâ* No. xxix, the *â*-stroke has been undoubtedly placed below the consonant to which it belongs. This is quite in keeping with the "anyhow-style" of the Indian writers and masons. In No. xxix of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol. I, p. 395, fourth plate), the same vowel has been attached to the lower right limb of *ta* in the word *arahaṁtâna*, and similar instances occur in later inscriptions. In No. xxxiv, l. 2, the looped *ta* of *Navahastisya* is remarkable, especially as the same sign is used for *na* in *bhrâtrinaṁ* (l. 3). The looped form of *ta* is common enough in the southern inscriptions, where it first appears in those of Siriyaña Sàtakaṇi.[4] But I have not observed it on any document which comes from the northern half of India. Another curious sign is the *ra* which looks, owing to a continuation of the two side-strokes beyond the apex, almost exactly like *ma*. It is quite distinct in the word *vadhuye*, No. xxxii, l. 1, likewise in *vihâre*, No. xlii, and in *Huvishkasya*, No. xxv. As regards the spelling, I would call attention to the tachygraphic abbreviation of the word, *siddha*, discussed in the remark on No. xxvii, in note 2 on No. xxxvi, and note 2 on No. xlii. Among the linguistic peculiarities, I would point out the phrase *bahavo[to] vachaka cha gaṇino cha*, "of the great preacher and *gaṇin*," No. xxxvi, which affords another illustration of the principle discussed in the introduction to the earlier collection, *ante*, vol. I, p. 375. Another amusing instance of the

[4] *Arch. Rep. West. Ind.*, vol. IV, plate lv, No. 22; compare also No. 20.

utter absence of all feeling for grammatical forms is furnished by the description of the *donatrix* in No. xxxiv, *Navahastisya dhitá, grahasenasya vadhu ... Sivasenasya...... bhrâtrinaṁ mátu jáyáye*, where two nominatives are co-ordinated with two genitives.

The next three inscriptions, Nos. xxxviii—xl, belong, in my opinion, to the Gupta period. This is, of course, indisputable with No. xxxix, which is dated in the reign of Kumâragupta. The shape of the letters, and especially the peculiar method of marking the long and short *i*, by turning the former to the right of the consonant and the latter to the left, makes it, I think, impossible to assign No. xxxviii to an earlier period. If my conjecture is accepted, its date, the year 57, is the earliest Gupta date yet found. No. xl may perhaps be a little later than the Gupta period. With respect to the remaining two documents it will suffice to say that No. xli clearly belongs to the eleventh century A.D., and that No. xlii, the Appendix, dates from the Indo-Skythic period.

Short discussions of the historical results, obtainable from these inscriptions, have been given already in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. V, p. 59ff, and p. 175ff, and a fuller one will appear in this publication. Here I content myself with giving a brief resumé of the chief points. First, as regards the political history, we have now, through No. ii, actual proof that the Kshatrapas of Mathurâ used a particular era, different from that of Kanishka and his successors. The importance of this fact will probably become still greater when Dr. Bhagvânlâl's paper on his Lion-pillar will appear. For the history of the Kushana kings, we gain through No. xxvi the certainty that the name Hushka, which the *Rájataraṅgiṇí* has preserved and which still survives in the name of the Kashmirian village Ushkar-Hushkapura, was actually used in ancient times for Huvishka. Secondly, with respect to the history of the Jaina sect, we learn through No. i that the Jainas were settled in Mathurâ in the second century B.C., and through No. xx that an ancient Jaina Stûpa existed in Mathurâ, which in A.D. 167 was considered to have been built by the gods, *i. e.*, was so ancient that its real origin had been completely forgotten. The inscriptions further furnish the new names of the Vachchhaliya *kula* (No. xiii) and of the Vidyâdharî *Śákhá* (No. xxxix) for the Koṭṭiya or Koṭika *gaṇa*, as well as those of the Nâṭika, or perhaps Nâḍika *kula* (No. xxviii) of the Aryyabhyista or perhaps Aryyanyista *kula* and of the Sa[ṁkâsiyâ] *Śákhá* (No. xxxvi) for the Vâraṇa *gaṇa*. The schools connected with the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* offer no difficulty, as they agree with the corresponding names of the *Kalpasútra*. The Nâṭika or Nâḍika *kula* may be considered to correspond to the Mâlijja *kula* of the *Sthavirâvalí*, and there is just a possibility that the last name may be an abbreviated spelling for *Aryya-Aniyasa(to)* and correspond to a Prakrit corruption of Ârya-Kanîyasa, another equivalent for which, *Aryya-Kaniyasika*, occurs in the inscription No. xxiii of the earlier collection (see note 1 to No. xxxvi).

No. I.[5]

समनस माहरखिताम ग्रांतेवासिस वछीपुत्रस सावकास उतरदासक[ा]स पासादोतोरनं [॥×][6]

TRANSLATION.

"An ornamental arch for the temple[7] (*the gift*) of the lay-hearer Utaradâsaka

[5] Incised on a large ornamented rectangular slab, measuring 4′ 2″—9″.

[6] According to the impression the reading सावकास is perhaps possible. Possibly उतरदासक is to be read.

[7] Regarding the irregular compound, see above the introductory remarks.

(*Uttaradásaka*),[8] son of the Vachhî (*Vátsî mother and*) disciple[9] of the ascetic Mâharakhita (*Mágharakshita*)."

No. II[10].

L. 1. नम अरहतो वर्धमानस ।[11]

2. स्वा[ा]मिस महक्षत्रपस शोडासस सवत्सर ४० (?)२ हेमंतमासे २ दिवसे ९ हरितिपुत्रस पालस भयाये समसाविकाये[12]

3. कोछिये अमोहिनिये सहा पुत्रेहि पालघोषेन पोठघोषेन धनघोषेन आयवती प्रतिथापिता प्राय—[भ]—

4. आर्यवती अरहतपुजाये [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamâna! In the year 42 (?) of the Lord, the Mahâkshatrapa Śoḍâsa, in the second month of winter, on the 9th day, an Âyavaṭi (*Âryavatî*), was set up by Amohini (*Amohinî*), the Kochhi (*Kautsî*), a female lay-disciple of the ascetics (*and*) wife of Pâla, son of a Hariti (*Haritî* or *Hârîtî mother*), together with her sons Pâlaghosha, Poṭhaghosha (*Proshṭhaghosha and*) Dhanaghosha . . . the Âryavatî (*is*) for the worship of the Arhat."

No. III[13].

L. 1. सिद्धम् । नमोस्त्वर्हद्भ्य:[14]

2. महाराजमहाक्षत्रपस — —[15]

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration be to the Arhats! . . . . Mahârâja, Mahâkshatrapa-Ma . . .

No. IV[16].

L. 1. भदतजयसेनस्य आंतेवासिनीये

2. धामघोषाये दानो पासादो [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

"A temple, the gift of Dhâmaghoshâ (*Dharmaghoshâ*), the female disciple[17] of the venerable Jayasena."

[8] Compare the Buddhist name *Uttarasena*. *Uttara* probably stands *bhîmavat* for Uttaraphâlgunî or Uttarabhadrapadâ.

[9] Regarding the form आंतेवासि see above the Introduction. The term means here no doubt that Mâharakhita was the spiritual director of Uttaradâsaka; for the latter was, as the description shows, a layman, not an ascetic.

[10] Incised on a slab measuring 3′ 2″ by 3′ 8″ and bearing the representation of a royal lady, surrounded by attendants one of whom is holding up a parasol.

[11] Possibly नमो, as the ends of the upper strokes of *ma* are somewhat thickened.

[12] The first figure of the date may possibly be 70. The Anusvâra of हेमंत° is not certain. Read समनसाविकाये.

[13] Incised on the top of a small statue cut out of the back of the panel, which bears the inscription No. X.

[14] The second vowel of नमो is expressed by two abnormally short strokes. An accidental scratch gives to °र्हद्भ्य: the appearance of °र्हेद्भ्य: '—

[15] The last syllable may have been स्य '—

[16] Incised on the back of a broken sculptured Toraṇa, measuring 1′ 2″ by 8″.

[17] I suppose आंतेवासिनी means here, like आंतेवासि in No. 1, that Jayasena was Dhâmaghoshâ's spiritual director, not that she was an ascetic.

No. V[18].

L. 1*a*. नमो अरहतानं फगुयशस[19]

2*a*. नतकस भयाये शिवयशा-

3*a*. — — ि— — ा — — —ा — काये

1*b*. आयागपटो कारितो

2*b*. अरहतपुजाये [॥×]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! By Śivayaśâ (*Śivayaśas*), wife of the dancer Phaguyaśa (*Phalguyaśas*), ... a tablet of homage (*áyágapaṭa*)[20] was caused to be made for the worship of the Arhats."

No. VI.[21]

भगवा नेमेसो भग — —

TRANSLATION.

"The divine Nemesa (*Naigamesha*), divine . . . . "[22]

No. VII.[23]

L. 1. य — स

2. — र[त्नत्व]स्य च यो मनो

3. —ायतनं धनस्य महत:

4. — — [चेप्य]चयं [न] किं[24]

The fragment admits of no continuous translation. It would seem that we have in line 2 the beginning of a verse in the Śârdûlavikrîḍita metre, and in line 3 the middle portion of another. The whole was no doubt a metrical Praśasti written entirely in Sanskrit.

No. VIII.[25]

नमो अरहतो महाविरस । माथुरक — — लवाडस [सा] —
भयाये — — व — —ीताये [आयागपटो] [॥×]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Mahâvira (*Mahávíra*). A tablet of homage (*ágágapaṭa the gift*) of . . . itâ, wife of . . lavâḍa (?), an inhabitant of Mathurâ."

[18] Incised on the base of a mutilated tablet measuring 2′ 4″ by 1′ 9″, and bearing the representation of a stûpa with rails and gate, as well as of two naked dancing women in the same posture as those on Dr. Bhagvânlâl's slab, *Actes du sixième Congrès, Int. Or.*, pt. III, sect. ii, p. 142.

[19] Possibly फगुयशिस, but I believe the apparent *i*-stroke to be accidental.

[20] Regarding the meaning of आयागपटो, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 396.

[21] Incised on a small sculptured frieze measuring 2′ by 10″, and bearing the representation of a large seated figure with a goat's head, of a small naked male and several large female figures, one of whom holds a child in her lap.

[22] The inscription seems to be intended to explain the meaning of the sculpture, regarding which see a subsequent article on sculptures from Mathurâ.

[23] Incised on a fragment of a large slab, measuring 1′ by 8″.

[24] The bracketed letter looks almost like *ks*, but the lower part of the vertical is faint, and the top so damaged, that the apparent *i*-stroke may have been only a serif. The Anusvâra of किं is doubtful.

[25] Incised on the base of a beautifully-sculptured square panel (an *áyágapaṭa*), measuring 2′ 10″ by 2′ 10″.

No. IX.[26]

L. 1. मा अरहतपुजा [ये][27]

2. गोतीपुत्रस इंद्रपा[ल] — —[28]

TRANSLATION.

An image of . . . . . . for the worship of the Arhats . . . . of Îdrapâla (*Idrapâla*),[29] the son of the Gotî (*Gauptî mother*).

No. X.[30]

— ये जीवनादाय —

TRANSLATION.

"Of Jîvanàdâ (*Jîvanandâ*)." . . . .

No. XI.[31]

A. सिद्धं स ४ ग्रि १ दि २० वारणातो गणातो अर्यहाट्टकियातो कुलतो वजणगरित[ो शा] — —[32]

B. पुष्यमित्रस्य शिशिनि सथिसिहाये शिशिनि सिहमित्रस्य सढचरि — — —[33]

C. दाति सहा ग्रहचेटेन ग्रहदासेन — —[34]

TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the year 4, the first (*month* of) summer, the day 20,—— . . . of . . . . the female convert[35] (*sadhachari*) of Sihamitra (*Siṁhamitra*), the female pupil of Sathisihâ (*Shashṭisiṁhâ*), the female pupil of Puśyamitra . . . out of the Vârana *gaṇa*, out of the Arya-Hâṭṭakiya (*Ârya-Hâṭṭakiya*) *kula*, out of the Vajaṇagarî (*Vârjanagarî*) *śâkhâ* . . . . the gift . . . ., together with Grahacheṭa (*and*) Grahadâsa."

No. XII.[36]

— — — स्व व ५ ग्र ४ दि ५ कोट्टिया — — — — — — — — — — — — —

त[ो] शाखात [ो] वाचकस्य अर्यं — —

TRANSLATION.

"In the year 5 of . . . ., in the fourth (*month of*) summer, on the fifth day,— . . . . . of the preacher (*vâchaka*) Aryya. . . . . (*Ârya* . . . .) out of the Koṭṭiya (*gaṇa*) . . . ., out of the . . . . *śâkhâ* . . . .

[26] This inscription belongs to Dr. Führer's collection of 1889-90. It is incised on the pedestal of a small squatted Jina measuring 1' 6" by 1' 2".

[27] Restore *pratimâ*.

[28] As the right half of the *la* has been lost, the name is not certain. It may have been *Idrapâlita*.

[29] Regarding the person meant, see above the Introduction.

[30] Incised on lower border of a sculptured panel, see inscription No. III.

[31] Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 1" by 1' 7".

[32] The i-stroke of *siddhaṁ* has been lost; the Anusvâra is not certain. The i-stroke of *aryahâṭṭakiyâto* is faintly visible on the impression. Below the *ja* of *vajaṇagarito* a letter, probably another *ja*, has been lost. Restore *śâkhâto*, but more syllables have probably been lost.

[33] At the end of the line, the name of the nun has been lost, and probably also the word *nirvartanâ*.

[34] The line is mutilated both in the beginning and at the end, the name of the donor or donatrix and the description of the gift being certainly lost.

[35] This translation is, of course, merely tentative; the Sanskrit equivalent is *śrâddhachari*.

[36] Incised on base of a squatted figure of Jina, measuring 2' by 1' 0".

No. XIII.[37]

A. स १० ८ग्र ४ दि ३ [अस्या पु] – [य] – – [या]तो गण[तो] – – – –[38]

B. संभोगातो वच्छलियातो कुलातो गणि – – – – – –[39]

D. 1. – – – वासि जयस्य – तु मासिगिये (?) दानं सव्वत[ो]भ[द्र] – – – –[40]

2. – [सर्वस]वा[नं] सुखाय भवतु ।[41]

TRANSLATION.

"The year 18, the fourth (*month of*) summer, the third day,—on that (*date specified as*) above a fourfold [*image*], the gift of Mâsigî(?), (mother of) Jaya . . . . [*at the request*] of . . . . . a *gaṇi* out of the [Koṭṭi]ya *gaṇa* . . . ., out of the . . . . *saṁbhoga*, out of Vachchhaliya (*Vâtsaliya*) *kula*. May it be for the welfare of all beings!"

No. XIV.[42]

A. – – – व १० [८] व २ दि १० १[43]

B. धितु मि[तग्रि]रिये भगवतो अरिष्टणेमिस्य [वेवर्त]? – –[44]

TRANSLATION.

"The year 18, the second (*month of*) the rainy season, the day 11 . . . . [*the gift*] of Mita-Śiri (? *Mitraśrî*), the daughter of . . . a ... of divine Arishṭaṇemi (*Arishṭanemi*) . . . .

No. XV.[45]

A. स ३० १ व १ दि १० अस्म पुर्वे

B. 1. – – यातो गणतो [अ]र्य्यवेरितो शाखतो [ठा]णियातो कुलातो वह[तो] । कुटुम्बि-णिये [ग]ह[46]

2. – – – – [अर्य] – दासस्य निवर्त्तना बुद्धिस्य धितु देविलस्य । शिरिये दाणं ।[47]

[37] Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, 1′ by 8″. The section C. has been cut away.

[38] Read *asyâ*. The restoration *koṭṭiyâto* is highly probable. At the end of the line the name of the Saṁbhoga has been lost.

[39] Indistinct remnants of *sya* are visible after *gaṇi*. The lost piece C must have contained the name of the Gaṇin and the greater portion of the description of the donatrix which is very imperfect.

[40] The impressions point to *mâtu*. For *mâsigiye* it is possible to read *mâsiniye* or *maseniye*, but none of these forms, admits of an explanation. May it be *Mosiniye* for *Moshiniye*? See below No. xxxvii. Restore *sarvatobhadrikâ pratimâ*.

[41] Read *sarvasatvânaṁ*.

[42] Incised on base of small standing Jina, measuring 2′ by 10″

[43] Perhaps *varsha* is to be restored.

[44] The third syllable of the proper name is not certain.

[45] Incised on base of small squatted Jina, 2′ by 1′ 1″.

[46] Restore *koṭṭiyâto gaṇâto; vahato(=bṛihato)*. Before *kuṭumbiniye* the impression shows a faint vertical stroke, which apparently indicates that in reality the line is at an end, and that one must read on from the beginning of B 2. the last words, which would give no sense, must be read at the end of the second line.

[47] Probably *gaṇisya* is to be restored in the beginning. As only one syllable has been lost between *arya* and *dâsasya* the restoration *godâsasya* seems certain. The name occurs in the *Kalpasûtra* (p. 79 ed. Jacobi). After *devilasya* stands again a faint vertical stroke, exactly corresponding to that in the upper line. The proper order of the words is therefore:— कोट्टियातो [ग]ण[ातो] श्चर्य्यवेरितो शाखतो [ठा[णियातो कुलातो वह[तो] (?) [गणिस्य] अर्य [गो]दासस्य निवर्त्तना बुद्धिस्य धितु देविलस्य कुटुम्बिणिये गहश्रिरिये दानं ।

MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES): Nos. I-VII

No. 1 Early undated inscription



Scale 1-4th

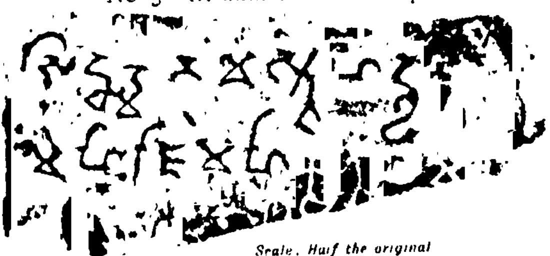
Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Mathurâ.

No. 2. Of Śodâsa.



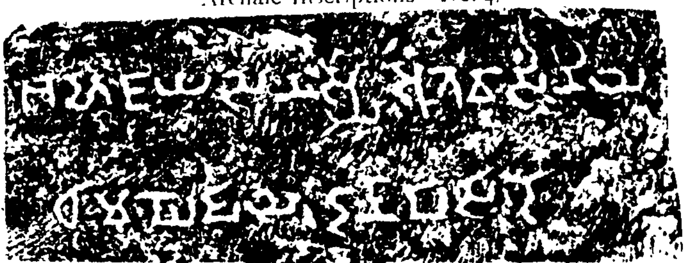
Scale 3-10ths.

No. 3: Of unnamed Kshatrapa



Scale. Half the original

Archaic Inscriptions: No. 4.



Scale 1-10ths

No. 7: Archaic.



Scale 1-4th

No. 5 Archaic



Scale: 1-3rd

No. 6. Archaic



Scale. 1-3rd

A Fuhrer, Ph. D, impress

MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES): Nos. VIII-XV.

No 8 Archaic

Scale 3-10ths

No 11 Dated Inscription, Sam. 4

A

B

C

Scale Half the original

No 9 Archaic.

Scale 1-[illegible]

No 10. Archaic

Scale 1-4th

No 12 Dated Sam 5

Scale 1-3rd

No 13 Dated Sam 18, grishma

A

B

C

Scale, 1-3rd

No 14 Dated Sam 18, varsha

A

B

Scale Half the original.

No 15 Dated Sam 31.

A

B

Scale 1 3rd.

A Führer, Ph D impress

TRANSLATION.

"The year 31, the first (*month of the*) rainy season, the tenth day,—at this moment a gift (*was made*) by Grahaśiri (*Grahaśri*), daughter of Buddhi (*and*) wife of Devila at the request of the great (?) [*Gaṇin*] Aryya [-Go-]dâsa, out of the [Koṭṭi]ya (*gaṇa*), the Aryya-Verî (*Árya-Vajri*) *śákhâ*, the Ṭhâṇiya (*Sthániya*) *kula*."

No. XVI.[48]

A. 1. सिद्दम् । सव[त्स]रे ३० । २ हेमन्तमासे ४ दिवसे २ वारणातो गणा — — — यातो[कु]()[49]

2. —

B. 1. — णि अर्यनन्दिकस्य निर्व्वर्त्तना जितामित्रय [रितु]नन्दिस्य धीतु बुद्दिस्य कुटम्बिनिये प्रा—[50]

2. रिकस्य — नी — ि— घ्य मातु गन्धिकस्य अरहन्तप्रतिमा सर्व्वतोभद्रिका ।[51]

TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the year 32, in the fourth month of winter, on the second day, a fourfold image of the Arhat (*was dedicated*) by Jitâmitra, daughter of Ritunandi (*Ṛitunandi*), wife of Buddhi (*and*) mother of the perfumer . . . . . . , at the request of *gaṇi* Aya-Nandika (*Árya-Nandika*), ... out of the Vâraṇa *gaṇa*, the . . . *ya kula* . . . ."

No. XVII.[52]

L. 1. पण ५० हेमंतमासे प — — —

2. आर्य्यचेरस्य — — — —[53]

3. ये युधदिनस्य

4. धित

5. पूषबुधिस्य — — —

No continuous translation of the fragment is possible. The date is "the year 50 and the first or fifth (?) month of winter."

No. XVIII[54].

L. 1. सिद्द संवत्सर द्दापना ५० २ हेमन्त[मा]स प्रथ—दिवस पंचवीश २० ५ अस्म क्षुणे क[ो]ट्टियातो गणात[ो][55]

2. वेरातो शखतो स्थानिकियातो कुलात[ो] श्रीगट्टतो संभोगातो वाचकस्यार्य्यघस्तुहस्तिस्य[56]

3. शिश्यो गणिस्यार्य्यमंगुहस्तिस्य षढचरो वाचको अर्य्यदिवितस्य निर्व्वर्तना शूरस्य असम-[57]

4. णकपुत्रस्य गोट्टिकस्य लोहिकाकारकस्य दानं सर्व्वसत्वानं हितसुखायास्तु ।

[48] Incised on base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 8" by 11'

[49] Possibly *gaṇâto koṭṭiâyto* is to be restored.

[50] Restore *gaṇi*; *ritu* is uncertain.

[51] Perhaps *prâtârikasya* to be restored, which might mean 'a ferryman.' See below. No. XXXIX.

[52] Incised on base of large squatted Jina, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 10."

[53] Perhaps *Âryya kharasya*.

[54] Incised on the base of a broken image, measuring 8" by 1' 6".

[55] The Anusvâra of *saṁvatsara* is doubtful.

[56] Read *śâkhâto*.

[57] *Shaḍhacharo* stands no doubt for *saḍhacharo*; possibly *devetasya* or *divetasya*.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! the year fifty-two, 52, the first month of winter, the twenty-fifth day, 25—at that moment (*was dedicated*) the gift of the worker in metal[58] Goṭṭika, the Śûra,[59] the son of Śramaṇaka, at the request of the preacher Aryya-Divita, (*who is*) the convert of the *gaṇi* Aryya-Maṅguhasti (*and*) the pupil of the preacher Aryya-Ghastuhasti out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Verâ (*Vajrá*) *śákhá*, the Sthânikiya ***kula*** (***and***) the Śrîgṛiha *saṁbhoga*. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures!

No. XIX[60].

L. 1. सिद्ध स ६० २ व २ दि ५ एतस्य पुवय वाचकस्य आयकर्कुहस्थ[स][61]

2. वारणगणियस शिषो ग्रहवलो आतपिको तस निवर्तना

"Success! the year 62, the second (*month of the*) rainy season, the day 5, on that (*date, specified as*) above, the pupil of the preacher Âya-Karkuhastha (*Árya-Karkaśagharshita*)[62] of the Vâraṇa *gaṇa*, was the *átapika* Grahabala, at his request . . . . . .

No. XX.[63]

A. 1. सं ७० ८ वर्ं ४ दि २० एतस्यां पुर्व्वायं कोट्टिये गणे वइरायां शाखायां — —[64]

2. को अयवृधहस्ति अरहतो णन्दि[आ]वर्तस प्रतिमं निर्व्वर्तयति ।[65]

B. — — — भार्य्यये श्राविकाये [दिनाये] दानं प्रतिमा वोद्वे थुपे देवनिर्मिते प्र — — — —[66]

TRANSLATION.

"The year 79, the fourth (*month of the*) rainy season, the twentieth day—on that (*date, specified as*) above, Aya-Vṛidhahasti (*Árya-Vṛiddhahastin*), a preacher in the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* (*and*) in the Vaïrâ (*Vajrá*) *śákhá*, gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandiâvarta (*Nándyávarta*)[67] . . . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay-disciple Dinâ (*Dattá*), wife of . . ., was set up at the Vodva Stûpa, built by the gods."

No. XXI[68].

L. 1. स ८० १ व १ दि ६ एतस्य पुवाय [अ]यिकाजीवाये अंते-

2. वासिकिनिये दताये निवतना । [अ]हशिरिये — — —

[58] Compare *ante*, vol. I, p. 391, No. xxi.

[59] I take Sûra, as the name of the family or the clan.

[60] Incised on the upper part of the base of a sitting Jina 2′ 8″ by 1′ 8″; the lower part has been destroyed.

[61] On further consideration, I read the numeral sign, which I formerly believed to possibly stand for 40, always as 60.

[62] The persons named here are probably the same as those in Sir A. Cunningham's inscription, re-edited in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. I, p. 172.

[63] Incised on the left portion of the base of a large standing figure of Jina, measuring 2′ 3″ by 1′ 8″; the right portion is missing.

[64] I now recognise that the second figure is 9, not 8, as I read it formerly. Possibly the apparent *ra*-stroke above *va* may be accidental. Possibly *koṭiye* to be read. At the end of the line the two syllables *vácha* have certainly been lost, because the syllable *ko* in l. 2 stands exactly under *saṁ* and l. 2 is, therefore, complete.

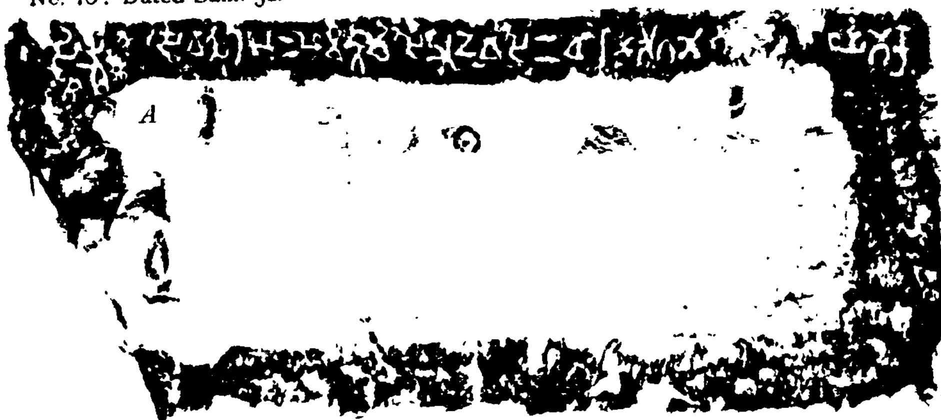
[65] The *ṇa* is abnormal, and so is the marking of the length of *â* by a stroke going upwards.

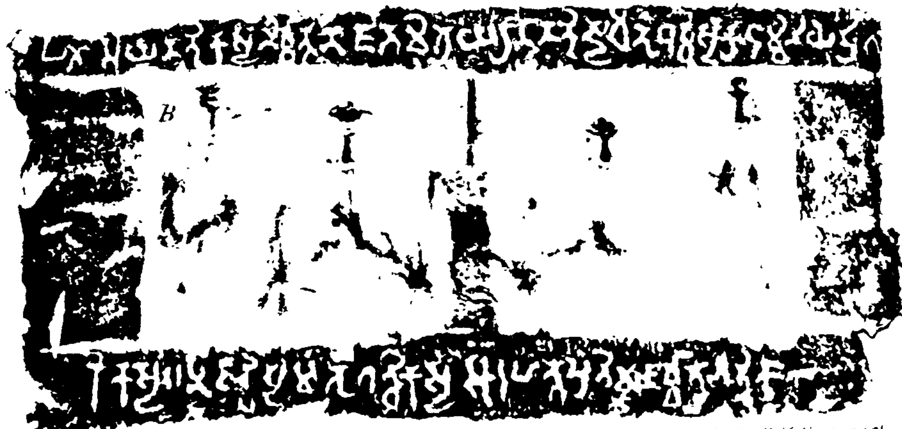
[66] It is possible to read also *voṭve*, which, however, is as unsatisfactory as *vodve*. Perhaps *voddhe*, *i.e. vṛiddhe* "ancient," is meant. Professor E. Leumann proposes to divide *pratimâvo dve* and to take this in the sense of *pratime dve* (two images)? This exceedingly ingenious explanation becomes difficult, because in A only *one* statue is mentioned. Restore *pratishṭhâpitâ*. At the beginning of the line stood the name of Dinâ's husband, as a small remnant of a *sya* is still visible on the impression.

[67] The Arhat Nândyâvarta, *i.e.*, he whose mark is the *Nandyâvarta* symbol, is Ara, the eighteenth Tîrthaṁkara.

[68] Incised on the upper part of the base of a seated figure, 2′ 5″ by 1′ 10″, lower part destroyed.

No. 16: Dated Saṁ. 32.





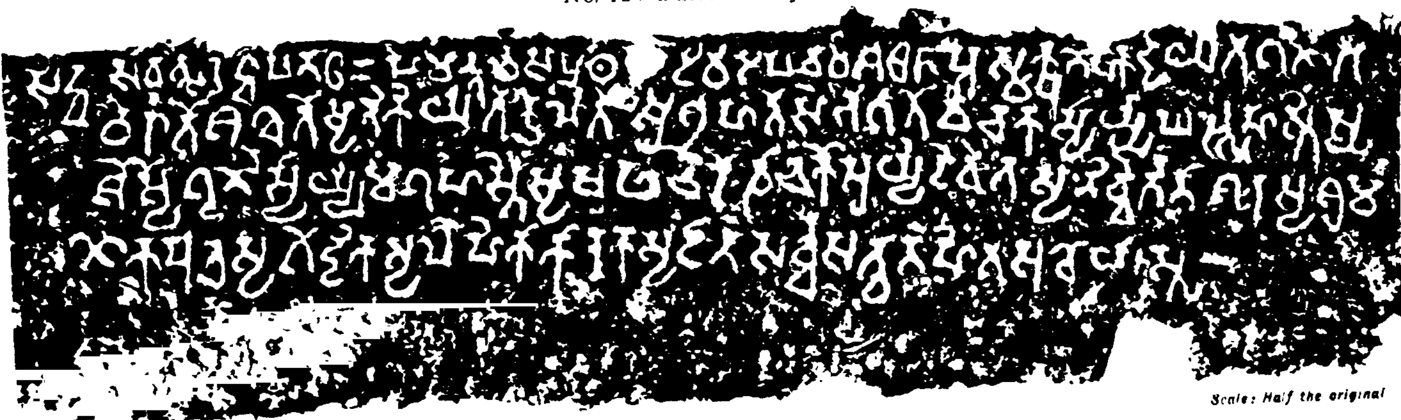
Scale: Half the original

No. 17: Dated Saṁ 50



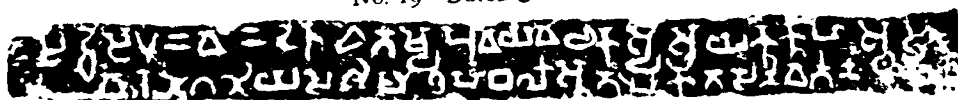
Scale 1-3rd

No. 18. Dated Saṁ 52



Scale: Half the original

No. 19 Dated Saṁ 62



Scale 3-10ths

A Führer, Ph. D. impress

MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES): NOS. XX–XXVI.

No. 20 Inscription dated Saṁ. 79.

A

B

Scale · 3-10ths

No 25. Huvishka.

Scale, 1-3rd

No 26· Hushka.

No. 21 · Dated Saṁ. 81

Scale, Half the original.

No 22: Dated Saṁ 90

A

B

Scale 1-3rd.

No. 23. Dated Saṁ. 93.

A

B.

Scale 1-3rd

No. 24 · Dated Saṁ 98

Scale 1-3rd

A Fuhrer, Ph D. impress

TRANSLATION.

"The year 81, the first (*month of the*) rainy season, the sixth day—on that (*date as specified*) above at the request of Datâ, the female pupil[69] of Ayikâ-Jîvâ (*Áryiká-Jívá*)—Grahaśiri (*Grahaśrí*) . . . . .

No. XXII.

L. 1. सव [८० व] — — — — — — — — — — — — — — टुवनिए दिनस्य वधूय

2. को — — तो ग[णा]तो प — व[ह] — [क]तो कुलातो मभमातो शाखा[तो] — —

सनिकय भतिबलाए—भिनि

This inscription is Sir A. Cunningham's No. 19 (*Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. III, pl. xv). It seems to have suffered since the time when the first facsimile was prepared. The date, which I have given according to Sir A. Cunningham, has disappeared, and several letters at the end of line 2 have become indistinct. Its chief value consists in the mention of the *Majhamá śákhá* and the *Pa-vaha-ka kula*, which latter I have formerly identified with the *Praśnaváhanaka* or *Panhaváhaṇaya kula* of the Jaina tradition. Dr. Führer's impression shows pretty clearly that the first letter is *pa*, which is not equally certain according to Sir A. Cunningham's facsimile. It also makes it probable that the third letter of the name is not *hu*, but *ha*. The name of the *gaṇa* was without a doubt Koṭṭiya, as the first syllable *ko* is tolerably distinct.

No. XXIII.[70]

A. नमो अर्हंतो महाविरस्य सं ९० ३ [व] — — —

B. 1. शिष्यस्य ग[णि]स्य [न]न्दिये [नि]र्वर्त्तना देवस्य हैरण्यकस्य धितु — — — — —[71]

2. — — — f — [भ] — वतो वर्द्धमानप्रतिमा प्रति — — — — ° — पुजा[ये] [॥][72]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Mahâvira (*Mahávíra*)! The year 93, the . . . . (*month of*) the rainy season . . . . . at the request of the *gaṇi* Nandi (*Nandi*) pupil of . . . . . . an image of divine Varddhamâna was set up by . . . ., the daughter of the goldsmith Deva, for the worship [*of the Arhat*]."

No. XXIV.[73]

स ९० ८ हे १ दि ५ अस्य क्षुणे क[ो]ट्टियात [ो] गणातो उचनग — — —[74]

TRANSLATION.

The year 98, the first (*month of*) winter, the fifth day, at that moment,—out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Uchanagarî (*Uchchánagarí*) [*śákhá*] . . . .

[69] *Aṁtevâsikini*, as well as *ayikâ*, are properly diminutives. Compare *pavajitikâ*, which is common in the Buddhist inscriptions.

[70] Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1′ 8″ by 2′ 2″.

[71] Regarding the form *nandiye*, which is indisputable, see above, the Introduction

[72] Restore *bhagavato* and further on *prati*ṭhâpitê arhato* or *arhata*.

[73] Incised on the base of a squatted Jina 1′ 10″ by 2′ 4″.

[74] Restore *uchanagarito śâkhâto*.

No. XXV.[75]

— — — — [व]पुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य स — — —[76]

TRANSLATION.

"In the year ...... of ... Devaputra Huvishka ......"

No. XXVI.[77]

A. 1. एकुनती [श]
2. वा — —

B. 1. भ[र]ह]तो]
2. — [ह]रवल

C. 1. — — —
2. प्रतिस — —

D. 1. स्ध म — र — स्य देव[पु]त्रस्य[हु]चस्य — — —[78]
2. [वा]सि[क] नगदतस्य शिषो मि[ग क]— — ो स — —

I am not able to give a certain connected translation of this fragment. It is only evident that D. 1—2 gives us the names of the Mahârâja Devaputra Huksha, (*Hushka* or *Huvishka*), and of a monk named Nagadata (*Nâgadatto*). It may also be suggested that the inscription begins with D. 1, because that line contains the group *sdha*, an abbreviation of *sidham*, and the name of the king. The continuation may possibly be looked for in A 1, where the word *ekunatîśa*, the twenty-ninth, seems to belong to the date. The year 29 would fall in the reign of Huvishka.

No. XXVII.[79]

L. 1. सिद्धम् महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य — — — — — — — —
2. ओहनन्दिस्य शिष्येण से — न — — — — — — f—[80]

TRANSLATION.

"Success! Of the great king, the supreme king of kings . . . . . by Sena, the pupil of Ohanandi (*Oghanandin*") . . . . .[81]

No. XXVIII.[82]

A. — — भगवतो उसभस वारणे गणे नाडिके कुले — — — — — — — खा [यं] — —[83]
B. ढुकस वायकस सिसिनिए सादिताए नि — — —[84]

TRANSLATION.

"[Adoration] to divine Usabha [*Ṛishabha*]! At the request of Sâditâ, female

[75] Incised on the base of a standing Jina, measuring 3′ 6″ by 2′ 6″.

[76] Restore *devaputrasya* and *saṁvatsare*.

[77] Incised on the base of a broken standing Jina, measuring 1′ 8″ by 1′ 1″.

[78] The bracketed letters are all more or less uncertain: *hukshasya* looks, because the first letter is blurred, like *pukshasya*. But two impressions show a small curve at the extremity of the top of the right-hand vertical stroke.

[79] Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1′ 6″ by 2′ 1″.

[80] Restore *senena* according to C. No. 10 (republished *ante*, vol. I, p. 396, No. xxx), where *Sena*, pupil of *Ohanandi*, is mentioned. The last *na* is faintly visible on the impression. It is important to note that in this inscription the initial letter of *Ohanandi's* name is unmistakable and that the reading *Deha*° is impossible.

[81] As the other inscription is dated Saṁ. 47, the king, whose name has been lost, must be Huvishka.

[82] Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 2′ by 1′ 8″.

[83] Restore *namo* before *bhagavato*. Possibly *nâṭike* or *nâdike* to be read. Restore *śâkâyâṁ*

[84] Restore *śârvartanâ*.

pupil of . . . ḍhuka, a preacher[85] in the Vàraṇa *gaṇa*, Nàḍika *kula* and . . . . . *śákhá* . . . . .

No. XXIX.[86]

स्थ[ा]निकिये कुले गनिस्य उग्गहिनिय शिषो वाचको घोषको आर्हतो[87] पर्श्वस्य प्रतिमा — —

TRANSLATION.

. . . "The preacher Ghoshaka, pupil of the Uggahini,[88] a *gaṇi* (*gaṇin*) in the Sthânikiya (°*kíya*) *kula*; an image of the Arhat Parśva (*Párśva*)." . . .

No. XXX.[89]

L. 1. नमो अरहंतानं सिहकस वानिकस पुत्रेण कोशिकिपुत्रेण[90]

2. सिहनादिकेन आयागपाटो प्रतिथापितो आरहंतपुजाये [॥×]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (*áyágapâṭa*) was set up by Sihanâdika (*Siṁhanádika*? °*nandika*?), son of the Vânika[91] Sihaka (*Siṁhaka*) and son of a Kośikî (*Kauśiki mother*), for the worship of the Arhats."

No. XXXI.[92]

नमो अरहंताना शिवघो[षक]स भरि[या] — — — — ना — — — — — ना — —

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! . . . . the wife of Śivaghoshaka . . . ."

No. XXXII.[93]

L. 1. नमो अरहंतानं [मल] — नस धितु भद्रयशस वधुये भद्रनदिस भयाये[94]

2. अ[चला]ये आ[या]गपटो प्रतिथापितो अरहतपुजाये [॥×][95]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (*áyágapaṭa*) was set up by Achalâ (?), daughter of Mala-ṇa (?), daughter in-law of Bhadrayaśa (*Bhadrayaśas*), and wife of Bhadranadi (*Bhadranandin*), for the worship of the Arhats."

[85] *Váyaka* is the Jaina-Prakrit form for *váchaka*.

[86] Incised on the left side of the upper part of the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 2" by 1' 9", the right side being broken off.

[87] Read *arhato*.

[88] The word looks like a female name, and might correspond with Sanskrit *udgrahiṇí*. But the difficulty is that it is joined with the title *gaṇi*, which is given to males alone.

[89] Incised on the base of a beautifully sculptured square panel measuring 2' 1" by 1' 11", the central figure of which is a seated Jina.

[90] *Árahaṁta*° is a mistake for *arahaṁta* and *áyágapâṭo* may be a mistake for *paṭo*, but, as the Sanskrit has *paṭa* and *patta*, the form *páṭa* is not impossible.

[91] This *might* be a corruption or misspelling for *vánijaka* or *vániyaka*. But, as Sihanâdika receives the epithet *kośikiputra*, I suspect that he was a Kshatriya, not the son of a merchant, and that *Vánika* is the name of his clan.

[92] Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 10" by 3' 1".

[93] Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 7" by 2' 4".

[94] The bracketed letters are uncertain. The first may be स्ना.

The second and third letters of this line are uncertain.

No. XXXIII.[96]

A. वर्धमानपटिमा वजरनद्यस्य धिता वाधिशिव — — — —

B 1. — f— स्य — कुटीबिनि[97] दिनाये दाति बडिम[शि] ये — — — —

2. — — — — — — — — — — — —

TRANSLATION.

"An image of Vardhamâna, the gift of Dinâ (*Dattâ*), daughter of Vajaranadya (*Vajranandin*), [daughter-in-law][98] of Vâdhiśiva (*Vṛiddhiśiva*?) house-wife of . . . . *i*; Baḍimasi's (?)" . . . . .

No. XXXIV[99]

L. 1. उचेनगरितो शखतो अर्य्यबलत्रतस्य शिसिणि अर्य्यबम्ह— —[100]

2. अर्य्यबलत्रतस्य शिष्यो अर्य्यसन्धिस्य परिग्रहे नवहस्तिस्य धिता ग्रहसेनस्य वधु — — — — — —[1]

3. गिवसेनस्य देवसेनस्य शिवदेवस्य च भातिनं मातु जायये प्रतीमा प्र — — — — — —[2]

4. [मा]नस्य सर्व्वसत्वानं हितसुखय ॥

TRANSLATION.

"For the acceptance[3] of Aryya-Sandhi (*Arya-Sandhi*), pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (*Ârya-Balatrâta*) [and of ?] Aryya-Bahma, . . (*Ârya-Brahma* . .), the female pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (*Ârya-Balatrâta*) out of the Uchenagarî (*Uchchânagarı*) *śâkhâ*, Jâyâ, daughter of Navahasti (°*hastin*), daughter-in-law of Grahasena . . . . , mother of the brothers Śivasena, Devasena and Śivadeva, has set up an image of [Vardha]mâna for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

No. XXXV.[4]

A. तिये निर्वर्तना

B. 1. तो शखतो शिरिकतो संभोकतो अर्य्य

2. f—धराये निवतना शिवद[त] —[5]

3. — — लनस्य मतु हर्[स्त] — — —

Remark.

If the two fragments, which admit of no connected translation, belong to one inscription, the occurrence of the words *nirvartanâ* and *nivatanâ* is very remarkable. There is no other instance of the kind.

96 Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 1′ 11″ by 1′ 6″.

97 The *ba* of *kuṭîbini* is abnormal, being made round and not perfectly closed.

98 The restoration proposed may be safely made according to the analogy of the other inscriptions.

99 Incised on the base of a large slab, measuring 2′ 10″ by 2′ 1″.

100 Read शाखातो. Restore अर्य्यबम्हदासिये or °मिवाये.

1 The apparent *â*-stroke after the *la* of *Balattrata* is an accidental scratch, not visible on the reverse. The same remark applies to the apparent *ra*-stroke above the *va* of *Navahastisya*. According to the reverse of the impression the real reading is *parigrahe*, not *parigraho*, as the obverse seems to show. At the end of the line, five or six letters have been lost, probably *bhayâ* or *bharyâ*, preceded by a male name in the genitive.

2 Read *Śivasenasya*. Restore *pratishṭhâpitâ vardha*.

3 *Parigrahe* 'for the acceptance' is common on the Buddhist inscriptions of the first and the following centuries of our era. Here it indicates that the ascetics named exhorted *Jâyâ* to make the donation and that the spiritual merit is made over to them; for, the image itself could, of course, be of no use to them.

4 Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing maked Jinas, measuring 2′ by 8″, sections C and D being cut away.

5 At the beginning पवतिधराये *i.e.* प्रव्रजितधराया: has probably to be restored; compare below No. XXXVI.

MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES): Nos. XXVII-XXXIV.

No. 27.

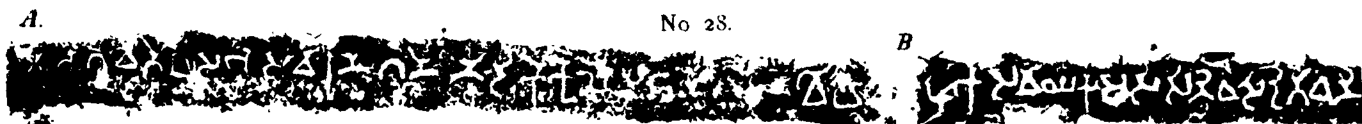


Scale 1-3rd

No 28.

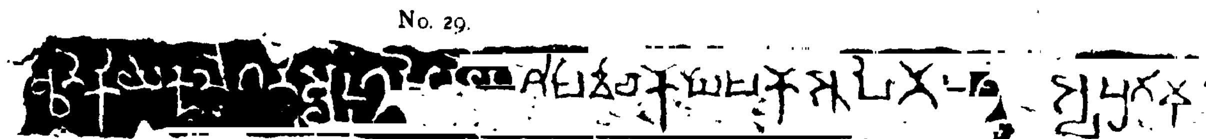
A.

B



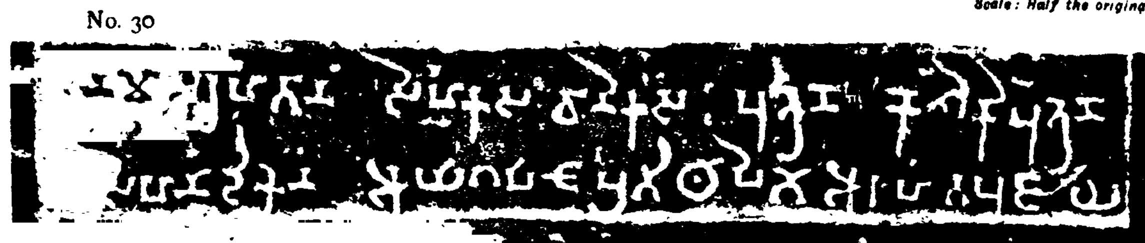
Scale 3-10ths

No. 29.



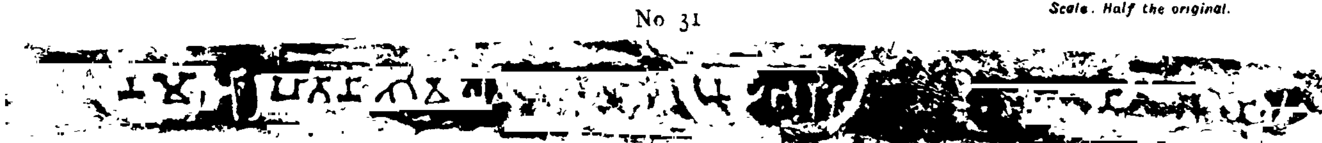
Scale: Half the original.

No. 30



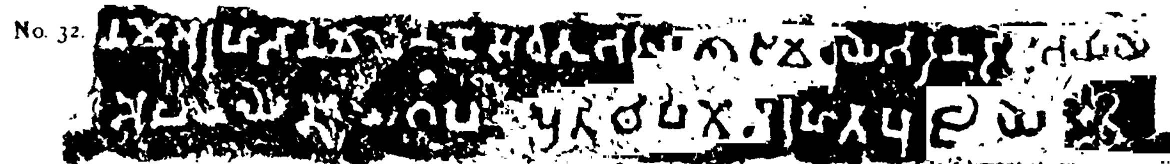
Scale. Half the original.

No 31



Scale 1-4th.

No. 32.



Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 33.

A.

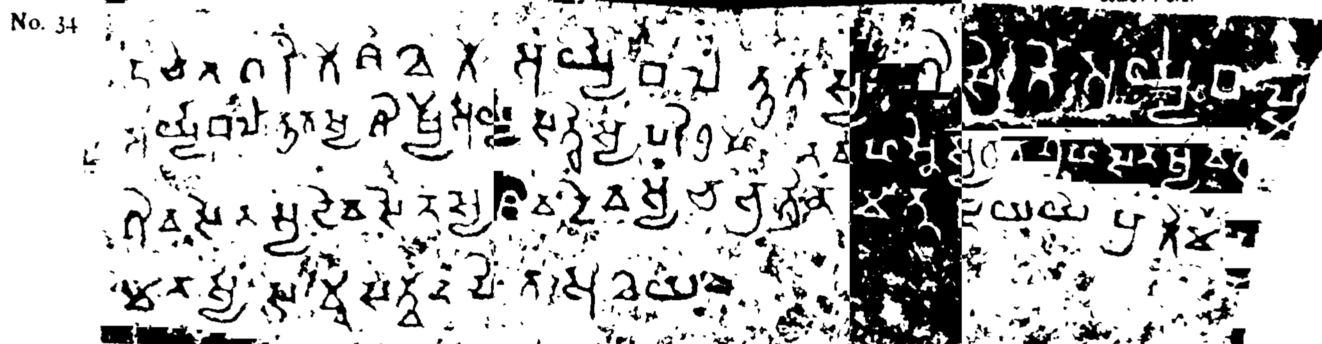


B.



Scale. 1-3rd.

No. 34



A. Fuhrer, Ph.D. impress

Scale 3-10ths.

No. 35.

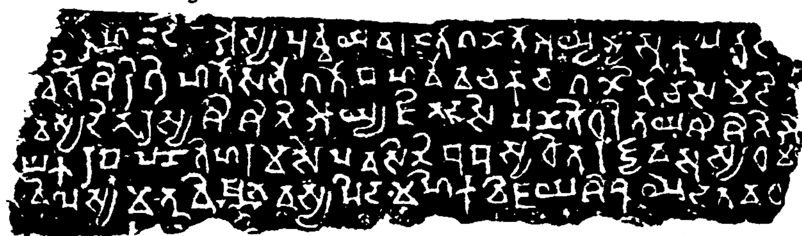
A

B



Scale: Half the original.

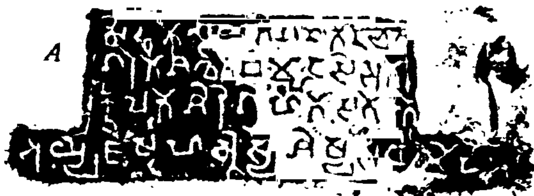
No. 36.



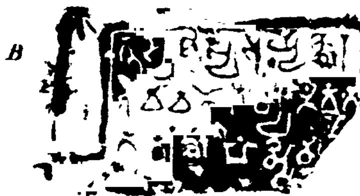
Scale. 1-3rd.

No. 37.

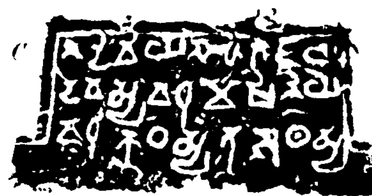
A



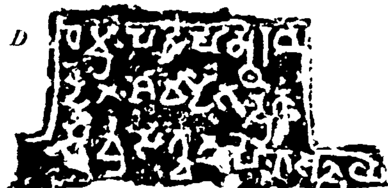
B



C

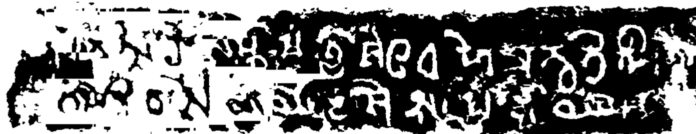


D



Scale 1-3rd

No. 38: Inscription of Gupta period, S. 57.



Scale Half the original

No. 39: Inscription of Kumâragupta, S. 113



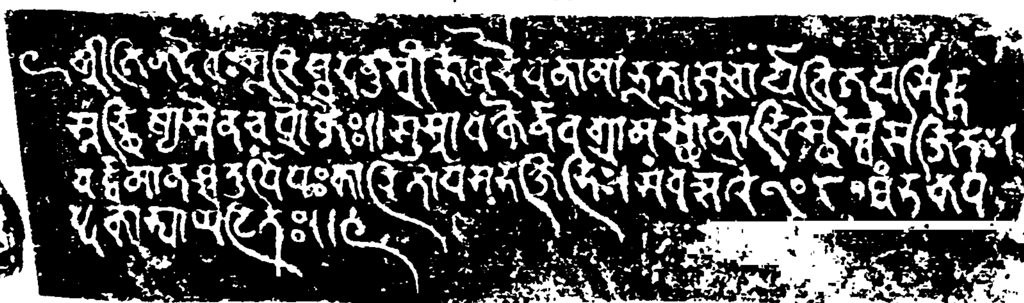
Scale 3-10ths

No. 40



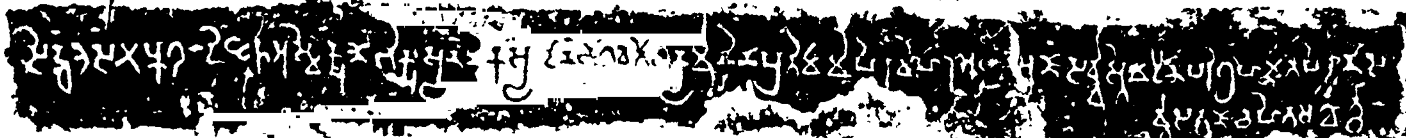
Scale. 1-3rd.

No 41 · S. 1080



Scale Half the original

No. 42: Buddhist Inscription from Kâman, Saṁ. 74.



A Führer Ph D, impress

Scale: 1-3rd

No. XXXVI.[6]

L. 1. — — ५० (?) हे २ दि १ अस्य पुर्व्वय वरणतो गणतो अय्यभ्यिस्तकुलतो [स] — — —[7]

2. — खतो शिरिग्रिहतो सभोगतो बहवो वचक च गणिनो च समदि[ख]—[8]

3. — वस्य दिनरस्य शिशिनि अय्यजिनदसिपणतिधरितय शिशिनिय — —[9]

4. घकरबपणतिहरमसोपवसिनि बुबुस्य धित रज्यवसुस्यधर्म — —[10]

5. [द]विलस्य मतु विष्णु[भ]वस्य पिदमहिक विजयशिरिये दन वध — —[11]

6. — — — — — — — — — — — —

TRANSLATION.

". . . 50, (?) second month of winter, first day, on that (*date, specified as*) above, [*an image of*] Vadha[mâna] (*Vardhamâna*), the gift of Vijayaśiri (*Vijayaśrî*), daughter of Bubu, first wife of Rajyavasu (*Râjyavasu*), mother of *Devila and*) paternal grandmother of Vishṇubhava, who fasted for a month[12] (*and*) obeys the command[13] of A[yya] . . ghakaraba (?) (*who is*) the female pupil, obeying the command[14] of Ayya-Jinadasi (*Ârya-Jinadâsî*), (*who was*) the female pupil of Samadi . . . va Dinara, the great (?) preacher and *gaṇi* out of the Varaṇa (*Vâraṇa*) *gaṇa*, the Ayyabhyista (?) *kula*, the Sa[ṁkâsiyâ] *śâkhâ*. and the Śirigriha (*Śrîgṛiha*) *saṁbhoga* . . . . . ."

No. XXXVII.[15]

A 1. सिद्ध को[ट्टि]यतो गणतो उचेन-

2. गरितो शखतो बम्हादासिमतो[16]

3. कुलतो शिरिग्रिहतो संभोकतो

4. अय्यजेष्टहस्तिस्य शिश्यो अ[र्य्यमि]हि[लो]

B 1. तस्य शिष्य[ो] अर्य्यचेर[17]

2. [को]वाचको तस्य निर्वत-

3. न वर[ण]हस्ति[स्य][18]

[6] Incised on the base of a broken image, measuring 10" by 1' 4".

[7] The first figure may possibly have been 7. In the transcript, I have given the apparently plain, but inexplicable, reading *ayyabhyistakulato*. It is, however, possible that the third syllable may be intended for *nyi*. If this were the case, and if we might assume that we had to deal with a combination of the consonants and a partial omission of the vowels, as in *sdha* for *sidha* (see No. xxvi), the first four syllables might be a kind of tachygraphic representation of *ayyâniyasato* and correspond to *âryakaniyasataḥ*. This *kula* of the Vâraṇa *gaṇa* is mentioned in No. 23, *ante*, vol. I, p. 392. The Śâkhâ was probably *Saṁkâsiyâ*, see *Kalpasûtra*, p. 80 (ed. Jacobi)

[8] Restore *śakhato* i e. *śâkhâto*; read *saṁbhogato* and *bahato*; the last bracketed letter is very doubtful.

[9] Restore *ayya*°.

[10] Restore *dharmapatni*

[11] Read *devilasya*. Restore *vadhamanapratimâ* or perhaps *paṭima*, as the inscription does not mark the *â*-stroke. The last three syllables no doubt stood in line 6, which has been completely destroyed with the exception of the tops of a few letters.

[12] A pious queen, who fasted for a month, is mentioned in the large Nânâghât inscription, *Arch. Sur. Rep. W. I.* vol. v., p. 60.

[13] *Paṇatidhârita* corresponds with Sanskrit *dhâritaprajñapti*.

[14] *Paṇatihara* i e. in Sanskrit *prajñaptidharâ*.

[15] Incised on base of a large quadruple image, consisting of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 1' 7" by 9".

[16] Read *bahma*.

[17] Read *tasya*.

[18] *Nirvatana* is, no doubt, meant for *nirvartanâ*.

C 1. [च] देविय च धित जय-
2. देवस्य वधु मोषिनिये
3. वधु कुठस्य कसुथस्य

D 1. धम्रप[ति]ह स्थिरए[19]
2. दन ग्रवदोभद्रिक[20]
3. सर्व्रसत्वन ह्तिसुखये[21]

TRANSLATION.

"Success! The pupil of Ayya-Jeshṭahasti (*Jyeshṭhahastin*) out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Uchenagarî (*Uchchânagarî*) *Śâkhâ*, (*and*) the Bamhadâsia (*Brahmadâsika-kula*) (*was*) Aryya-Mihila (*Ârya-Mihira*); his pupil (*was*) the preacher (*vâchaka*) Arya-Ksheraka (*Ârya-Kshairaka*?); at his request a fourfold (*image was dedicated as*) the gift of Sthirâ, daughter both of Varaṇahasti (°*hastin*) and of Devî, daughter-in-law of Jayadeva (*and*) daughter-in-law of Moshinî (*and*) first wife of Kuṭha Kasutha for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

No. XXXVIII.[22]

संवत्सरे सप्तपञ्चाश ५० ७ हेमन्थविती —[23]
— ासे [दि]वसे त्रयोदशे श—पूर्व्वायां —[24]

TRANSLATION.

In the fifty-seventh, 57, year, in the third month of winter, on the thirteenth day, on that (*date specified as*) above . . . . .

No. XXXIX.[25]

L. 1. सिद्धम् । परमभट्टारकमाहाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य विजयराज्यसं [१०० १०]
३ क — — — — न्तमा — — [दि]— स २० अस्यां पू[र्व्वायां]कोट्टिया गणा-[26]
2. द्विद्याधरी[तो] शाखातो दतिलाचार्य्यप्रज्ञपिताये शामाढ्याये भट्टिभवस्य धीतु ग्रहमित्रपा-
लि[त]प्रा[ता]रिकस्य कुटुम्बिनीये प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता ।[27]

TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the year 113, in the victorious reign of the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Kumâragupta, on the twentieth day [*of the winter-month*] Kârttika]—on that (*date, specified as*) above an image was set up by Śâmâḍhyâ (*Śyâmâḍhyâ*), daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava (*and*) house-wife of the ferry-

[19] *Dhamrapatiha* seems to be a misspelling of *dharmapatiye* with *dhamra* for *dharma*. Compare the forms of the Girnâr version of Aśoka's rock-edicts *ârabhiptâ* for *ârabhitpâ*, *tiṭsaṁti* for *tisṭaṁti*, and so forth.

[20] Meant for *dânaṁ sarvatobhadrikâ* viz. *pratimâ*.

[21] Meant for *sarvasatâna hitasukhâye*. The spelling *sarvra* for *sarva* is not uncommon in bad MSS.

[22] This is Mr. Growse's No. 5 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 219). It is incised on the base of a small statue, now preserved in the Mathurâ Museum.

[23] Read *hemanta*; restore *tritîya* or *tritîye*.

[24] Restore *mâse* and *asyâṁ*.

[25] Incised on the base of a large sitting Jina, measuring 3' 8" by 2' 7".

[26] Read *-mahârâja-*; restore *kârttikahemantamâsasya divase*.

[27] Read *datilâchâryya*.—Possibly *prâbhârikasya* is to be read.

man (?) **Grahamittrapâlita**,[28] who had received the command (*to make the dedication*) from **Datilâchâyya** (*Dattilâchârya*) out of the **Koṭṭiya** *gaṇa* (*and*) the **Vidyâdharî** *Śâkhâ*."

No. XL.[29]

L. 1. —प्रैक[रच त][30]
2. चन्द्रावदाता भवंतु
3. तारयिच्चो: ॥ गोविन्दस्य
4. रं वडभेरस्या विनि —
5. भ्रतलोल्लेखि मुनेस्तेनेदं

This fragment, of which no continuous translation is possible, belongs to a longer metrical Praśasti, which apparently recorded the building or restoration of a temple. For the remnant of line 5 says :—"By him this . . . of the sage, which touches the sky." It is evident that a word like गृहम् or आयतनम् has been lost. The verses to which the pieces in lines 2, 3 and 5 belong, seem to have been in the Śârdûlavikrîḍita metre.

No. XLI.[31]

L. 1. श्रो श्रीजिनदेव: सूरिस्तदनु श्रीभावदेवनामाभूत् ।
आचार्यविजयसिङ्ग-
2. स्तच्छिष्यस्तेन च प्रोक्तै: ॥ [१॥×][32]
सुश्रावकैर्नवग्रामस्थानादिस्थै स्वसक्तित: ।
3. वर्द्धमानश्चतुर्बिंब: कारितोयं सभक्तिभि: । [।२॥×][33]
संवत्सरै १०८० थंभकप-
4. प्पकाभ्यां घटित: ॥ श्रों[34]

TRANSLATION.

"Oṁ! The illustrious **Jinadeva** (*was*) a Sûri; after him was he who is named the illustrious **Bhâvadeva**. His pupil (*is*) the *Âchârya* **Vijayasiṅga** (*Vijayasiṁha*). Exhorted by him the virtuous laymen, who reside in **Navagrâma**, **Sthâna** and other (*towns*), caused to be made, full of devotion, (*and*) in accordance with their means, this fourfold **Vardhamâna**; it was fashioned in the [*Vikrama*] year[35] 1080 by **Thaṁbhaka** and **Pappaka**. **Oṁ**!"

[28] The translation of *prâtârika* by "ferryman" seems to be justified by the use of *pratṛi*, which frequently means "to carry over in a ship or boat."

[29] Incised on the back of a large broken slab, the surface of which is beautifully carved.

[30] Only the lower portions of the bracketed syllables are visible.

[31] Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four sitting Jinas, measuring 2′ 5″ by 1′ 3″.

[32] Read श्रों. Both here and at the end of the inscription, the word is expressed by the symbol resembling the figure 9. Read *-vijayasimha-*.

[33] Read *suśrâvakair; sthaiḥ, svaśaktitaḥ.*

[34] Read संवत्सरे

[35] It is evident from the characters, which show the common Nâgarî of the eleventh century A.D., that the era must be the Vikrama Saṁvat, and that the date corresponds to A. D. 1022—24, accordingly as the year was expired or current and a northern or a southern one. This donation was, therefore, made within five years after Mahmud's expedition against Mathurâ (A.H. 409) during which the temples of the town are said to have been burnt (Elliot, *History of India*, vol. II, p. 456ff.). Probably the Jaina temples of the Kankâlî Tîlâ escaped destruction; for, it seems hardly likely that they could have been rebuilt so quickly.

No. XLII.[36]

L. 1. सिद्धं । सं ७० ४ ग्र १ दि १० ५ अस्मि क्षुणे भिक्षुस्य नन्दिकस्य दानं भगवतो शक्यमुनिना प्रतिमा मिहिरविहारे अ[चार्य्या]णां सर्व्वस्तिवादीनां परिग्रहे मातपितृणां स-[37]

2. र्व्वस[त]णा च हितसुखार्त्थ ।[38]

TRANSLATION.

"Success! The year 74, the first (*month of*) summer, the fifteenth day,—at that moment, a statue of divine Śakyamuni (*Śâkyamuni, was set up as*) the gift of the monk Nandika in the Mihiravihâra, for the acceptance of the Sarvastivâdi, (*Sarvâstivâdin*) teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (*the donor's*) parents and of all creatures."

XV.—SAMGAMNER COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YADAVA BHILLAMA II.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 922.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit this inscription from excellent impressions prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of Western India. The original plates belong to an inhabitant of Saṁgamner, in the Saṁgamner Sub-Division of the Aḥmadnagar District of the Bombay Presidency.

The inscription is on three plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and which are held together by a ring, bearing a Garuḍa as seal.[1] Each plate measures about $8\frac{1}{2}''$ broad by $13\frac{1}{4}''$ high. The first plate contains 28, and the last 22 lines of writing; on the front of the second plate are 37, and on the back 29 lines. Below the writing on the third plate, in the proper right corner, the figure of a conch-shell is engraved; and the same plate, in line 110, contains an ornamental device, shaped like an open flower. The plates are on the whole well preserved, but in the upper part of the second plate the writing on both sides has suffered slightly from corrosion, and in consequence a few *aksharas*, of no great importance, have become illegible. As may be inferred from the numbers of lines on the several plates, the writing, though done by one and the same writer, is wanting in uniformity. The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}''$ on the first and last plates and on the lower part of the back of the second plate, but only between $\frac{3}{16}''$ and $\frac{1}{4}''$ on the front and at the top of the back of the second plate. The characters are those of the ordinary Nâgarî alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Saṁskṛit, but the names of the Brâhmans, men-

[36] Incised on the base of a large seated Buddha, found in the town of Kâman.

[37] The curve open to the left with a small horizontal bar in the centre is, as now appears, a peculiar form of the full-stop. It occurs also in No. ix of the collection, published *ante*, vol. I, p. 387. There I failed to recognise its value (see note 5), because I misread the preceding sign as *sû*. The latter is, as I now recognise, *sdha*, the abbreviation for *sidha*, which occurs also in No. xxiv of the earlier collection as *sdhi* and as *sdha* in No. xxvi of the present one. The first numeral sign may also be read as 40. The vowels of the bracketed syllables are not certain. Possibly the stone has *mâtâ-*, which has to be restored in any case. The long *ṛi*-vowel in *pitṛinâṁ* is plainly expressed on the impression by a curved stroke slanting to the left, to which a second stroke is attached.

[38] The third sign of *sarvvasatvanâ* is so badly injured that it is impossible to say if it was not *tvâ*. The vowel of the last sign is perfectly plain on the impression.

[1] I owe this information to Mr. Cousens

tioned in lines 66-77, and the name of the writer in line 114 are given in their vernacular forms (*Keśavaiupâdhyâyena* for *Keśavopâdhyâyena*, in line 114, *Nâraṇaiupâdhyâya* for *Nârâyaṇôpâdhyâya*, in line 66, *Vidyâdharaiâya* for *Vidyâdharâya*, and *Śrîdharaiupâdhyâya* for *Śrîdharopâdhyâya*, in line 67, etc.). Besides, attention may be drawn to the term *khaśrevâdhâ*, in line 88, which is equivalent to the expression *khaśrâvâdhâ* of the Sîyaḍôṇî inscription, *ante*, vol. I. p. 165; and to the title or *biruda sellaviḍega*, which does not look like Saṁskṛit and which I am unable to explain, in line 51. Excepting the words *om namaḥ Sivâya* and a date in lines 1-2, the first part of the inscription which treats of the genealogy of the grantor, up to line 45, or perhaps 47, is in verse. The formal part of the grant beginning with line 48, is in prose, but quotes a large number of benedictive and imprecatory verses,[2] in lines 55-61, 89-98, 102-106, and 108-110; and another verse, asking the reader's indulgence for any clerical mistakes which the writing may be found to contain, is given in lines 114-116. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v;* the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal, *e.g.*, in *Sivâya*, l. 1, *îsaḥ*, l. 6, *visâlaḥ*, l. 26; and the palatal occurs instead of the dental in *śaṁśâra*, l. 60, and *śakala*, l. 82. Besides, the vowel *ṛi* is employed instead of *ri* in *Atṛi*, l. 10, and *tṛigrâmi*, l. 84, and *ri* in the place of *ṛi* in the word *rishayaḥ*, l. 95. Altogether the inscription has not been written carefully, and, though corrected in several places, it is by no means free from serious mistakes. The rules of *saṁdhi* are frequently disregarded; the verses of the genealogical portion are only partially numbered or have wrong numbers appended to them; single *aksharas* and whole words or groups of words are either given quite wrongly or left out; and I hope to prove below that even one or more whole lines have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription is one of the *Mahâsâmanta* Bhillama II., and it is the earliest record, hitherto discovered, of the Yâdava dynasty (of Devagiri). After the words '*oṁ*, adoration to Śiva', it gives (in lines 1-2), both in words and in figures, the date—the Śaka year 922. It then has (in lines 2-7) two verses, one of which glorifies Śiva (Chandramauli), while the other invokes the god's blessing on Bhillama, the donor of this grant. The genealogy of Bhillama forms the subject of lines 7-47. Of these, lines 7-22 are of no importance because, beginning with the god Śambhu, they merely contain an account of the descent of the mythical prince Yadu, the reputed founder of the Yâdava family,—the intermediate beings mentioned being Brahman, Marîchi, Atri, Indu, Purûravas, Âyus, Naghusha, and Yayâti. Nor do the following lines, from 23 to 34, record anything that was not known before.[3] The first historical prince spoken of is Seuṇachandra (lines 22-26), who here as elsewhere is reported to have called his dominion (*maṇḍala*) and the people of it after himself. His son was the prince Dhâḍi[yappa][4] (lines 26-28). After him came, evidently his son, the prince Bhillama I. (lines 28-33).[5] And he again was succeeded by his son, the prince Râjan or Râja, called elsewhere Śrîrâja or Râjagi.

[2] The inscription resembles in this the Kalas-Budrûkh grant of Bhillama III., *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVII, p 121.

[3] Compare, in addition to the Kalas-Budrûkh plates of Bhillama III., the Passein grant of Seunachandra II., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 119, and Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, pp. 75-77.

[4] See note 40, below.

[5] Bhillama provided the god Somanâtha (or Śiva), at the place where this inscription was composed, with a valuable head-dress or turban.

From the end of line 34 our inscription becomes more interesting, but also presents some serious difficulties. According to the Kalas-Budrûkh plates of Bhillama III. and the Bassein grant of Seuṇachandra II., Śrîrâja was succeeded by his son Vaddiga, and he again by Bhillama II., who married Lakshmî or Lachchhiavvâ, a lady born in the Râshṭrakûṭa family.[6] The present grant first tells us (in lines 34-40) that from Râjan or Râja sprang the prince Vandiga (the Vaddiga of the other plates), a great warrior, who was a follower or feudatory of the illustrious king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarâja, and that this Vandiga married the lady Voddiyavvâ,[7] a daughter of the great prince (*mahânṛipa*), the illustrious Dhorappa. It then has to be referred, as the text stands, to the same Vandiga, two verses (in lines 40-45), the first of which glorifies (as it seems) Vandiga for having in battle destroyed the fortune of the great prince Muñja,[8] and for having thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious king Raṇaraṅgabhîma; while the second verse, among the advantages or blessings which he enjoyed, besides recording that Sindînagara was his residence, somewhat pointedly enumerates the fact that Lakshmî incarnate, or in visible shape, always dwelt in his house, full of joy. After these verses, what may be called the poetical part of our inscription contains three more lines (45-47), which read like fragments of verses or like verses turned somehow into prose, in praise of a new Śiva-temple, called *Vijayâbharaṇanâtha*; but there is no indication as to who erected this temple or why it is mentioned here at all, an omission which must appear the more remarkable because this temple is poetically described as the collected fame, or the fame in bodily form, clearly of its founder who is not named.

The grant recorded in this inscription was made by Bhillama II., and there can be no doubt that the genealogy given in the introductory *praśasti* should have been continued to, and that the author who composed it did bring it down to, that Bhillama. Moreover, I consider it to be perfectly certain that the Lakshmî, spoken of in line 43, is the Lakshmî or Lachchhiavvâ of the other grants, the wife of Bhillama, the donor of this grant; and I feel almost as sure that the temple, spoken of in lines 45-47, which, or the god worshipped in which, was named *Vijayâbharaṇanâtha*, was founded either by Bhillama himself one of whose titles or *birudas*, as we learn from line 51, was *Vijayâbharaṇa*, or by his wife. I am thus driven to the conclusion that the writer, who copied this inscription, has omitted at least two verses, one verse, before the words *svenârâti* in line 40, recording that Voddiyavvâ bore to Vandiga a son, named Bhillama, and another, after the word *-mahasaḥ* in line 45, stating that Bhillama or his wife Lakshmî erected the temple eulogised in lines 45-47. And accordingly, what is stated in the verse in lines 40-42, must in my opinion really be referred, not to Vandiga, but to his son, and it was Bhillama II. who defeated the great prince Muñja, and who thereby secured uninterrupted fortune for his sovereign lord, the illustrious king Raṇaraṅgabhîma. The question then arises, who were these kings Muñja and Raṇaraṅgabhîma, and who was the king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarâja, to whom Bhillama's father Vandiga owed allegiance?

Our grant being dated in Śaka 922=A. D. 1000, it is clear that Bhillama II.

[6] According to the Bassein grant Lachchhiavvâ was the daughter of Jhañjharâja.

[7] This lady built a Śiva-temple, the exact name of which I am unable to make out.

[8] See note 32, below.

lived during the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. The only great prince Muñja known to us, who could have been his contemporary, was Vâkpatirâja-Muñja of Mâlava,[9] and it is undoubtedly this Muñja whose defeat by Bhillama is recorded in line 41 of this inscription. From this it follows that the king named Raṇaraṅgabhîma in our grant, as whose general or feudatory Bhillama was acting, was an adversary of Vâkpatirâja-Muñja; and I believe that he was really no other than the Western Châlukya Tailapa,[10] by whom Muñja was utterly defeated and taken prisoner, and at whose orders he was finally beheaded. Tailapa ruled from A. D. 973-997; we know him to have also been called Âhavamalla; and Raṇaraṅgabhîma is little less than a synonym of Âhavamalla.—Bhillama's father Vandiga or Vaddiga may reasonably be supposed to have lived during the third quarter of the 10th century A.D., and, such being the case, the king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarâja, whose follower he is represented to have been in this inscription, can only have been the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa,[11] for whom we have the dates Śaka 867 and 878 = A.D. 945 and 956, the son of Amoghavarsha-Vaddiga. Evidently, down to Vandiga, the Yâdavas were feudatories of the Râshṭrakûṭas; after the overthrow of this dynasty by the Châlukyas, which took place in A.D. 973, their allegiance was transferred to the Châlukyas.—As the father-in-law of Vandiga our inscription mentions another great prince, the illustrious Dhorappa. About this prince I am unable to speak with confidence, but I will not suppress a conjecture on the probability of which I leave others to judge. Dhorappa is only a Prâkṛit equivalent of the Saṁskṛit Dhruva, and we know that one of the earlier Râshṭrakûṭa kings was named Dhruva or Dhora, or Nirupama. Now Kṛishṇarâja, the sovereign lord of Vandiga, had a younger brother likewise named Nirupama, the father of Kṛishṇa's successor Kakkala, and it seems to me not at all improbable that this Nirupama, like his ancestor Nirupama, may too have been called Dhruva or Dhora, and that it is he whose daughter was given in marriage to Vandiga.[12] The description of Dhorappa as *mahánṛipa* would thus, I believe, be well accounted for.—I will only add here that, if, as we apparently are obliged to do, we place Vandiga in the third quarter of the 10th century A.D., the rise of the Yâdava family and the date of Seuṇachandra (or his predecessor Dṛidhaprahâra) can hardly be put earlier than A.D. 850.

The proper object of our inscription is, to record that Bhillama, the king (as he is called), granted certain lands, described in lines 78-84, to twenty-one Brâhmans who are enumerated in lines 64-77. The general meaning of the passage (in lines 48-86) which contains this information is clear enough; but the construction, changing as it does from the active to the passive, and again to the active construction, is altogether ungrammatical.

Omitting what is of no importance, the illustrious Bhillamarâja is described in lines 48-52 as a *mahásámanta* or great feudatory who had obtained the five *mahâśabda*, the supreme lord of the city of Dvâravatî, . . . born in Vishṇu's family, eager to worship Śiva, . . . and rendered illustrious by such royal titles as *Aráti-nishûdana*, 'the destroyer of enemies,' *Saṁgráma-Ráma*, *Kandukácharya*, *Sellaviḍega*, and

[9] See *ante*, vol. I, pp. 226-227.
[10] See Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 59, and Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 41.
[11] See Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, *ib.* pp. 54-57, and Dr. Fleet, *ib.*, pp. 37-38.
[12] It may be noted that Bhillama III. married 'Hâmmâ, the daughter of Jayasiṁha and sister of Âhavamalla, the Châlukya emperor.' See Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, *ib.*, p. 78.

Vijayâbharaṇa. Professor Bhâṇḍârkar has already pointed out that,[13] since Vishṇu Krishṇa is represented in the *Purâṇas* to have belonged to the Yâdava family, even the later princes of Devagiri called themselves *Vishṇuvaṁśodbhava*, and that, as Krishṇa and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvârakâ, they assumed the title of *Dvâravatîpuravarâdhîśvara*, 'the supreme lords of Dvâravati, the best of cities.' As regards the titles or *birudas* of Bhillama, the term *Saṁgrâma-Râma* is applied to him also in line 8 of the Kalas-Budrûkh plates. *Kandukâchârya* apparently means 'a master in playing at ball', and *Sellaviḍega* seems to be a Prâkṛit expression, the meaning of which I do not understand. The title *Vijayâbharaṇa* has already been referred to above.

The names of the twenty-one donees, given in lines 64-77, it is unnecessary to repeat here. From line 64 it would seem[14] that they lived at Sindînagara, which according to line 43 was the place of residence of Bhillama, and which has been identified[15] with the modern Sinnar, the chief town of the Sinnar Sub-Division of the Nâsik District. All were Brâhmans, some students of the *Ṛigveda* or *Sâmaveda*, and others members of the Kâṇva or Mâdhyandina *śâkhâs* of the Vâjasaneyin branch of the *Yajurveda*, or of the Maitrâyaṇîya *śakhâ* of the black *Yajurveda*. Some belonged to the Gautama, Kauṇḍinya, Bhâradvâja, or Kauśika *gotras*. And one (in line 72) is described as *râja-dauvârika*, 'the king's doorkeeper'

To these Brâhmans Bhillama gave[16] (lines 78-80) the village of Arjunoṇḍhikâ, situated on the banks of the river Mâtuliṅgî, and some land between the two villages Laghu-arjunoṇḍhî and Laghu-vavvulavedra. The boundaries of the village were (lines 83-84), to the east, Saṁgamanagara, to the south, the village of Chikhalî, to the west, the village of Jamvalenimva, and to the north, the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra. On the maps at my disposal I find no name similar to Arjunoṇḍhikâ, but Dr. Burgess has suggested to me that the village granted may be the modern Râjapur, on the Mâlungî river of the Saṁgamner Sub-Division of the Ahmadnagar District which perhaps may have received this name in consequence of this grant. And judging from the position, this identification would suit very well indeed. The Saṁgamanagara of the grant would of course be the town of Saṁgamner of the Ahmadnagar District, which is about three miles east of Râjapur. Chikhalîgrâma would be the village of Chikhali on the river Ârdalâ, about two miles south of Râjapur, and Jamvalenimvagrâma the village of Javlekardak, which is about 2½ miles west of Râjapur. And the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra would be represented by the village Velhâle (not marked on the G. T. S. Map, sheet 38) on the Mâlungî river, about two miles north of Râjapur, and two deserted "wâdis" not far from it.

Lines 86 110 in the usual terms admonish future rulers to protect the donees and their descendants in the possession of this grant and warn them not to resume it. Lines 110-113 add that the illustrious Bhillamarâja made the donation here recorded on the new-moon *tithi* of the month Bhâdrapada of the year Śârvarin, on the occasion of a solar

[13] See *ib.*, p. 85; compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 121; and this inscription, lines 21-22.

[14] I am not sure about this, for after the word *Śrî-Sindînagar-ântaḥpâti* one would certainly expect the name or names of one or more villages, situated in the district of Sindînagara.

[15] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 118.

[16] In the formal part of the grant the only unusual term is *sôshṭâdaśaprakṛityopetam* in line 80. I can only compare with it *sâshṭâdaśaprakṛiti* in line 14 of the inscription published in the *Proceedings, Beng. As. Soc.*, 1877, p 73, but am not able to explain the term properly.

eclipse, at the holy bathing-place of the confluence of the Aruṇâ[17] (and Godâvarî) at Nâsik. And line 114 gives the name of the writer of this *śâsana-paṭṭa*, Keśava-upâdhyâya, who (in lines 114-116) asks the indulgence of the reader for any mistakes, and winds up with the remark that no verbal deficiencies of this document will affect its validity.

The date of this inscription does not work out satisfactorily. The Jovian year Śârvarin, mentioned in line 110, correctly corresponds, by the southern luni-solar system, to the expired Śaka year 922, given in lines 1-2; but there was no solar eclipse on the new-moon *tithi* of either the *pûrṇimânta* or *amânta* Bhâdrapada of that year,—the 2nd and 31st August, A.D. 1000. There was a solar eclipse a month later, on the 30th September, A.D. 1000, but it was not visible in India.

TEXT.[18]

First plate.

L. 1. ओं [नमः] मि(शि)वाय । स्वस्ति शकनृपका[ला]तीतसंवत्सरशतेषु नवसु द्वाविंश-
2. [त्य]धिकेष्वंकतोपि संवत्सराः ९२२ ॥ त्वयमपि[19] भुवनानामीषदुन्मे-
3. [ष]मात्रात्प्रभवति लयशेषं यन्निमेषादुपैति [।ˣ] अतिशयि-
4. तचरित्रो योगिनामप्यगम्यः स इह जयतु देव[20] चारुच-
5. [न्द्राङ्क]मौलिः ॥ १ । भुव[नˣ]भवनहेतुः दुष्कृताम्भोधिसेतुः विहितम-[21]
6. दनमाथः पार्व्वतीप्राणनाथः ॥(।) निहतमकदरोस(श): पातु भिन्न-
7. ममोशः ।[22] करतलकृतशूलः मर्व्वदा चन्द्रचूलः ॥ युगस्यादौ[23]
8. श[भु ?]र्भुवनमसृजज्ञवन्मूर्त्तिस्त्रिधा मुरग्पिविरिंचप्रभवतः ॥(।)
9. वि[रिं]चेः संभूतः सकलमरुतां योनिरमलो मरीचिर्या(र्य)त्की-
10. [र्त्ति]र्भ्रमति भुवने कुन्दविशदा । ३ । [24]अतृ(त्रि)नामाभवत्तस्मात्सूनुस्स-
11. त्यपरायणः । तत्सनुरिन्दुराख्यातो जगदानन्दमन्दिरम(म्) । ४ ।
12. [25]ततोभवन्निर्मालसोमवंशजो विशालभूपालगुणालयं हि
13. यः [।ˣ]पुरूरवा भूपतिरर्द्धमासनं सदा सुरेन्द्रस्य व(ब)भाज लीलया
14. । ६ ।[26] [27]अभूदायुस्तस्मान्नृपतिरमरैर्व्वन्द्यचरितो हठाक्रान्तारा-
15. तिप्रणतचरणाम्भोजयुगलः [।ˣ] ततो जातो यास्मिन्नघुषनृ-[28]
16. पतिर्ल्लाच्छ(छ)नमिषाल्लिलेख स्वस्या[ख्यां ?][29] स्वभुजविजयी चन्द्रफलके । ७ ।
17. अजनि[30] नघुषभूपाङ्गमिपालो ययातिस्त्रिदशमहितकी-
18. र्त्तिर्व्वीरलक्ष्मीर्व्विलासः[31] [।ˣ] किमिव[32] गुणगणोसौ व[ण्य]ते[33] त-
19. स्य सान्याज्जगदवननिमित्तं यादवानां प्रसूतिः ॥ ८ ॥ अ-

[17] See the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVI (Nâsik), p. 524: '*Aruna tirth* is where the Aruna joins the Godâvarî near Ram's Pool'.

[18] From an ink-impression, prepared by Mr H. Cousens.

[19] Metre, Mâlinî; and of the next verse.

[20] Here and in other places below which it is unnecessary to point out separately the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

[21] The *akshara* त was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line between वि and हि.

[22] This sign of punctuation is superflous. In the preceding the metre is incorrect.

[23] Metre, Śikharinî. In the first half of the verse five syllables have been omitted, and the words given, though their general sense is apparent, do not admit of a proper construction.

[24] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[25] Metre, Vaṁśastha.

[26] From here the numbers of the verses are wrong.

[27] Metre, Śikhariṇî.

[28] Read यस्मान्न°.

[29] The two *aksharas* स्या[ख्यां?] were originally omitted, and are engraved above the line.

[30] Metre, Mâlinî; and of the next verse.

[31] I believe the reading intended to be °कीर्तिर्वीरलक्ष्मीविलासः, although this would offend against the metre.

[32] Here I would propose reading किमिह गुणगणोसौ वर्ण्यते तस्य यस्मात्°.

[33] The *akshara* in brackets, as engraved, is स्य.

L. 20. भवदिह ययातिः मज्जनानन्दकारी यदुनृपतिरशेषाक्रा-
21. न्तदाय(या)दचक्रः [।*] सकलविवु(बु)धवृन्दैर्व्वन्दितोसौ मुरारिज्ज-
22. गदवननिमित्तं यस्य वंशे प्रसूतः ॥ ८ ॥ [34]एतस्माद्यदुवं-
23. शतः[35] समभवद्भूपालचूडामणिर्भूपालः[36] कलिकाल-
24. कल्म[ष*]लवैर्न्नालोकितो भूतले । ख्यातः सेउणचन्द्र एव स-
25. हसा नाम्ना निजेनाह्वयं[37] यो लोकं निजमण्डलं च समदा-
26. रातीभकण्ठीरवः । १० । प्रख्यातोसौ[38] सद्गुणैर्यो विसा(शा)लः
27. संग्रामोघ्यद्दुर्द्दमारातिकालः । [39]जातःस्तस्मादष्टमोचन्द्र-
28. भालः सूनु [:*] श्रीमान्धाडिरश्वी[40] नृपालः ॥ ११ ॥ [41]तदनु विवु(बु)धवृ-

Second plate; first side.

29. [न्दान]न्दमन्दोहसीमा समदमदन — — [मानि]नीमानचोरः [।*] असमम ⏑ ⏑ —
30. — योरिकालानलोभूत्तत इह ⏑ ⏑ [रे]न्द्रो भूतले भिल्लमाख्यः ॥ १२ ॥
31. [ननु] किमिह कवीनां तस्य वर्ण्यं हि न स्यात्कुमुदविस(श)दकीर्त्तिर्भू-
32. [तले]द्यापि यस्य । रुचिरकनकभासोद्दामिनीमाववन्ध[42] प्रति-
33. दिनमिह देवः पट्टिकां [मो]मनाथः[43] ॥ १३ ॥ [44]तस्माज्जातः सुतो रा[जा] रा-
34. जा राजीवलोचनः [।*] राजेव राजते योत्र प्रजानन्दकरः सदा ॥ १४ ॥ तस्मा-[45]
35. द्विन्दिगभूपतिः समभवद्भूपालचूडामणिः यः सौभाग्यमहोदधि-
36. र्मृगदृशां कन्दर्प्पदर्प्पोद्दतः । राजा दीर्घभुजद्वय[:*] पृथुलसद्वक्षस्थ-
37. लः संगरे ।[46] क्रूरारिप्रमदेभदर्प्पदलनः श्रीकृष्णराजानुगः [॥ १५ ॥]
38. श्रीधो[र]प्पमहानृपस्य दुहिता श्रीवोद्दिय[व्वा]भिधा[47] शंभोः सै(शै)ल-
39. सुतेव कैटभरिपोःलक्ष्मीरिव[48] प्रेयसी [।*] यस्यासोत्कुमुदा[व]दातयशसः स्तूपायमा[नं] यया
40. [ना]मावेश्वरमोशवेश्म[49] विहितं कैलासलीलाहरम्[50]॥ [खे][51]नारातिकरालकालर[च]ना-चण्डा[सि]-
41. दण्डेन यो हत्वा मुञ्जमहानृपप्रणयिनी[52] संग्रामरंगांगणे [।*]लक्ष्मीमम्वु(म्बु)धिमेखलावल-
42. यित[क्ष्मा]वर्त्तिनोम्मापयद्भूपश्रीरणरंगभीमभवनं साक्षात्कुलस्त्रीव्रतम् ।(॥) अधि-[53]
43. ष्ठानं सिन्दीन[ग]रसपरंस्वर्ग्गवदिदं[54] सदा मूर्त्ता लक्ष्मीर्व्वसतिभवने यस्य मुदिता ।
44. मनः स(श)म्भोः पादाम्वु(म्बु)रुहयुगले ध्याननियतं यदोर्व्वंशे भूपाचरितमभवं[55] चा[रु ?]-
45. महसः ।(॥) [56]हिमगिरिसि(शि)खरसदृशमिह राजति सुरपुरवर्त्मसंन्निभं[57] हतपुर[म]-

[34] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[35] Originally °शतो, but altered to °शतः.

[36] Originally °मणि: भ°, but altered to मणिर्भ°.

[37] Read °ह्वयो; this correction may have been made already in the original.

[38] Metre, Śâlinî.

[39] Read जातस्त°.

[40] The intended reading most probably is धाडियप्पो.

[41] Metre, Mâlinî, and of the next verse.

[42] Read °बबन्ध.

[43] The *akshara* in brackets is सो rather than सो.

[44] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[45] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next two verses.

[46] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[47] The *akshara* in brackets looks very much like या.

[48] Read °रिपोर्लक्ष्मी°.

[49] The consonant of the first *akshara* of this line is slightly damaged, and it may possibly be त; the following *aksharas* are quite clear.

[50] Originally °हर was engraved.

[51] Of this *akshara*, again, only the superscript vowel is quite certain, and the whole *akshara* might possibly be read ये.

[52] Read मुञ्ज°.

[53] Metre, Śikharinî.

[54] Read सिन्दीनगरमपरम्व°

[55] Read °भवच्चा°.

[56] This passage, from here to the end of line 47. looks as if it were intended to be in verse or contained fragments of verses, but I cannot recognize in it any of the known metres.

[57] Read °सन्निभ.

L. 46. घननियतकैलासगिरिस्फुहम[शु]मसत्प्रभम्[58] ॥ पुंजितयश इवेन्दुकुन्द[द्यु]-
47. ति भुवनतिलकसुन्दरं विजयाभरणनाशाभिधमभिनवगिरि[श]मन्दिरम् ॥
48. समधिगतपंचमहाशब्द(न्द)महासामन्तद्वारवतीपुरपरमेश्वरैकशंखध्वनिव(ब)-
49. धिरितदिगन्तरालविजयतूर्यारवसंवासितर्जितरिपुसमूहविष्णुवंशोद्ग-
50. वभवचरणाराधनैकतत्परमनस्विनीमानोन्मूलनकन्दर्पदर्पोद्वतारति-
51. निपटनसंग्रामरामकंदुकाचार्यसिंघविडंगविजयाभरणेत्यादिसमस्तरा-[59]
52. जावलीविराजितश्रीमद्भिल्लमराजा[60] ॥ अन्तःशून्यः कदलीगर्भवदसारः
53. संसारः । व्याधिजरामरणसाधारणं शरीरं । प्रव(ब)लपवनकम्पितनलि-[61]
54. नीदलगततुषारतरले च धनायुषी यौवनं च । तथा च । कृतत्रेतद्वापर-
55. युगेभ्यो अत्यर्थं[62] दानफलं ।[63] कलौ युगे पुनः[64] शंसंति । न[65] तथा सफला विद्या
56. न तथा सफलं धनं [।×] यथा तु मुनयः प्राहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे ।(॥) अग्नेरपत्यं[66]
57. प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लो[क×]त्रयं तेन भवेत्प्रदत्तं य[:]
58. कांचनं गां च मही च दद्यात(त्) ॥ आस्फोटयन्ति[67] पितरः प्रवल्भ(ल्ग)न्ति पिताम-
59. हाः [।×] भूमिदोस्मत्कुले जातः स नः सन्तारयिष्यति ।(॥) भूमिदानं सुपात्रेषु सु-
60. तीर्थेषु सुपर्व्वणि । अगाधापारशं(सं)सारसागरोत्तारणं[68] भवेत(त्) ॥ धवलान्यातप-
61. [त्राणि] दन्तिनचि(श्च) मदोद्धताः । भूमिदानस्य पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्गे पुरन्दरः[69] ॥ इ-
62. [ति] पराशरवत्सकुत्सो(त्सा)ङ्गिरसगौतममनुयाज्ञवल्क्यमुनिवचनान्यव[धा]-
63. [र्य] मया [दृ]ढतरविरक्तबुध्या[70] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च श्रेयोर्थिना हि मया[71] [ब्रा(ब्रा)]-
64. [ह्मणा ?]नां ग्रा[मो] दत्तः । श्रीसिन्दीनगरान्तःपाति । वाजिकाण्वसा(शा)खिने[72] गौत-
65. मगोत्राय — -

Second plate ; second side.

66. — होपाध्याय[73] नारणैउपाध्यायसु[ताय] तथा वाजिकाण्वशाखाय कौण्डिन्यगोत्राय [विद्या ?]-
67. [ध]रैआय श्रीधरैउपाध्यायसुताय तथा व(ब)ह्वृचशाखाय भरद्वाजगोत्राय म[हल ?]-
68. [पै]आय वि[ट्ठ ?]पैयसुताय तथा वाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखाय कौण्डिन्यगोता(त्रा)य [महल ?]-
69. पैआय इन्दपैयसुताय तथा व(ब)ह्वृचशाखाय देवपैयाय अल्लपैसुताय तथा [कं ?]-
70. [दो ?]गप्रभाकरदीक्षिताय तथा मित्रायणीवच्छपैयः[74] तथा अन्धूपम्यसैयः
71. [त]था माध्यंदिन[गु]हिसपैयः तथा च्छन्दोगग्गलः[75] सोर्म्मयसुतः तथा माध्यं-
72. दिनमहलपैयः तथा व(ब)ह्वृचराजदौवारिकमहलपैयः तथा व(ब)ह्वृचसंग्ग[लः]
73. तथा करहाटवप्पलः तथा वाजिकाण्वनिम्बैयः तथा व(ब)ह्वृचनेवपैयः तथा
74. व(ब)ह्वृचशाखा[य ?]कौशिकगोत्राय विक्कपैयाय श्रीधरैसुताय तथा

[58] Read °संयुमत्सप्रभम्.

[59] The *akshara* चा of कंदुकाचाय was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

[60] Read °राजः. Some of the following signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[61] The *akshara* प of पवन was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

[62] Read ऽत्यर्थं.

[63] This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and may have been struck out already in the original

[64] Instead of पुनः one would have expected मुनयः.

[65] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[66] Metre, Indravajrâ

[67] Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh) : and of the two next verses.

[68] The *akshara* रो was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

[69] Read स्वर्गः पुरन्दरः.

[70] Read °बुद्ध्या.

[71] This word is unnecessarily repeated here.

[72] Originally साखिनि was engraved ; see below, line 75.

[73] One would expect °ध्यायाय.

[74] Read मैत्रायणीय°.

[75] The writing is quite distinct here, but must be faulty.

L. 75. [धो?]प्पलाय कौशिकगोत्राय व(ब)हृचसाखिनि[76] । ताथा व(ब)हृचशाखा-
76. य अग्गलैश्राय तथा व(ब)हृचशाखाय दन्दर्पैश्राय कालपैसुताय
77. तथा पौम्वदेवः अल्लपैसुताय । एवममीषां द्विजानां पितृपं-
78. तामहोंपार्ज्जितं[77] मातुलिङ्गीतटसमावामितं अर्ज्जुनोरिढ-
79. काग्रामं तथा लघुअर्ज्जुनोरढोग्रामलघुवव्वुलवेद्रग्राम-
80. [द्व]याभ्यंतरं सवृचमालाकुल चा(च)तुःसीमापर्यन्तं साष्टा-
81. दशप्रकृत्योपेतं वापीकूपतडागारामसहितं सतृणका[ष्ट]-
82. पाषाणोपेतं श(स)कलममस्तोपेतं [।*] ग्रामस्याघाटाः[78] लिख्यन्ते [। ।
83. पूर्व्वतः संगमनगरं दक्षिणतः चिखलोग्राम. पश्चिम-
84. तः जम्वलानम्वग्रामः उत्तरतः वव्वुलवेद्रतृ(त्रि)ग्रामी [।*] एवं चा(च)-
85. तुराघाटविशुद्धं सर्व्वाभ्यंत्तरसिध्या[79] पुत्रपौत्रादिमंतत्योपे-
86. तानां चद्रार्कं यावत्प्रतिपालनीयं । एवमन्वयजां वंश्यूनांमपि[80]
87. [भुञ्जानानां भो]जयतां[81] कृषतां कर्षापयताम्वा[82] यथेष्टं प्रति(दि)शता प्रति-
88. देशयतां ।[83] केनापि खश्रेवाधा[84] न करणीया । उक्तं च मुनिभिः [।*]
89. यानीह[85] दत्तानि पुरा नेरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।*]
90. निर्म्माल्यमालाप्रतिमानि तानि ।[86] को नाम साधुः पुनराद-
91. दीत ।(॥) व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा[87] भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि
92. भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
93. फलं ।(॥) सद्यो दानं निरायासं सायासं तस्य पाल-
94. नम् ॥(।)

Third plate.

95. एवं हि रिषयः[88] प्राहुः दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् ॥ दत्वा[89] भू[मिं] भाविनः
96. पार्थिवेन्द्राः भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सा-
97. मान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी-
98. यो भवद्भिः ।(॥) इत्यर्थितोपि यः कलिकालवस(शा)ल्लोभा-
99. भिभूतो यः[90] पूर्व्वदानमपहरिष्यति ।[91] स पंचम
100. हापातकैरुपपातकैर्युतो रौरवादिषु नरकेषु
101. पच्यमानो दुष्कृतमनुभविष्यति[92] । तथा च ।[91] व्यासभट्टार
102. कः प्राह । स्वदत्तां[93] परदत्ताम्वा[94] यो हरेत वसुन्धराम(म्) [।*]

[76] Read °शाखिने तथ।

[77] Read °महोपा°.

[78] Read °घाटा.

[79] Read °भ्यन्तरसिद्ध्या.

[80] Read °जानां वंश्यानामपि.

[81] Originally only भुञ्जयतां was engraved; but three or four *aksharas* were afterwards engraved above the line, which, together with the former, appear to me to yield the reading given in the text.

[82] Read °तां वा.

[83] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[84] The second *akshara* might also be read श्रे, but compare खसाबाधा, *ante*, vol. I, p. 165.

[85] Metre, Upajâti. Read नरे°.

[86] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[87] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.

[88] Read ऋषय, प्राहुर्दा°.

[89] Metre, Śâlinî. Read दत्त्वा, °वेन्द्रान्, and याचते.

[90] This word is superfluous.

[91] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[92] The *akshara* ष्य was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

[93] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the two next verses.

[94] Read °दत्तां वा.

L. 103. स विष्ठायां क्रमिर्भूत्वा क्रमिभिः सह पच्यते ।(॥) विन्ध्याटवी-
104. ष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । महाहयो हि जायन्ते
105. भूमिदानापहारकाः ।(॥) तडागानां सहस्रेण वाजिमेधशतेन च [।*]
106. गवां कोटिप्रदानेत(न) भूमिहर्त्ता न शुद्ध्यति ।(॥) इति महर्षिवचना-
107. न्यवधार्य ।[94] आगन्तुकराजभिः धर्म्मलोपभयेन प्रतिपालनीयम् [।*]
108. मद्वंस(श)जाः[95] परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः [।*]
109. ये पालयंति मम धर्म्ममिमं समग्रं तेषां मया विरचितोञ्जलि-
110. रेष मूर्ध्नि[96] ॥ ❀ ॥ सा(शा)र्व्वरीसंवत्सरीयभाद्रपदामावास्या-
111. याम् ।[94] श्रीनासिकीयअरुणासंवे(वे)द्यमहातीर्थे ।[94] परम-
112. व्रतौ(तो)पवासनियमयुक्तेन स्रो(श्रो)भिल्लमराजेन सूर्यग्रहणे ग्रा-
113. मोयं प्रदत्तः ॥ लिग्व(खि)तमिदं शासनपट्टं स्थाननियमेन
114. राजनियमेन च ॥[94] मया केशवैउपाध्यायेनेति ॥ यद-[97]
115. क्षरं परिभ्रष्टं मात्राहीनं च यद्भवेत(त्) । क्षां(क्षं)तुमर्हथ विद्वांसः क-
116. स्य न स्खलते मनः ॥ यदत्रोनाक्षरमधिकम्वा[98] तत्सर्व्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥

XVI.—STONE INSCRIPTIONS AT VAGHLI IN KHANDES.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 991.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 478, Vâghlî,[1] a village six miles east (or rather north-east) of Chalisgaon in the Khândeś District, has three temples, an old temple of Madhaidevî, a small ruined temple to its right, and a temple of the Mânbhâva[2] sect. "The Mânbhâva temple, built in Hemâdpanti style, 33 feet long by 22 broad and 13 high, with ornamented pillars and doorway, formerly contained a *liṅga*, and has still the sacred bull outside. Three large stones (within) bear illegible Sanskṛit inscriptions. Near the temple is a well, inside and on each side of which is a small cell. The temple is undoubtedly very old, and has for the last seven generations been in the possession of the Mânbhâva sect." Good impressions of the three inscriptions thus referred to, taken by Mr. H. Cousens, have been supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. They show that the three inscriptions are indeed damaged, especially one of them, but that they are by no means so illegible as they have been reported to be. And their contents appear to me sufficiently interesting to justify my furnishing a short account of them. I shall denote the inscriptions by the letters A, B, and C, but shall show that all three really form part of a single inscription.

A.—This inscription contains 14 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3′ 6″ broad by 1′ 1½″ high. On the proper right side the writing is much damaged and

[95] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[96] Really मूर्ध्- is engraved.
[97] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[98] Read °क्षरमधिकं वा.
[1] In the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 38, spelt "Baugley," in the *Postal Directory* "Waghli," in Long. 75° 10′ E., Lat. 20° 31′ N.
[2] See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 122; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 335; and Dr. Burgess' *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, pp. 122, 320.

partly altogether illegible, but, as will be seen from my transcript of the text, the greater portion of the inscription is fairly well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{2}''$ and $\frac{3}{4}''$. The characters are Nâgarî of about the 11th century A.D. The language is Saṁskṛit, and the inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is several times used instead of the palatal; and the vowel *ṛi* is employed instead of *ri* in *tṛitaya*, line 5.

The inscription opens with a verse invoking the blessing of Ganapati; after that it has twelve verses, numbered 1–12; and it breaks off, at the end of line 14, in the third Pada of another verse which would have been verse 13. Verse 1 describes the origin of the solar race, and tells that from Mândhâtṛi, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya family. Verse 2 then relates how Soma, *i.e.*, the god Śiva, left his home on the mountain Kailâsa and came for the welfare of the people to settle in the country of Surâshṭra; and verse 3 states that here, in Surâshṭra, there is the city of Valabhi, the capital of the Mauryas, the Brâhman citizens of which enjoy all the blessings of life through the favour of the Mauryas. Verses 4—13 then record the names of a series of princes or chiefs, the first of whom is stated to have been born in the Maurya family, and each of whom has a verse, eulogizing his valour, allotted to him. This list, for it is nothing more, is as follows:—

1. The illustrious Kîkaṭa, born in the Maurya family (v. 4).
2. After him came the illustrious Takshaka (v. 5).
3. After him, Bhîma (v. 6)
4. Sarvaśûra (v. 7).
5. After him came the prince Govindarâja (v. 8).
6. After him, the prince Sâdhvasika (v. 9)
7. The prince Jhañjha (v. 10).
8. From him was born the prince Devanastin (v. 11).
9. From him, the prince Muñja (v. 12).
10. From him, the prince Padmâkara (v. 13).

B.—This inscription contains fragments of 16 lines of writing, found on a stone which apparently measures about 3′ 3″ broad by 1′ 8″ high, and the inscribed surface of which is greatly damaged. The size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{4}''$ and 1″. The characters are the same as those of the inscription A. The language is Saṁskṛit, and the inscription is throughout in verse.

Though, owing to the damaged state of the stone, I am unable to furnish a text of this inscription, I feel no hesitation in saying that we have here the continuation of the preceding inscription A. Here, too, the verses have numbers appended to them, and the first number which is preserved is 14, and occurs towards the end of line 2. This verse 14, in the Mandâkrântâ metre, must have commenced about 13″ from the commencement of line 1, where verse 13 would have ended, on a part of the stone which is broken away. Comparing the end of the inscription A, we see that that inscription ends in the third Pâda of a Vasantatilakâ verse which would have been verse 13, and that 19 syllables are wanted to complete that verse. Now 19 syllables would in the present inscription have taken up a space of exactly 13″, and, moreover, the *aksharas* preserved at the commencement of line 1 of B undoubtedly do belong to a Vasantati-

lakâ verse, and their sense suits well the incomplete verse at the end of **A**. For what we can read at the commencement of line **1** of **B**, is—

. prayachchhaṁl=Lakshmyâś-chalatva-vadanîyam=a .

which, with the end of A, would give us the following verse :—

पद्माकरो नरपतिः प्रव(ब)भूव तस्माद्युक्तः पदा[ति]गजवाजिरथैरनेकैः ।
दानानि योभ्युदयधर्म्म[रतः?] प्रयच्छल्लक्ष्म्याश्चलत्ववदनीयम[पाचकार ॥ ?]

As stated before, verse **14** ends in line **2**; verse **15** ends in line **3**, verse **16** in line **4**, verse **17** in line **6**, and verse **18** in line **7**; verse **19** probably ended towards the end of line **8**; verse **20** ends in line **10**, verse **21** in line **11**, and verse **22** in line **12**; verse **23** must have ended in line **13**; verse **24** ends in line **14**, and verse **25** in line **15**; and the end of verse **26** must have coincided with the end of line **16**, the last line of this inscription. I believe, I cannot go wrong in saying that, exactly like the verses **4-13** of the inscription **A**, each of the verses **14-24** gave the name of one prince, and that the eleven verses together therefore recorded the names of eleven princes, who one after another succeeded the prince Padmâkara, spoken of in verse **13**. The names of the two immediate successors of Padmâkara (the 11th and 12th members of the family), which must have been contained in verses **14** and **15**, are broken away or at any rate no longer legible. Further on the following are mentioned :—

13. Vappaiya (*Vappaiya-nâmâ sa nareśa âsît*, in verse **16**).
14. Vappaiya's son, whose name has not been preserved (*Vappaiyasya sutas-tato=vanitale*, in verse **17**).
15. Vâlaparâja (*tasmâd=Vâlaparâja ity=abhihito bhûpâla-chûḍâmaṇiḥ saṁjajñe*, in verse **18**).
16. Sâdhvasika (*râjâ Sâdhvasikas=tataḥ param=abhût*, in verse **19**).
17. S'ântirâja (*śrî-Śântirâja iti bhûmipatir=vvabhûva*, in verse **20**).
18. Pravarasûkara (? *Śânty-âtmajaḥ sakala-bhûpa-guṇair=upetaḥ śrîmân=abhût-Pravarasû[ka]ra-nâmadheyaḥ*, in verse **21**).
19. Bhâileka (*tasmâd=abhût=prachura-śatru-gaṇa-pramâthî śrî-Bhâileka-nṛipatir-jagati prasiddhaḥ*, in verse **22**).
20. Bhîmarâja (*śrî-Bhîmarâja-nṛipatis=tu Śiva-prasâdât*, in verse **23**).
21. Govinda (*Govinda-bhûpatir=iti*, in verse **24**).

No further names seem to occur in the short passages which remain of the verses 25 and 26.

C.—This inscription contains 18 lines of writing which cover a space of 4′ 2½″ broad by 1′ 10½″ high. With the exception of a few *aksharas*, lines **1-16** are well preserved; but the middle of line 17 is greatly damaged, and the writing of line 18 is almost entirely effaced. The size of the letters is between ⅞″ and 1″. The characters are the same as in the inscriptions **A** and **B**. The language is Saṁskṛit, and the inscription is throughout in verse. As regards orthography, *b* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *v*; the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *vimiśrita*, line 3, and *tridiva*, line 8; and the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya*, both denoted by the ordinary sign for *sh*, are employed in *anvitaḥ kîrtti-*, line 8, *sevadhiḥ padma-*, line 5, and *tanuḥ puṇya-*, line **7**.

From the text, which will be given below, it will be seen that the inscription commences with a verse which is numbered 27, and which thus at once shows it to be the

continuation of the inscription B, which ends with verse 26. The inscription clearly divides itself into two portions, the first of which, extending to nearly the end of line 9, comprises the nine verses 27-35. All that it is necessary to say about this part, is, that it eulogizes the piety of a prince (*narapati, nripati, bhûmipâla*) Govinda or Govindarâja, who in verse 27 is styled *Mauryakula-pradîpa*, 'the light of the Maurya family,' and who evidently is the Govinda spoken of in verse 24 of the inscription B; and that in particular it records the foundation by this prince of a *sattra*, or hall of charity for travellers and for the learned and indigent, and the erection of a temple of Śiva, under the name of Siddheśanâtha or Siddheśvara, with a tank or well attached to it. In all probability, the temple is the same at which the inscription is still preserved.

The second part of the inscription, the verses of which are numbered separately, opens, towards the end of line 9, with a date, and records up to line 15 various donations in favour of the temple and the charitable institute mentioned before, made both by Govindarâja himself and by (his sovereign lord) the *mahâmaṇḍala-nâtha*, the illustrious king Seuṇa.

According to verses 1-3 (lines 9-11), the king Seuṇa, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Âshâḍha of the Jupiter year Saumya which was the (expired) Śaka year 991, granted to the temple of Siddheśvara the two villages of Saṁgamî and Madhuvâṭikâ, together with the income due from them to the king himself.—The date corresponds, by the *amânta* scheme, to Tuesday, the 21st July, A.D. 1069, when about half an hour after mean sunrise there was a solar eclipse which was visible in some parts of India; and the king Seuṇa is the Devagiri Yâdava Seuṇachandra II., of whom we possess a copper-plate grant which is dated only a fortnight later than the present inscription, on Gurudina or Thursday, the 14th of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa of the year Saumya, corresponding to Śaka-saṁvat 991[3].—The villages of Saṁgamî and Madhuvâṭikâ I am unable to identify on the maps at my disposal.

Govindarâja's donations are enumerated in the verses 4-13 (lines 11-15). Some of the particulars of this passage I do not fully understand; but it is clear that Govinda provided for the worship of the god in the temple founded by him (verses 4-5); that, for the support of the learned men and their pupils who resorted to his *sattra*, he gave four fields which are described as *Vagalûkammatabhûmi*, *Vakhulîkshetra*, *Vanakûṭakabhûmi* and *Vaṭayakshiṇivâṭa*, and the exact boundaries of which are recorded in the text (verses 6-12); and that he besides granted sixteen *nivartanas* of land to certain secular and religious teachers (verse 13).

The concluding lines of the inscription once more state that the temple, referred to in the preceding, was founded by the prince Govinda and his wife, the *râjñî* Nâyakî (verse 14), and contain the usual admonitions to future rulers to watch over. and not to resume, the donations here recorded.

Taken as a whole, what is contained on the three stones is a single inscription, dated in Śaka 991 or A.D. 1069, of a chief Govindarâja of the Maurya clan, a feudatory of the Devagiri Yâdava king Seuṇachandra II. Its proper object is, to record that Govindarâja built the temple at which the inscription was put up, and made various

[3] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 120. It should be stated, however, that the date of the copper-plate is incorrect; for Śrâvana-śudi 14 of Śaka 991 expired (= Saumya) corresponds to the 4th August, A.D. 1069, which was a Tuesday, not a Thursday.

donations in favour of it; and by way of introduction the inscription furnishes a list of the names of the ancestors of Govindarâja for no less than twenty generations, and records that the original home of the **Maurya** clan was the city of **Valabhi** in **Surâshṭra**, which was their capital. As Govindarâja himself is indirectly described as a feudatory of a Yâdava king, it may be assumed that his ancestors or at least some of them owed allegiance to the same family, and that these Mauryas came from Kâṭhiâvâḍ to Khândeś together with the Yâdavas, 'the lords of Dvâravatî.'[4] As regards the individual chiefs mentioned in this inscription, I have not met with any of them in other inscriptions.[5]

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION A.[6]

L. 1. [ओं । ?] ◡[7] ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ब्रसि[त]र[ब्र]मरीचि ◡ — ◡ [ता]: । चरण-
युग्मसरोरुहरेणवो गणपतेर्व्विजयाय भवंतु व: ॥ ◎ ॥ आदावव्यक्तमासीत्तदनु[8] कमल[जस्त?]-

2. त्सुत: कश्यपोभू — — — — ◡ — — [तद]नु मनुरभूत्तत्सुतात्सूर्यवंश: । विख्यात: सर्वलोकेष्व-
मलनृपगुणै[र]न्वित:[9] कीर्त्तिधर्म्मैर्म्माध्मातुर्भूमिपालात्सकलगुणनिधर्म्मौर्यवं[शो]

3. व(ब)भूव ॥ १ ॥ आसीत्कैलास[शृंगे रुचिर]शसि(शि)सुधाशुभ्रगंगाप्रवाहे दिव्यारामोपभोगातु-
रसुरनिकरोद्दुष्टकाम्यप्रलापे । सोम: सोमार्द्धभूष: सकलसुरनुत: [का ?]-

4. म[चित्तप्रदो?]ष: सर्व्वेषां लौकिकानामशुभविहतये सोवतीर्ण्ण: सुराष्ट्रम् ॥ २ ॥ तस्मिं[10] देशेस्ति
रम्या विवु(बु)धसुरवराकीर्ण्णदेवालयाढ्या मौर्याणां राजधानी वलभिरिति ◡ -

5. — म[ण्डनं] मण्डलानां । यस्यांनि:शेषविद्यासुनिपुणमतयो व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा व्र(ब्र)ह्मतुल्या:
पौरा धर्म्मार्थकामतृ(त्रि)तयफलभुज: सन्ति[11] मौर्यप्रसादात् ॥ ३ ॥ [12]खड्गप्रहारदृढपाटि[त?]-

6. [कुंभिकुंभमु?][13] क्ता[फ]लप्रकरतारकितां दिनार्द्धे । रात्रिं चकार रुचि[रां] रुचिरप्रताप: श्रीको-
कट: प्रवरमौर्यकुलप्रसूत: ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीतच्चकस्तदनु[14] यस्य पराक्रमाग्निदंदह्य[मा?]-

7. ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ [भ]ग्ना: । गंगाजलेष्वभिलषंति मनु प्रपातं शैत्याभिलाषिण इव
द्विषतां समूहा: ॥ ५ ॥ भीमो[15] भीमपराक्रमस्तदनु यो दृष्ट्वा व(ब)लं विद्विषां[16] सद्यो वैरि ◡ -

8. — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — स्व[र्गे] स्थि[त] — ◡ — [न्] । कालक्षेपकरं रिपुव्रजमिव क्रोधा-
न्वित: स[त्व]र: [स्र]ष्टारं क्षतसंस्तुती रणरसात्य[न्तो]द्यमं प्रार्थय[त्] ॥ ६ ॥ [यो?]केषु[17] वा-
जिगजप[त्ति] ◡ — -

9. ◡ नेषु — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡सत्सु । शौर्यं करोति सकलोरिषु तस्य सौ(शौ)-
र्यं सर्व्वेष्विति प्रमदित: स हि सर्व्वसू(शू)र: ॥ ७ ॥ गोविंदराज इति च प्रथित: पृथिव्यामा-
सीन्नृप-

[4] See Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 76.

[5] I know that the Yâdava Bhillama II. married the daughter of a Râja Jhañjha (see *ib.* p. 77); but that Jhañjha could not possibly have been the Jhañjha of the present inscription; for, not to mention other reasons, Bhillama lived about A.D. 1000 (see *ante*, p. 212), and the Jhañjha of this inscription lived fourteen generations before Govindarâja (A.D. 1069).

[6] From impressions taken by Mr. Cousens.

[7] Metre, Drutavilambita.

[8] Metre, Sragdharâ; and of the two next verses.

[9] The *akshara* in brackets was originally रं.

[10] Read तस्मिन्दे°.

[11] Originally संति was engraved.

[12] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the next verse.

[13] The *aksharas* in these brackets are almost entirely effaced.

[14] Originally °क: सदनु was engraved.

[15] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[16] Originally a sign of punctuation was engraved here; but it is struck out again.

[17] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the next verse.

L. 10. स्तदनु यस्य ◡ – ◡ – – । गोविंदवत्सपदि चिंतितमा[त्र]सिद्धास्तेनेति नाम स दधौ चरि-
तार्थमुच्चैः ॥८॥ राजा[18]साध्वसिकः[19] ततः परमभूय:[20]स्मा[द्र]णे युध्य तस्तस्यासौ रिपुदंति– ◡-

11. ◡ ◡ – – – ◡ – – ◡ – । साधुः साधुरयं तवासिरमरैः स्वस्थैरिति स्ता(श्ला)घित
शत्रुस्साध्वसिनः करोति यदि वा तेनेतिनामा नृपः ॥ ९ ॥ झंझाभिधाननृपतिः [21]प्रथितो
धरित्र्यां – – -

12. ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – । संग्रामभूष्वभिमुखो रभसात्प्रधावन्धर्त्तुं न शक्य इति
नाम व(ब)भार सार्थं ॥ १० ॥ श्रीदेवहस्तीति[22] ततः क्षितीशो जज्ञे धरामंडलशीतरश्मिः ।
सम[स्तलो] – -

13. ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – ॥ ११ ॥ श्रीमान्मुंजनरेश्वरः[23]
समभवत्तस्मान्नृपग्रामणीर्यः सौभाग्यसुधासरित्परिवृढो [रू]पावधी[त]स्मरः । [दुर्वा]रप्र-
मदाविलो ◡ ◡ -

14. ◡ – – – ◡ – – ◡ – – – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – – – मुहुर्म्म[त्र]वत्
॥ १२ ॥ पद्माकरो[24] नरपतिः[25] प्रव(ब)भूव तस्माद्युक्तः पदा[ति]गजवाजिरथैरनेकैः । दानानि
योभ्युदयधर्म्म-

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION C.[26]

L. 1. [गो]दानभूमितिल[दान]हिरण्यवेश्मवस्त्राम्बररत्नरधान्यधनादि सर्व्वम् ।
संपूज्य यः प्रवरविप्रगणं प्रहर्षात्[27] शश्वद्ददावमलमौर्यकुलप्रदीपः ॥ २७ ॥[28]
यस्मिन्प्रशासति म[हीं]

2. महनीयकीर्त्तौ पंग्वंधदीनविकला न जना व(ब)भूवुः ।
शश्वन्महोत्सवपरंपरया जनानां धर्म्मार्थकामफलसिद्धिरखंडिताभूत् ॥ ३८[29] ॥
यः प्रीणयत्यमृतगंधसुगंधमालाधूपाक्ष[त]-

3. प्रचुरदीपविचित्रभक्ष्यैः ।
देवग्रहद्विजगुरून्पृ(न्पि)तृगोग्निमुख्यान्गोविंदराजनृपतिः म सुखी सदा स्यात् ॥ २९ ॥
कर्पूरकुंकुमधनाधिपकर्द्दमेन कस्तूरिकाजलविमिश्र(श्रि)[त]-

4. चंदनेन ।
पादौ विलिप्य शिवविप्रगुरूनुदारः पश्चाद्विलेपनविधिं स्वयमन्वतिष्ठत् ॥ ३० ॥
यः पांथसार्थगुणिविप्रभुजिक्रियार्थं दीनान्धहस्तविकलस्य च तृप्तिहेतोः ।
सत्रं[30] [च]-

5. कार नृपतिर्व्व(र्ब्ब)हुविद्यशिष्यैर्व्विद्याविनोदनिरतैः परितोतिपूर्णं ॥ ३१ ॥
यन्नूपरिप्यशक्यं प्रवरवसुमतीदिव्यभोगाधिरूढै-
र्विप्रस्त्वै यस्य तुच्छो धनदधनभृतः सं(शे)वधिः पद्मनामा ।
अत्यु[च्चं]

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[18] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[19] Read °कमतः.
[20] Read °द्यशा°.
[21] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[22] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[23] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[24] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[25] This sign of *visarga* was originally omitted.
[26] From an impression taken by Mr. Cousens.
[27] Read °र्षाच्छ°.
[28] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the four next verses.
[29] Read २८.
[30] Read सत्रं.

L. 6. दिव्य[भू]षं सुरसदनसमं मंदिरं चंद्रमौलेः
कोन्यो गोविंदराजादवरपतिरमलो मर्त्यलोके चकार ॥ ३२ ॥[31]
व्र(ब्र)ह्मज्ञानामृतांतर्न्निभृतवरसरोराजहंसोमलांगो[32]
राजश्रीचारुकान्तादयिततर[त]

7. नु७पुण्यवृक्षस्य[33] मूलं ।
धात्रा सृष्टोयमेको जगति नरपतिः सज्जनानन्दकारो
ग्रैवध्यानासिभिन्नस्वहृदयजतमोवृत्तिगोविन्दराजः ॥ ३३ ॥
[धं][34]तर्मीनावताराद्यभिनवतनुभिर्व्विष्णुरूपैरुपे-

8. तं
चक्रे सिद्धेशनाथावसथमतिमहत्सर्व्वभोगोपपन्नं ।
सर्व्वेषां पार्थिवानां तृ(त्रि)दिवपतिपुरारोहनिश्रेणिभूतं
गोविन्दो भूमिपालस्त्वमलनृपगुणैरन्वितश्कीर्त्तिकामः ॥ १४ ॥
वापीं च-

9. कार सुविमलोपलगाढव(ब)द्धसोपानप[ङ्क्ति]सुरवेश्मनिविष्टदेषं ।
शश्वज्जलोर्म्मिव(ब)[हु]शु[भ्र]जलप्रवाहसंस्थापिताभिशपनामघनाशदत्ताम् ॥ ३५ ॥[35]
रूपनंदांकतुल्ये तु ९९१

10. शककालस्य भूपतौ [।*]
सौम्यसंवत्सराषाढरविग्रहणपर्व्वणि ॥ १ ॥[36]
महामंडलनाथस्तु श्रीमान्सेउणभूपतिः ।
सिद्धेश्वराय प्रददौ ग्रामद्वयमुदारधीः ॥ २ ॥
निर्जन राजभोगेन संग[मीं][37]

11. प[धु]वाटिकाम् ॥ ३ ॥
गोविंदराजोपि ददौ ग्रा[म]यो[र्मा]न्य[भो]गकं ।
मेलक देवपूजार्थं प्राणक दीपसिद्धये ॥ ४ ॥
पाटकं गीतनृत्यार्थं विलासिणिसमन्वित[38] ।
तृष्कालं[39] देवभोगार्थं गच्छकानां च भूमि — [॥ ५ ॥*]

12. विप्राणां भोजनार्थाय सत्र(त्त्र)मुद्दिश्य शाश्वतं ।
विद्याभ्यासरतानां च[40] छात्रा(त्त्रा)णां भोजनाय च ॥ ६ ॥
क्षेत्राणि यानि भूपालो ददौ तानि लिखाम्यतः ।
वगलुकाम्रतभूमे[:][41] पूर्व्वसीमा तु भंभि —

[31] Metre, Sragdharâ; and of the two next verses.

[32] The akshara र्ं was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

[33] The akshara च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

[34] I am doubtful about this akshara, and the intended reading may possibly be प्रति मी°.

[35] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[36] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the following twelve verses.

[37] Of this akshara only the sign of anusvâra is doubtful.

[38] The reading here and up to the end of the line is quite clear in the original. Read विलासिनी° (?).

[39] I do uo understand this, nor the following गच्छकानां; तृष्कालं may have been put for त्रिकालं.

[40] This च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

[41] Originally °भूमिस्तु was engraved, but the akshara स्तु has been struck out.

L. 13. [॥] ७ ॥

दक्षिणे [दे]वलक्षेत्रं पश्चिमे [जानि]नस्तथा ।
उत्तरे कारकग्राममाघाटा[42] खलु [नो] मताः ॥ ८ ॥
वक्खुलीक्षेत्रसीमास्तु पूर्व्वंदक्षिणपश्चिमाः ।
मार्गकंमतसिक्षेत्रभूमयस्तूत्तरो वहः ॥ [९ ॥*]

14. वनकूटकभूमेश्च नदी पूर्व्वोत्तरोवधिः ।
दक्षिणे च वहः सीमा पश्चिमे ग्रामभूरपि ॥ १० ॥
व[ट]यक्षिक्षिवाटे तु पूर्व्वा कार्पटिकस्य भूः ।
दक्षिणे देवलक्षेत्रं पश्चिमे गोपथोवधिः ॥ [११ ॥*]
उत्तरे वटकू-

15. पौ च आघाटा[:*]परिकीर्त्तिताः ॥ [१२ ॥*]
षोडशैव ददौ राजा विद्याव्याख्यानकारिणे ।
निवर्त्तनानि भूमेस्तु पुण्यव्याख्यानकारिणे [॥ १३ ॥*]
चत्वाचारविचारवाक्पटुरभूद्गोविन्दनामा [नृ]-

16. प-
स्तद्राज्ञी किल नायकी भवभयाद्भक्ता सदा या हरे ।
ताभ्यां शंकरमंदिरं सुरुचिरं निष्पाद्य विस्तारिता[43]
कीर्त्तिर्द्दिर्म्मयशः कुलं च विमलं प्रद्योतितं चात्मनः ॥[44][१४ ॥*]
ये पालय-

17. न्ति पृथिवीपतिदानमेतत्ते प्राप्नुवन्त्यमरलोकममस्तभोगान् ।
राज्यं च [श]श्व ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – – – ◡ [हस्ति]तुरगाद्यव(ब)लैरुपेताः ॥[45]
[१५ ॥*]
ये लोपयन्ति नृपदा-

18. [न]म – ◡ लोभा[त्ते प्राप्नुवन्ति][46] . . . .

XVII.—KHALARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF HARIBRAHMADEVA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1470[1].

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a polished stone, which is fitted into the wall of a small temple at Khalâri, a village about 45 miles[2] east of the town of Râypur in the Central Provinces. It contains sixteen lines of writing, which cover a space of about 1′ 11½″ broad by 11½″ high. The writing is well preserved throughout, and the reading is no-

[42] Read °ग्राम आघाटाः.

[43] The *akshara* त्ता was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

[44] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[45] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the next verse.

[46] From here, up to the end of the line, the writing is so seriously damaged that only a few *aksharas*, which yield no connected sense, are at all legible. There can be no doubt that this was the concluding line of this inscription.

[1] Wrongly for 1471.

[2] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. VII, p. 156; according to the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 243, Khalâri is only about thirteen miles from Râypur.

where in the least doubtful. The size of the letters is about ½". The characters are Nâgarî of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 15th century A.D. The language is Saṁskṛit, employed by a person of little knowledge; and, excepting the introductory *oṁ śrî-Gaṇapataye namaḥ*, and a date and the name of the engraver at the end, the inscription is in verse. The letter *b* is, as usually, written by the sign for *v*; otherwise the orthography calls for no remarks.

The inscription, called by the author a *praśasti*, was composed by Miśra Dâmodara (verse 11), written on the stone by Râmadâsa of the Vâstavya[1] family (v. 13), and engraved by the artisan Ratnadeva (line 16). And its proper object is to record the foundation of a temple of Nârâyaṇa (or Vishṇu) by the shoemaker (*mochî*) Devapâla, a son of Śivadâsa and grandson of Jasau (vv. 9, 10, and 12), at the town of Khalvâṭikâ (v. 7), *i. e.*, the modern Khalâri. By way of introduction the inscription—after the words 'oṁ, adoration to Gaṇapati' and three verses in honour of that deity and of Bhâratî, the goddess of eloquence, and Nârâyaṇa,—gives us (in verses 4-6) the following genealogy of the prince, the illustrious Haribrahmadeva, whose capital (*râjadhânî*) Khalvâṭikâ is represented to have been when the inscription was composed:—

In the Kalachuri (or Kalachuti) branch of the Haihaya (here called Ahihaya) family was the prince Siṁhaṇa, a worshipper of Śambhu (or Śiva), who conquered eighteen strongholds of adversaries. His son was the prince, Râmadeva, who slew in battle Bhoṇiṅgadeva (apparently a prince, whom I am unable to identify). And his son again was the illustrious prince, Haribrahmadeva.

The inscription is dated (in lines 15 and 16) in the (Vikrama) year 1470, the Śaka year 1334, and the year Plava of the sixty-years' cycle of Jupiter, on the 9th of the bright half of Mâgha, a Saturday, while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Rohiṇî. Had the years been given correctly in this date, the Vikrama year 1470 would have to be taken as a current year, and the Śaka year 1334 as an expired year. But the date works out satisfactorily neither for Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired, nor for Vikrama 1470 expired, and its proper year undoubtedly is Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, as will be seen from the following equivalents:—

For Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired Mâgha-śudi 9 corresponds to Wednesday, the 11th January, A.D. 1413;

for Vikrama 1470 expired = Śaka 1335 expired, to Tuesday, the 30th January, A.D. 1414;

for Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, to Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, when the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in the *nakshatra* Rohiṇî from 13 h. 8 m., or, by the *Garga-siddhânta*, from 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise, or, by the *Brahma-siddhânta*, from about sunrise, This Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, also, as required, fell in the Jovian year Plava, which by the *Sûrya-siddhânta* rule without *bîja* lasted from the 24th April, A.D. 1414, to the 20th April, A.D. 1415.

[1] See *ante*, Index of vol. I, under *Vâstavya*.

Of the reign of the prince Haribrahmadeva we possess another (carelessly written) inscription of the Vikrama year 1458, which was found at Râypur and is now in the Nâgpur Museum[4], and the full date of which I have given in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 26, No. 20. In that inscription, which records the foundation of a temple of Hatakeśvara (Śiva) by the *Nâyaka* Hâjirâjadeva, the prince is described as *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and called Râyabrahmadeva, Harirâyabrahma, and simply Brahmadeva. The inscription also mentions his predecessors, who are there called Siṁgha and Râmachandra, instead of Siṁhaṇa and Râmadeva.

I may mention, besides, that the names of these princes Siṁhaṇa and Râmachandra also occur in a large mutilated inscription at Ramtek[5] in the Central Provinces of which I owe a faint rubbing to Dr. Fleet.

TEXT.[6]

L. 1. ओं [॥×] श्रीगणपतये नमः ।(॥)
सकलदुरितहर्त्ताऽभीष्टसिद्धिप्रकर्त्ता निगमसमुपगीतः शेषयज्ञोपवीतः ।
ललितमधुकरालीसे-

2. विता[7] गंडपालीतटभुवि गणराजः पातु वो विघ्नराजः ॥ १ ॥[8]
वेदानाराध्य वेधाः पठति भगवतीं यामनायस्तचित्तः
श्रीकंठस्यापि नादैरपहरति मनः

3. पार्व्वती किन्नरीभिः ।
हारा नारायणस्योरसि रहसि रणत्कंकणा यद्भुजाः स्युः
सद्यः सत्काव्यसिद्ध्यै स्फुरतु कविमुखांभोरुहे भारती सा ॥ २ ॥[9]
व्र(ब्र)ह्माद-

4. यो द(दि)विषदः श्रुतिवाक्यदृष्ट्या ध्यायंति यं पुरुषमात्मविदोप्यमूर्त्तं ।
पापानि यत्स्मरणतो विलयं प्रयांति नारायणः स्फुरतु चेतसि सर्व्वदा वः ।(॥) ३ ॥[10]
अहिह-[11]

5. यनृपवंशे शंभुभक्तोऽवतीर्णः कलचुतिरिति शाखां प्राप्य तीव्र(व्र)प्रतापः ।
निजभुजगुरुदर्पाद्योऽरिदुर्गाण्यजैषोद्रणभुवि दश चाष्टौ सिंहणक्षोणिपालः ॥

6 ४ ॥[12]
अभवदवनिपालस्तत्सुतो रामदेवः समरशिरसि धीरो येन भोणिंगदेवः ।
मणिरिव फणिवंशस्याऽहृतः-कोपदृष्ट्या तरुणतरणितेजःपंजराजत्प्रतापः ॥ ५ ॥

7. तत्पुत्रः शत्रुहंता जगति विजयते चंद्रचूडस्य भक्तः
श्यामः कामाभिरामो मनसि मृगदृशामुद्भटानां कृतांतः ।
सर्व्वेषां याचकानां स्फुरदमरतरुर्व्वाक्पतिः पंडिता-

[4] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol XVII, p. 77.

[5] See *ib.*, vol. VII, p. 112.

[6] From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

[7] Read °विती

[8] Metre, Mâlinî.

[9] Metre, Sragdharâ. In the second line of this verse a relative pronoun has been omitted.

[10] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[11] I give this verse exactly as I find it in the original. Its meaning is clear enough. In the Kalachuribranch of the Haihaya family there was the prince Siṁhaṇa, who conquered eighteen fortresses of adversaries. But the Haihayas are called by the writer Ahihayas, and the Kalachuris Kalachutis, not to mention the grammatical mistakes which the verse contains.

[12] Metre of verses 4 and 5, Mâlinî.

L. 8. ना

गोतन्नानां द्वितीयो भरत इव नृपः श्रीहरिव्र(ब्र)ह्मदेवः ॥ ६ ॥[13]

तद्राजधानी नगरी गरिष्ठा खल्वाटिका राजति वाटिकाभिः ।

सुरालया यत्र हिमालयाभा विभांति

9. शृंगैरतिशुभ्रतुंगैः ॥ ७ ॥[14]

भूदेवा यत्र वेदाध्ययनमनु रताः स्वस्तिमंतो वसंति

श्रीमंतः श्रीविलासैरमरपरिवृढं राजराजं हसंतः ।

कामिन्यः कामदेवं त्रिपुरहर-

10. दृशा दग्धमुज्जीवयंत्यः

प्रोद्यद्दोर्मूलकांत्या स्मितमधुरगिरा भ्रूलताडंव(ब)रेण ॥ ८ ॥[15]

मोची तत्रेंदुरोचीरुचिरतरयशाः कर्म्मनिर्म्माणदक्षः

सौजन्या-

11. दग्रजन्माऽनुचर इव जसौनामधेयस्य पौत्रः ।

जानाधर्म्माभिलाषी गुणनिधिशिवदासाऽभिधानस्य पुत्रः

श्रीमन्नारायणस्य स्मरणविमलधी राजते

12. देवपालः ॥ ९ ॥

नारायणस्यायतनं स्वशक्त्या भक्त्या महत्या सह मंडपेन ।

निर्म्मापितं तेन परत्र चात्र तस्मै हरिर्यच्छतु वांच्छि(छि)तार्थं ॥ १० ॥[16]

हरिचरणसरोजध्यान-

13. पीयूषसिंधुप्रसरदलघुवेलास्फालकेलीरसेन ।

सरसकविजनानां निर्म्मितेयं प्रशस्तिर्म्मनसि रसविधात्री मिश्रदामोदरेण ॥ ११ ॥

वहति जगति गंगा याव-

14. दादित्यपुत्रा स्फुरति वियति तारामंडलाऽखंडलेन[18] ।

तरणिरमरसद्मच्छद्मना तावदेषा जयतु जयतु मोचीदेवपालस्य कीर्त्तिः ॥ १२ ॥

श्रीवास्तव्यान्वयेनैषा

15. प्रशस्तिरमलाक्षरा ।

लिखिता रामदासेन पंडिताधीश्वरेण च ॥ १३ ॥[19]

स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १४७० वर्षे साके १३३४ षष्ट्याब्दयोर्म्मध्ये[20] प्लवनामसंवत्सरे माघसुदि ९

16. शनिवासरे रोहिणीनक्षत्रे [॥×] शुभमस्तु सर्व्वजगतः ॥ सूत्रधाररत्नदेवेन [॥×]

[13] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[14] Metre, Upajâti.
[15] Metre of verses 8 and 9, Sragdharâ.
[16] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[17] Metre of verses 11 and 12, Mâlinî.
[18] The word *âkhaṇḍala* is perhaps (wrongly) used here in the sense of 'rain-bow'.
[19] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[20] Read षष्ट्यब्दमध्ये 'in the sixty-years' cycle.'

XVIII.—DUBKUND STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KACHCHHAPAGHATA VIKRAMASIMHA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1145.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered, in 1866, by Captain W. R. Melville,[1] in the ruins of a temple at 'Dubkund,' *Indian Atlas*, Quarter-sheet 51, S. E., Long. 77° 5½' E., Lat. 25° 43½' N. The place is in a dense forest on the left bank of the Kunu river, 76 miles to the south-west of Gwâlior; and the temple is situated in the middle of an enclosure on a peninsula, the neck of which is defended by a fortified wall, and all around it are a mass of ruined houses and the remains of several smaller temples. Captain Melville sent two copies of the inscription to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but they were probably too imperfect to be used for editing the inscription. The ruins of Dubkund were examined again, in 1882-83, by Sir A. Cunningham's native draughtsman, and from his account a description of them is given in *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XX, p. 99, and Preface, p. v, together with a small photo-lithograph of the inscription, *ib.*, plates xxi and xxii. I now edit the inscription from one of his rubbings, apparently the same from which the photo-lithograph was prepared.

The inscription contains 61 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 3½" broad by 3' 2" high. With the exception of about twenty *aksharas* in lines 1 and 2 which have become damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and perhaps a few other *aksharas* which are illegible in the rubbing, the writing is well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between $\frac{7}{16}$" and ½". The characters are Nâgarî of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Saṁskṛit, and, excepting the introductory *oṁ oṁ namo vîtarâgâya* and the greater portion of lines 54-61, the inscription is in verse. It is called a *praśasti* (lines 47 and 60), and was composed by the Jaina Vijayakîrti (line 46), written on the stone by Udayarâja (line 60), and engraved by the stone-mason Tîlhaṇa (line 61). Both the writer and the engraver have done their work with great care, and in respect of orthography I have only to note that the letter *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is occasionally employed instead of the palatal.[2]

The object of the inscription is, to record the foundation of a Jaina temple—clearly the temple at which the inscription was discovered—by some private persons (lines 52-53), and certain donations made in favour of it by the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Vikramasiṁha (lines 54-58) who ruled the country around Dubkund when the inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1145 (line 61). And the inscription clearly divides itself into two parts, the first of which (lines 10-32) gives an account of the prince Vikramasiṁha and his ancestors, while the other (lines 32-51) treats of the founders of the temple and certain Jaina sages connected with them. In six introductory verses (lines 1-10) the poet invokes the blessings of, or glorifies, the Jaina Tîrthakâras Ṛishabhasvâmin, Śântinâtha, Chandraprabha and the Jina (Mahâvîra), the sage Gotama, and the goddess of eloquence (*śruta-devatâ*) 'famous in the world under the name of Paṅkajavâsinî.'

[1] See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXV, part I, p. 168.

[2] In the rubbing before me it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between the palatal and dental sibilants.

The poet's account of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Vikramasiṁha (lines 10-32) is as follows:—

"There was, an ornament of the Kachchhapaghâta family, and a son of the illustrious Yuvarâja who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince Arjuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a bowman who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth.[3]

Having, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyâdharadeva, fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Râjyapâla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neck-bones, he unceasingly filled all the three worlds with his imperishable fame, brilliant like pearl-strings and like the orb of the moon and the foam of the sea.

The notes of his musical instruments which rose, when he marched out, resembling the roaring of the sea, and the sounds of the bells of his countless troops of mountain-like elephants, eagerly marching forth, vied with each other in spreading on all sides, and never left off filling the hollow of heaven and earth, joined by the loud echo which rose from mountain caves.

From him was born Abhimanyu, who, always possessed of many unblemished qualities which supported crowds of suppliants who (but for him) would have wandered round the circuit of the quarters,[4] and which in splendour rivalled the moon's crescent, ... having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious, valued other princes as lightly as a straw.

Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella?

When he marched forth, the thick clouds of dust which rose from the earth, pounded by the sharp hoofs of his chargers, covering the sun's orb, predicted as it were with certainty that soon indeed would be dimmed the lustre of all other illustrious beings.

From that illustrious prince was born the prince Vijayapâla, who filled the circuit of the quarters with his boundless glory which spread about, bright like the quivering rays of the autumnal moon, and who allayed all suffering whatever on the whole orb of the earth.

Moreover, this prince in a high degree roused the feeling of wonder in the minds of the learned, because in the battles which were viewed by the damsels of heaven he imparted fear to all his enemies one after another, although he had not got it himself, while he never gave to them a portion of the earth, which he did possess.

From him was born the illustrious prince Vikramasiṁha, 'the lion of valour,' rightly so named, because in the display of his mighty valour, which performed valorous deeds, he cleft asunder the projecting fleshy frontal globes of the arrayed elephants of

[3] Arjuna being the name of one of the Pâṇḍava princes, the poet manages to bring into the verse the words *Pâṇḍu Bhîmasena* (the second son of Pâṇḍu and elder brother of Arjuna), and *Dhanvin* (an epithet of Arjuna).

[4] The words of the original would also mean 'possessed of many uncut bow-strings which supported crowds of arrows able to conquer the circuit of the quarters'.

all his enemies, and because his brilliant fame, as if it were his big shining mane, spread at once in all quarters.

Having perceived that his club-like right arm, even while he was a child, was taken possession of by the Fortune of heroism, who had given up all idea of occupying any other resting-place, the Fortune of royalty, proudly desirous of asserting her superiority, when he was older, determined on embracing his whole body, turning away with disdain from all other men.

Useless indeed is yonder sun, so long as this sun of a king disperses the thick darkness of exceedingly haughty adversaries, and eclipses the stars of the badly-conducted, and illumines all round the wide expanse of this whole earth, and uninterruptedly touches with his fierce rays of supremacy, which spread to the confines of the regions, mountain-like princes.

At his conquest of the quarters, the dust which rose from the orb of the earth, crumbling to pieces under the sharp hoofs of his choice chargers, spread over the chief towns of his adversaries, and, enveloping all things, foretold as it were the time of the universal destruction.

To this noble prince belongs the town named Chaḍobha, the lustre of which spreads on all sides, the excellent markets and the thriving trade of which are celebrated by the people that come to it from all quarters to traffic in things which they have got or wish to acquire."

The historical information contained in these verses is this:—

In the Kachchhapaghâta family there was—

1. Yuvarâja. His son was—
2. Arjuna, who, as an ally or feudatory of Vidyâdharadeva, slew in battle Râjyapâla. His son was—
3. Abhimanyu, whose valorous bearing was eulogized by the king Bhoja. His son was—
4. Vijayapâla; and his son again—
5. Vikramasiṁha, for whom the inscription (in line 61) furnishes the date Monday, the third of the bright half of the month Bhâdrapada of the year 1145, corresponding, as I have shewn in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 361 (No. 170), to the Northern Vikrama year 1145 expired, or to Monday, the 21st August, A. D. 1088.[5]

Of the Kachchhapaghâta family we possess two other inscriptions of about the same time and from the same part of India. One is the large Gwâlior Sâsbahû temple inscription[6] of the Vikrama year 1150, which gives us the line of princes Lakshmaṇa, Vajradâman, Maṅgalarâja, Kîrtirâja, Mûladeva, Devapâla, Padmapâla, and Mahîpâla. And the other is the Narwar copper-plate inscription[7] of Vîrasiṁhadeva of the Vikrama year 1177, which mentions, as the immediate predecessor of Vîrasiṁhadeva, Śaradasiṁhadeva, and as his predecessor, Gaganasiṁhadeva. As these two inscriptions contain totally different names, and as none of the names occurring in either agree with the names furnished by the present inscription, it is clear that the three

[5] The date is one of those in which the *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced.
[6] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 35.
[7] See *Journal, Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, p. 543, and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 313.

inscriptions belong to three different branches of the Kachchhapaghâta family, which must have been in possession of the country around Gwâlior in the 11th century A. D. We know that the prince Vajradâman of the Gwâlior inscription, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1034,[8] defeated a ruler of Kanauj and conquered the fort of Gwâlior which before belonged to Kanauj. And I shall try to show that one of the princes mentioned in the present inscription, too, had some share, perhaps an important one, in the wars which must have been waged against the rulers of Kanauj during the first quarter of the 11th century A. D.

About Vikramasiṁha and his predecessor Vijayapâla the author of our inscription has nothing of importance to report. I myself believe Vijayapâla to be identical with the *nṛipati* Vijayâdhirâja, who is mentioned as a ruling prince in an inscription of the Vikrama year 1100 at Byânâ, which is about 80 miles north of Dubkund, and 'whose name is preserved in the local traditions as Vijayapâla'[9]; and I may mention that, like the inscription of Vikramasiṁha, here published, the Byânâ inscription of Vijayâdhirâja also is a Jaina inscription. Of Vijayapâla's father Abhimanyu our inscription merely says that his valour and skill were highly eulogized by the intelligent king Bhoja. Considering that for Vikramasiṁha we have the date Vikrama 1145, and for Vijayapâla (Vijayâdhirâja) the date Vikrama 1100, Abhimanyu must have ruled shortly before Vikrama 1100, and there can therefore be no doubt that the king Bhoja, here spoken of, is the Paramâra Bhojadeva of Mâlava, for whom we possess the two dates Vikrama 1078 and Śaka 964=Vikrama 1099.[10]

Abhimanyu's father Arjuna, whose rule may be placed some time between Vikrama 1060 and 1090, is said to have slain, in the cause of the illustrious Vidyâdharadeva, the illustrious Râjyapâla; and this, in my opinion, is really a valuable piece of information. As regards Vidyâdharadeva, he can be no other than the Chandella king of that name, the successor of Gaṇḍadeva and predecessor of Vijayapâladeva.[11] Gaṇḍadeva was preceded by Dhaṅgadeva, who ruled from about Vikrama 1011 to about 1055,[12] and Vijayapâladeva was succedeed by Devavarmadeva, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1107.[13] Gaṇḍadeva therefore must be placed approximately about Vikrama 1060-1080,[14] which shows that his successor Vidyâdharadeva may well indeed have been a contemporary of the Kachchhapaghâta Arjuna As to Râjyapâla, I think it highly probable that he is the Râjyapâla who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Trilochanapâla in the Jhûsî (or Allahâbâd) copper-plate of this king of the Vikrama year 1084, published by me in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 34; and I now believe that the three kings Vijayapâladeva, Râjyapâladeva and Trilochanapâladeva of that inscription, about whom I could say nothing at the time, were really rulers of Kanauj. For we know that the Chandella Vidyâdhara brought about the destruction of a ruler of Kanyâkubja (or Kanauj)[14], and it appears very probable that he allied himself for that purpose with his neighbours, the Kachchhapaghâta chiefs, and that the prince of

[8] See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, p. 393.

[9] See Dr. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 8. There can, in my opinion, be little doubt that the Mangalarâja, mentioned in another fragmentary inscription at Byânâ (*ib.* p. 9), is the Kachchhapaghâta Maṅgalarâja of the Gwâlior inscription, the successor of Vajradâman.

[10] See *ante*, vol. I, p. 232.

[11] *Ib.*, p 196.

[12] *Ib.*, pp. 124 and 139.

[13] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 201.

[14] See also *ante*, vol. I, p. 219.

Kanauj destroyed by him was the very Râjyapâla, mentioned in the present inscription and in the Jhûsî copper-plate. As indicated by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, vol. I, p. 219, we have hitherto known nothing certain of the kings of Kanauj between A. D. 948 and 1097. If my suggestions are approved of, we have now at least the names of three kings of Kanauj, who together must have ruled approximately from about A. D. 980 to about A. D. 1040.—About Arjuna's father Yuvarâja the author of our inscription has nothing to say.

Of the second part of the inscription it will, I think, be sufficient to give an abstract of the contents. The last verse translated above told us that to Vikramasiṁha belonged the town of Chaḍobha, evidently the place now called Dubkund which at the time must have been noted for its trade; and in continuation of it the verses in lines 32-39 give the genealogy of the two Jaina traders Ṛishi and Dâhaḍa, on whom Vikramasiṁha had conferred the rank of *śreshṭhins*[15] in that town, and one of whom is mentioned afterwards among the founders of the temple. Both were sons of Jayadeva and his wife Yaśomatî, and grandsons of the *śreshṭhin* Jâsûka, who is described as the head of a family or guild of merchants which had come from Jâyasapur, a town which I am unable to identify

Lines 39-48 then contain an account of some Jaina sages, the last of whom, Vijayakîrti, not only composed this inscription, but also by his religious teaching incited the people to build the temple at which the inscription was afterwards engraved. The first sage spoken of, an ornament of the Lâṭavâgaṭa *gaṇa*, is the Guru Devasena. His son was Kulabhûshaṇa; and his son again was Durlabhasenasûri. From him sprang the Guru Śântisheṇa who, in a *sabhâ* held before the king Bhojadeva, defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambarasena and other learned men. And his son was Vijayakîrti.

Of the founders of the temple lines 48-51 mention by name the Sâdhu Dâhaḍa whose genealogy has already been given, Kûkeka, Sûrpaṭa, Devadhara, Mahîchandra, and Lakshmaṇa; but others also, who are not named, are said to have rendered assistance.

The prose passage, commencing in line 54, records that the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Vikramasiṁha, for the building of the temple and for keeping it in good repair, as well as for purposes of worship, assigned (a tax of) one *viṁśopaka* on each *goṇi* (of grain ?), and gave a piece of land in the village of Mahâchakra, capable of being sown with four *goṇis* of wheat, and a garden with a well to the east of Rajakadraha; and that he moreover provided a certain amount of oil[16] for lamps and for anointing the bodies of holy men.—I can find no names like Mahâchakra and Rajakadraha anywhere near Dubkund on the maps at my disposal.

After the usual appeal to future rulers to keep the above donations intact, lines 60-61 give the names of the writer and of the engraver, already mentioned; and the inscription closes with a date, the European equivalent of which I have given above.

[15] See Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabâhu's *Kalpasûtra*, p. 107: *śreshṭhinaḥ śrîdevatâdhyâsita-sauvarṇapaṭṭa-bhûshitottamâṅgâḥ.*

[16] The original has the compound *kara-ghoṭikâ-dvayam*, the first word of which I am unable to explain properly.

TEXT.[17]

L. 1. ओं[18] ॥ [ओं] न[मो] वीतरागाय ॥ आ[19] — ⏑ द्रि — ट — ⏑ ⏑ टना[थत्पा]दपीठं लुठन्मं-
[दा]रस्रगमं[द]गुंज[द]लि[म]च्छिष्ठूतसांराविणम् । [त]-

2. [त्पा] — ⏑ ⏑ वह[च]: ⏑ रमु — — — ⏑ [तां] सं ⏑ f — ोहे[ग]मिवाकरोत्स ऋषभस्वामी
श्रिये स्तात्सता[म्] ॥ वि(बि)भ्रा-

3. [णो] गुण[सं]ह[तिं] हततमस्तापो निजज्योतिषा [यु]क्तात्मापि जगंति संगतजय[श्र]क्रे सरा-
गाणि यः । उन्माद्यन्म-

4. कर[ध्व]जोर्जितमजय्यासोन्नसत्केसरी संसारोग्रगदच्छिदेस्तु स मम श्रीसां(शां)तिनाथो जिनः ॥
जा[ड्यं] सखदखंडित-[20]

5. क्षयमपि क्षीणाखिलोपक्ष[यं] साक्षादोक्षितमक्षिभिर्दधदपि प्रौढं कलंकं तथा । चिह्नत्वाद्यदु-
पांतमाप्य सततं [जात]-

6. [स्तथा?]नंदकश्चंद्रः सर्व्वजनस्य पातु विपदश्चंद्रप्रभोर्हन्स नः ॥ सो(शो)कानोकहसंकुलं रतितृण-
श्रेणि प्रणश्य[द्रुम]-

7. — — [त्मा]ध्वगपूगमुन्नतमहामिथ्यात्ववातध्वनि । यो रागादिमृगोपघातकृतधीर्ध्यानाग्निना
भस्मसाद्भावं कर्म्म-

8. वनं निनाय जयतात्सोयं जिनः सन्मतिः ॥ [21]प्रसाधितार्थगुर्भव्यपंकजाकर[भा]स्करः । ध्वंतस्तमो-
पहो वोस्तु गो-

9. तमो मुनिसत्तमः ॥ [22]श्रीमज्जिनाधिपतिसद्वदनारविंदमुद्गच्छदच्छतरवो(बो)धसमृद्धगंधम् ।
अध्यास्य या जगति पंकजवासिनी-

10. ति ख्या[तिं] जगाम जयतु सु(श्रु)तदेवता सा ॥ [23]आसीत्कच्छपघातवंशतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यनि-
र्यद्यशःपांडुश्रीयुवराजसूनुर-

11. समद्युद्भीमसेनानुगः । श्रीमा[न]र्जुनभूपतिः[24] पतिरपामप्याप यत्तुल्यतां नो गांभीर्यगुणेन
निर्जितजग[द्द]न्वो धनु-

12. र्व्विद्यया ॥ श्रीविद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः श्रीराज्यपालं हठात्कंठास्थिच्छिदनेकवाणनिवहैर्हत्वा
महत्याहवे ।

13. [25][डिंडीरा]वलिचंद्रमंडल[मि]लन्मुक्ताकलापोज्व(ज्ज्व)लैस्त्रैलोक्यं सकलं यशोभिरचलैर्योजस्रमा-
पूरयत् ॥ [26]यस्य

14. प्रस्थानकालोत्थितजलधिरवाकारवादित्रशब्दा(ब्दा) वेगान्निर्म्यच्छदद्रिप्रतिमगजघटाकोटिघंटार-
वाश्च । संस-

15. र्पंतः समंतादहमहमिकया पूरयंतो विरेमुर्नो रोदोरंध्रभागं गिरिविवरगुहोद्यत्प्रतिध्वानमिश्राः ॥
[27]दिक्च-

16. क्राक्रमयो[ग्य]मार्म्मणगणाधारानेकान् गुणानच्छिन्नाननिशं दधद्विधुकलासंस्पर्द्धमानद्युतीन् ।
[सु]नु-

[17] From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Dr Burgess.

[18] Expressed by a symbol.

[19] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next three verses.

[20] Read अखंद°.

[21] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh)

[22] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[23] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

[24] The *akshara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

[25] The *aksharas* in these brackets have been partly painted over in the rubbing.

[26] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[27] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

L. 17. [च्छि]न्नवनुर्म्मुण[28] विजयिनोप्याजौ विजित्यो[र्जि]तं जातोस्मादभिमन्युरन्यनृपतीनामन्यमान-स्तृणम् ॥ यस्यात्म[द्भुत]-

18. वाहवाहनमहाशस्त्रप्रयोगादिषु प्रावीण्यं प्रविकत्थितं पृथुमतिश्रीभोजपृथ्वीभुजा । च्छलालो[29]-कनमात्रजात-

19. भयतो दृप्तारिभंगप्रदस्तास्य स्याद्गुणवर्ण्णने त्रिभुव[ने] को लब्ध(ब्ध)वर्ण्ण: प्रभु: ॥ [30]तुरगखरखुरा-ग्रोत्खात[धात्री]-

20. समुत्थं स्थगयदहिमरश्मे(श्मे)र्म्मंडलं यत्प्रयाणे । प्रचुरतररजोन्धाशेषतेजस्वितेजोहृतिमचिरत

21. एवा[शं]सतीवानिवारम् ॥ शरदमृतमयूखप्रेंखदंशुप्रकाशप्रसरदमितकीर्त्तिव्याप्तदिक्चक्रवाल: । अजनि विजय-

22. पाल: श्रीमतोस्मान्महीश: शमितसकलधात्रीमंडलक्लेशलस(श):॥ [31]भयं यच्छत्रूणां त्रिदशतरुणी-वीचितरणे

23. क्रमेणाशेषाणां व्यतरदसदध्यात्मान सदा । सतोप्यंशस्नादादव[न]वलयस्याधिकमतो वु(बु)धा-नामाश्चर्य्यं व्यतनुत

24. नरेंद्रो हृदि च य: ॥ [32]तस्माद्विक्र[म]कारिविक्रमभरप्रारंभनिर्भेदितप्रोत्तुंगाखिलवैरिवारणघटी-यन्मां[स]कुं-

25. भस्थल: । श्रीमान्विक्रमसिंहभूपतिरभूदन्वर्थनामा समं सर्व्वासा(शा)प्रसरद्विभासुरयश:स्फारस्फुर-त्केसर: ॥

26. वा(बा)लस्यापि विलोक्य यस्य परिघाकारं भुजं दक्षिणं क्षीणाशेषपराश्रयस्थितिधिया वीरश्रिया संश्रितम् । सर्व्वांगेष्व-

27. वगूहनाग्रहमहंकारादहंपूर्व्विका[33] राज्यश्रीरक्त[ता]धिगस्य[34]विमुखी सर्व्वान्यपुंवर्ग्गत: ॥[35]अत्यंतो-दृप्तविद्विट्तिमि-

28. रभरभिदि च्छादितानी[ति]ताराचक्रे विष्वक्प्रकाश्यं सकलजगदमंदावकाशं दधाने । नि:पर्य्यायं[36] दिगास्यप्रसरदुरु-

29. क[राक्रां]तधात्रीधरेंद्रे यस्मिन्नाजांसु(शु)मालिन्यहह सति वृथैवैषकोन्योंशुमाली ॥ [37]यद्दिग्जये वरतुरंगखुराग्रसं-

30. गत्नुण्णावनीवलयजन्यरजोभिसर्प्पत् । विद्वेषिणां पुरवरेषु तिरोहितान्यवस्तूत्करं प्रलयकालमि-वादिदे-

31. श ॥ तस्य क्षितीश्वरवरस्य पुरं समस्ति विस्तीर्ण्णशोभमभितोपि चडोभमंत्रम् । प्राप्तेप्सितक्रय-समग्रदिगागतांगि-

32. व्यावर्ण्यमानविपणिव्यवहारसारम् ॥ ◎ ॥ [38]आसीज्जायसपूर्व्विनिर्मतवणिग्वंशांव(ब)राभोशु-मान्[39] जासूक: प्रक[टाच्चता]-

33. र्थनिकर: श्रेष्ठी[40] प्रभाधिष्ठित: । सम्यग्दृष्टिरभीष्टजैन[च]रणद्वंद्वार्च्चने यो ददौ पात्रौघाय [चतु]-र्व्विधं [त्रि]विवु(बु)-

[28] The above appears to be what was originally engraved, but the *akshara* र्वं may have been altered.

[29] Read च्छचा°.

[30] Metre, Mâlinî; and of the next verse.

[31] Metre, Śikhariṇî.

[32] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse

[33] Originally °पूर्व्विका was engraved.

[34] Read °धिकस्य.

[35] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[36] Read निष्पर्यायं.

[37] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the next verse.

[38] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[39] Read °माञ्जासूक:.

[40] Perhaps altered to श्रेष्ठिप्रभा°.

L. 34. धो दानं युत: श्रद्धया ॥ [41]श्रीमज्जिने[श्वर]पदांवु(बु)रुहद्विरेफो विस्फारकीर्त्ति[ध]वलीकृतदिग्वि-
भाग: । पुत्रोस्य वैभव-

35. पदं जयदेवनामा सोमायमानचरितोजनि सज्जनानाम् ॥ [42]रूपेण सी(शी)लेन कुलेन सर्व्वस्त्रीणां
गुणैरप्यपरै:

36. शिरस्सु । पदं दधानास्य व(ब)भूव भार्या यशोमतीति प्रथिता पृथिव्याम् ॥ [43]तस्यामजीजनदसा-
वृषिदाहडाख्यौ पुत्रौ पवि-

37. त्रवसुराजितचारुमूर्त्ती । प्राच्यामिवार्कस(श)शिनौ समय: समस्तसंपत्प्रसाधकजनव्यवहारहे-
[तू] ॥ [44]प्रोन्माद्यत्सकला-

38. रिकुंजरशिरोनिर्द्दारणोद्यद्यशोमुक्ताभूषितभूरभूरपि भियाश्चोन्मार्ग्गगामी च य: । सोदाद्विक्रम-
सिंहभूप-

39. तिरतिप्रीतो यकाभ्यां युगश्रेष्ठ: श्रेष्ठिपदं पुरेत्र परमे[45] प्राकारसौधायणे ॥ ◎ ॥ [46]आसीद्विशुद्ध-
तरवो(बो)धचरित्रदृ-

40. ष्टिनि:शेषशू(सू)रिनतमस्तकधारि[ता]ज्ञ: । श्रीलाटवागटगणोन्नतरोहणाद्रिमाणिक्यभूतच-
रितो गुरुदेवसे-

41. न: ॥ [47]सिद्धांतो द्विविधोप्यवाधितधिया येन प्रमाणध्व[नि]ग्रंथेषु प्रभव: श्रियामवगतो हस्तस्थ-
मुक्तोपम: ।

42. जात: श्रीकुलभूषणोखिलवियद्वासोगणग्रामणी: सम्यग्दर्शनशुद्धवो(बो)धचरणालंकारधारी
तत: ॥ [48]रत्नत्रया[भ]रण-

43. धारणजातशोभस्तस्मादजायत स दुर्ल्लभसेनसूरि: । सर्व्वं श्रुतं समधिगम्य सहैव सम्यगात्मस्वरू-
पनिरतोभवदिह-

44. [धी]र्य: ॥ [49]आस्थानाधिपतौ वु(बु)धा[द्वि]गुणे श्रीभोजदेवे नृपे सभ्येष्वंव(ब)रसेनपंडितशिरो-
रत्नादिषूद्यन्मदान् । योने-

45. कान्[50] शतसो व्यजेष्ट पटुताभीष्टोद्यमो वादिन: शास्त्रांभोनिधिपारगोभवदत: श्रीशांतिषेणो
गुरु: ॥ [51]गुरुचर-

46. णसरोजाराधनावाप्तपुण्यप्रभवदमलवु(बु)द्धि: शुद्धरत्नत्रयोस्मात् । अजनि विजयकीर्त्ति: सूक्तरत्नाव-

47. कीर्णा ज[लधि]भुवमिवैतां य: प्रस(श)स्तिं व्यधत्त ॥ [52]तस्मादवाप्य परमागमसारभूतं धर्मोपदे-
शमधिकाधिगत-

48. प्रवो(बो)धा: । लक्ष्म्याश्च वं(बं)धुसुहृदां च समागमस्य मत्वायुषश्च वपुषश्च विनश्वरत्वं ॥ [53]प्रार-
व्धा(ब्धा)धर्मकांतारविदाह:

49. साधुदाहड: । सद्विवेकश्च [कू]केक: सूर्पट: सुकृते पटु: ॥ तथा देवधर: शुद्ध:[54] धर्मकर्मधुरंधर: ।
चं[द्रा]लिखि-

50. तनाकश्च महीचंद्र: शुभार्जनात् ॥ गुणिन: क्षणनाशिश्रीकलादानविचक्षणा: । अन्येपि श्रावका:
केचिद्-

[41] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[42] Metre, Upajâti.
[43] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[44] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[45] Read परमप्राकार°.
[46] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[47] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[48] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[49] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[50] Read °कान्शतशो.
[51] Metre, Mâlinî.
[52] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[53] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the next three verses.
[54] Read शुद्धौ.

L. 51. क्षतें[धन]पावका: ॥ किंच लक्ष्मणसंज्ञोभू—ह्देवस्य मातुल: । गोष्ठिको जिन्भक्तश्च सर्व्वशास्त्र-

52. विचक्षण: ॥ [55]शृंगाग्रोल्लिखितांव(ब)रं वरसुधासांद्रद्रवापांडुरं सार्थं श्रीजिनमंदिरं त्रिजगदानंदप्रदं सुं-

53. दरम् । संभूयेदमकारयन्गुरुशिर:संचारिकेत्वंव(ब)रप्रांतेनोच्छलतेव वायुविहृतेर्द्यामादिश[त्पश्य-]

54. ताम् ॥ ◎ ॥ अथैतस्य जिनेश्वरमंदिरस्य निष्पादनपूजनसंस्काराय कालान्तरस्फुटितत्रुटितप्रतीका-

55. रार्थं च महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंह: स्वपुण्यरासे(शे)रप्रतिहतप्रसरं परमोपचयं चेतसि [नि]धाय

56. गोणीं प्रति विंशोपकं गोधूमगोणीचतुष्टयवापयोग्यक्षेत्रं च महा[चक्र]ग्रामभूमौ रजकद्रहपू-

57. र्वदिग्भागवाटिकां वापीसमन्वितां ।[56] प्रदीपमुनिजनशरीराभ्यंजनार्थं करघटिकाद्वयं च दत्तवान् । तच्चाचं-

58. द्रार्कं महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंहोपरोधेन ॥ [56]व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा[57] भुक्ता राजभि: सगरादिभि: । यस्य य-

59. स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति स्मृतिवचनान्निजमपि श्रेय: प्रयोजनं मन्यमानै: सकलैरपि

60. भाविभिर्भूमिपालै: प्रतिपालनीयमिति ॥ ◎ ॥ [58]लिलेखोदयराजो यां प्रस(श)स्तिं शुद्धधीरिमाम् । उत्कीर्णवा-

61. न्[59] शिलाकूटस्तील्हणस्तां सदक्षराम् ॥ संवत् ११४५ भाद्रपदसुदि ३ सोमदिने ॥ मंगलं महाश्री: ॥

XIX.—PABHOSÂ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY A. FÜHRER, PH.D.

The small modern village of Pabhosâ stands on a cliff about 30 feet high, overlooking the northern bank of the Jamnâ, in taḥsîl Manjhânpur, 32 miles south-west of Allahâbâd, and represents the ancient site of the once famous Prabhâsa.[1] The classical hill of Prabhâsa, which is the only rock in the Antarvedî, or Doab between the Ganges and Jamnâ rivers, is 3 miles to the north-west of the great fort of Kosâm Khirâj, the ancient Kauśâmbî, and not more than 2 miles from the present villages of Kosâm Inâm and Pâlî,[2] which formed the old city outside the walls of the fort. High up, in the face of this hill, there is a typical rock-hewn cave, in an inaccessible position. This lofty stone cavern is, no doubt, the stone dwelling of the venomous Nâga described thus by Hiuen Tsiang[3] in his account of Kauśâmbî :—"To the south-west of the city, 8 or 9 *li* (about 1½ miles), is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nâga. Having subdued

[55] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[56] These signs of punctuation are superfluous

[57] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[58] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[59] Read °वाञ्छिल्पा°.

[1] The Prabhâsa, mentioned in the Mau Chandella inscription of Madanavarman, *ante*, vol. I, p. 197 & 204, most probably is the modern Pabhosâ on the Jamnâ, and not the distant place of pilgrimage in Sorath.

[2] A copperplate grant, measuring 7 inches by 6 inches, of Mahârâja Laskshmaṇa, dated (Gupta)-Saṁvat 158, was found in this village in May 1891.

[3] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 237.

this dragon, Tathâgata left here his shadow; but, though this is a tradition of the people there is no vestige of the shadow visible."[4] Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the cave is 8 or 9 *li* to the south-west of Kauśâmbî, is erroneous, as the hill bears north-west from the fort of Kosâm. According to the popular belief of the villagers there is a Nâga inside the cave, of which everybody has heard, but which no one has seen. The serpent is believed to have his head in the Jamnâ while his tail remains in the cave, which is more than a quarter of a mile from the river. The Nâga is said to be seen once a year at the time of the Divâlî festival.[5] Not a little surprised were the people, therefore, to find that no Nâga was encountered when I entered and examined the cave during the night of the 25th March 1887.

At the back of the village a flight of about one hundred and ten steps leads up to a platform, formed of a mere mass of débris, the refuse of former quarries, on which stands a small modern Jaina temple. Close by are three small standing figures of naked Jinas cut in the rock. About 150 feet from the north-east corner of the temple rises the rock perpendicularly about 47 feet in height, in the highest scarp of which the cave is situated. Above the solid rock, in which the cavern is hewn, several large boulders of hard grey quartzite are lying, one upon another, in a sloping position. No doubt, the access to this cave from below was removed by the quarrymen, as it would seem, shortly after the eighth century A.D. In order to effect an entrance into the cave and to copy its inscription outside (Facsimile No. I), which is visible to the naked eye from below, I intended first to erect a staging from the temple below up to the cave and inscription; but finding this to be extremely dangerous on account of the locality and its surroundings, I had a wooden crib made to let down by means of strong ropes from above the cave. As, however, the neighbourhood of the cavern was infested by numerous swarms of wild bees, the cave had to be entered by night and the inscriptions to be copied by the light of a lantern, which added much to the difficulty of the undertaking.

The cave is entirely hewn in the solid rock, the marks of the chisel being apparent throughout; the left side is occupied by a stone couch and pillow, or *sej*, for the hermit's use. The roof is of very curious formation, being cut into vaulted shelves or cupboards, on each side of the centre; these shelves occupy about half of the roof, and the remainder is plain. The main entrance, a door measuring 2′ 2″ by 1′ 9″, has a stone lintel and plain pilaster of red-coloured sandstone on each side, with square holes above and below, seemingly to bar up the entrance. The lintel of the door is 10 feet from the upper edge of the precipice. To the left of the door, at a distance of 2′ 3″ are two small windows of irregular shape, one with a diameter of 1′ 5″ and the other of 1′ 7″. The thickness of this wall is only 9 inches. About 1′ 3″ above the left top corner of the entrance door, there is an inscription (Facsimile I) of eight lines, in characters of the second or first century B.C., carved on the rough surface of the natural rock. Inside, the cave measures 9 feet on the left and 8′ 6″ on the right in length, by 7′ 4″ in width and 3′ 3″ in height. The stone bed, or *sej*, is 9 feet in length, 1′ 8″ in

[4] Compare, however, Sung-Yun's account of Buddha's Shadow Cave, or the Cave of Gopâla, Beal, *l.c.*, vol. I, page cvii.

[5] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XXI, p. 2. Sir A. Cunningham, although speaking of the cave, does not mention its rock-cut inscription.

breadth, and 1′ 2″ in height. On it are ten short pilgrims' records: five of the early Gupta period, four of the fifth or sixth, and one of the eighth century A. D. On the west wall of the cave, opposite to the entrance door, there are three inscriptions: one of the second or first century B. C. (Facsimile II) and two short records of visitors in early Gupta characters.

No. I.

On the rock outside the cave

The inscribed surface of the rock measures 14″ by 10½″. Each letter is on an average 1·3″ long and 3·6 inches deep. With the exception of four *aksharas* in the sixth and nearly the whole of the eighth line, the record is in surprisingly perfect preservation, considering its great age and its long exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather. This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. S. J. Cockburn[6] of the Opium Department who made a (not very accurate) eye-copy of it by means of an astronomical telescope, a tentative reading of which was given by Dr. Hörnle in the *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for March 1887, page 105. In January 1887, during a short visit to Kauśâmbi, the inscription was independently discovered by me, and I now edit it according to impressions taken from the rock.

TEXT.[7]

L. 1. राज्ञो गोपालीपुत्रस
2. बहसतिमित्रस
3. मातुलेन गोपालीया[8]
4. वैहिदरीपुत्रेन [आसा][9]
5. आसाढसेनेन लेनं
6. कारितं [उदाकस][10] दस-
7. मे सवछरे कश्शपीयानं अरहं-
8. [ता]नं – – –ो – ि– – – – [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"By Âsâḍhasena, the son of Gopâlî Vaihidarî (*i.e. the Vaihidara-princess*), and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimittra (*Brihaspatimitra*), son of Gopâlî, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of . . . . . of the Kaśśapîya Arhats (*i.e. either the Buddhists of the Kâśyapîya school, or the pupils of Vardhamâna who was a Kâśyapa by gotra*[11]) . . . ."

No. II.

Inside the cave.

The inscription is incised on the rough surface of the west wall of the cave and measures 32″ by 12″. On an average each letter is 1·6″ long and 3·6 inches deep; the record is in perfect preservation.

[6] See *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. LVI, part I, pages 31 to 35.

[7] See Facsimile No. I.

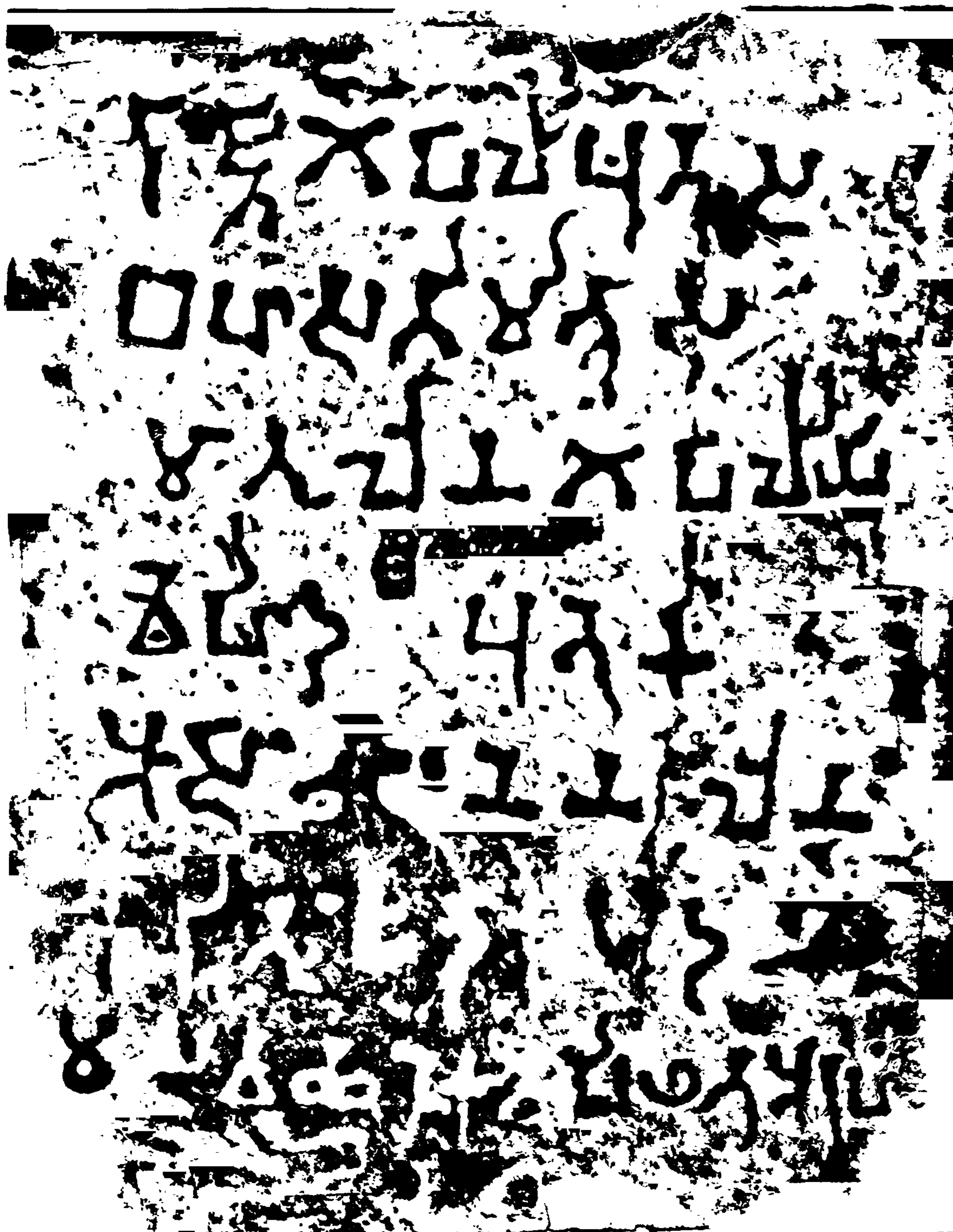
[8] Possibly गोपालिया. The genitive गोपालीया is construed with the crude form वैहिदरी which stands in the sense of a genitive, compare, *e.g.* स्त्रियच्छंदसं मनुष्यस्य (Âpastamba, न लोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य (Pâṇini).

[9] Afterwards erased.

[10] All letters doubtful.

[11] I am indebted to Dr. Bühler for the interpretation of this passage.

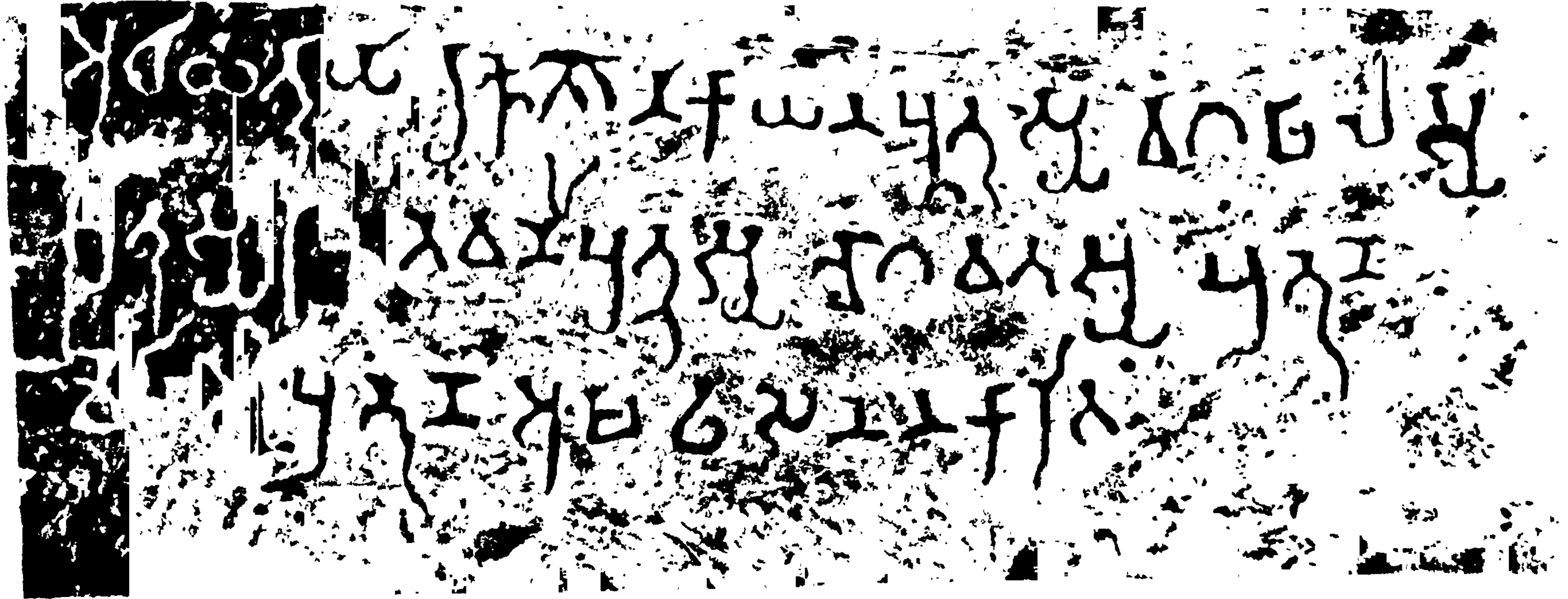
PABHOSA INSCRIPTION No. I,—ON THE ROCK OUTSIDE THE CAVE.



A Führer Ph. D impress

Scale: 3-5ths.

PABHOSA INSCRIPTION No. II,—INSIDE THE CAVE, ON WEST WALL.



Scale 1/3rd

TEXT.[12]

L. 1. अधिछत्राया राञो शोनकायनपुत्रस्य वंग[13]पालस्य

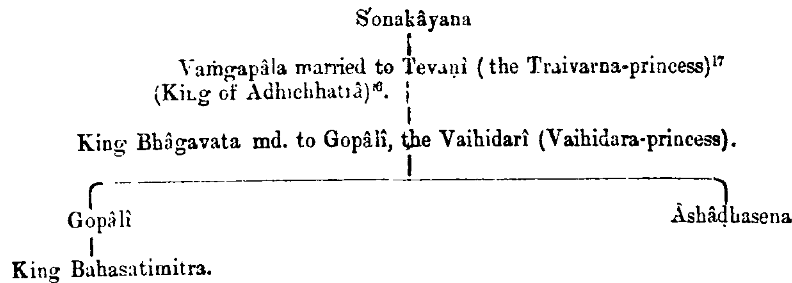
2. पुत्रस्य राञो[14] तेवणीपुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण

3. वैहिदरीपुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन कारितं [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"Caused to be made by Âshâḍhasena, son of the Vaihidarî (*i.e. Vaihidara—princess, and*) son of king Bhâgavata, son of the Tevaṇî (*i.e. Traivarṇa-princess, and*) son of king Vaṁgapâla, son of Śonakâyana (Śaunakâyana) of Adhichhatrâ."

On account of the resemblance to the letters of the Śuṅga times, the two inscriptions may be assigned with confidence to the second or first century B.C. Of special historical value is the pedigree of the early kings of Adhichhatrâ,[15] the capital of the once mighty kingdom of Northern Pâñchâla, here furnished to us :—



Where king Bahasatimitra ruled, and who his father was, is not stated; but we may safely conclude that he was king of Kauśâmbî, as the latter place is close to Prabhâsa, and as many of his coins [18] have been found at Kauśâmbî.

No. III.

In the modern Dharmśâlâ.

This inscription is incised on a tablet of red sandstone and is now fixed into the wall of the modern Dharmśâlâ in the village of Pabhosâ. It records the consecration

[12] See Facsimile No. II.

[13] Possibly वेंग° or वांग°

[14] Possibly रञो.

[15] The modern Râmnagar in Rohilkhand, see Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. I, pp. 255—265, Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p.p., 26—29. The same form Adhichhatrâ, and not the usual Ahikshetra, Ahikshattra, or Ahichchhattra of the *Mahâbhârata Harivaṁśa*, and *Pâṇini*, occurs also in several inscriptions of the first century B.C., lately excavated by me at Râmnagar.

[16] Compare the 'Ἀδισαδρά of Ptolemy, *Geog.* vii, 1, 53.

[17] The epithets Traivarṇa and Vaihidarî are no doubt derivatives from the names of nations or countries although not found in the Purâṇik lists. Compare *e. g.* कैकेयी "the queen of the Kekaya-race," कौसल्या "the queen of the Kosala-family." Compare also the epithet Tevaṇika, or Traivarṇika occurring in one of the Mathurâ inscriptions, *ante*, vol. I, p. 394 and 397.

[18] See Sir A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Pt. I, p. 73, where the king's name is wrongly read Bahasatamitra. The Lucknow Museum Coin cabinet possesses fifteen coins of Bahasatimitra, nine of which were excavated by me at Kauśâmbî in 1887, and six at Adhichhatrâ (Râmnagar) in 1891.

of an image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fort night of the month Mârgaśîrsha, in Saṁvat 1881, by Sâdhu[19] Śrî Hîrâlâl of Allahâbâd on the top of the hill of Prabhâsa, outside the city of Kauśâmbî. The document is also interesting in another respect, as it clearly shows that the modern villages of Kosâm and Pabhosâ were identified already in A.D. 1824-25 by the people of the country with Kauśâmbi and Prabhâsa.

TEXT.[20]

L. 1. संवत् १८८१ मिते मार्गशीर्षशुक्लषष्ठ्यां शुक्रवास-
2. रे काष्ठासंघे माथुरगच्छे पुष्करगणे लोहाचार्यान्वःये
3. भट्टारकश्रीजगत्कीर्त्तिस्तत्पट्टे भट्टारकश्रीललितकी·
4. र्त्तिजित्तदाम्नाये अग्रोतकान्वये गोयलगोत्रे प्रयागन-
5. गरवास्तव्यसाधुश्रीरायजीमल्लस्तदनुजफेरुम-
6. ल्लस्तत्पुत्रसाधश्रीमिहरचंदस्तद्भ्रातासुमेरुचंद-
7. स्तदनुजसाधुश्रीमाणिक्यचंदस्तत्पुत्रसाधुश्रीही·
8. रालालेन कौशांबीनगरवाह्य प्रभासपर्वतोपरि श्री-
9. पद्मप्रभजिनदीक्षाज्ञानकल्याणकक्षेत्रे श्रीजिन-
10. बिंबप्रतिष्ठा कारिता अंगरेजबहादुरराज्ये सु[शु]भं [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"(This) image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) has been consecrated under the rule of the noble English, on a site made auspicious by the consecration and invocation of the glorious Jina Padmaprabha, on the upper side of the hill of Prabhâsa, outside the town of Kauśâmbî, by Sâdhu Śrî Hîrâ Lâl, son of Sâdhu Śrî Mâṇikya Chand, younger brother of Sumeru Chand, brother of Sâdhu Śrî Mehar (*i.e.*, Mihir) Chand, son of Pheru Mall, younger brother of Sâdhu Śrî Râyajî Mall, inhabitant of the town of Prayâga (Allahâbâd), belonging to the Goyala *gotra*, the Agrotaka[21] family, and being (spiritual) client of *bhaṭṭâraka* the illustrious Lalitakîrttijit, in the line of *bhaṭṭâraka* the illustrious Jagatkîrtti, the descendant of Lohâchârya, in the Pushkara *gaṇa*, the Mathurâ *gachchha*, and the Kâshṭhâsaṁgha, on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mârgaśîrsha, in Saṁvat 1881. May it be propitious!"

The modern Jaina temple possesses a small white marble image of Neminatha, dated Saṁvat 1881, and a large undated copper statue of Pârśvanâtha, the setting up of which in this temple our inscription undoubtedly records.

[19] *i.e.* banker and merchant.
[20] See facsimile No. III.
[21] The modern *Agarwâlâ Baniyâs*, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 94.

A. Fuhrer, Ph. D. impress

Scale. 3-5ths.

XX.—THE PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the Pillar edicts of Aśoka the following materials have been used:—

I. *Dehli-Sivalik*,—(1) Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306ff. (2) A paper-rubbing of the second half of edict vii (the so-called circular edict), kindly supplied by Sir A. Cunningham.

II. *Dehli-Mirat*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 122ff., and the paper-impressions, according to which the excellent facsimiles have been prepared.[1]

III. *Allahabad*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimile, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306.

IV. *Radhia* (*Lauria-Ararâj*), *Mathia* (*Lauria-Navandgarh*) *and Râmpûrvâ*,—Mr. Garrick's facsimiles, published with this paper.

None of the older reproductions have been consulted, because they are of no value whatever. They have been made either according to eye-copies or according to rubbings,—not impressions—where the outlines of the letters have been afterwards marked in with pencil. The preservation of the Pillar edicts is in general so excellent that, except in the Dehli-Mirat and Allahabad versions, hardly a vowel-stroke is doubtful. For these two versions, especially for the first, a comparison of the original impressions is highly desirable. Unfortunately the originals of the Allahabad version were not accessible to me, and it is therefore not impossible that on a comparison of the squeezes some small corrections may become necessary. Such corrections will not, however, affect the interpretation in any way. Compared with the readings of other scholars, the present ones show very few differences in the Dehli-Sivalik and Allahabad versions, for which accurate facsimiles have been accessible during the last eight yea

The changes in the Radhia and Mathia texts are more numerous and, thanks to the new materials, decidedly for the better. The fragments of the Râmpûrva version have been printed once before with my German papers on the Pillar edicts in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, pp. 144ff, and vol. XLVI, pp. 54ff. According to the account[2] of Mr. Garrick, the Râmpûrva Pillar lies half buried in the ground. Hence only a portion of the inscription is accessible. As the Râmpûrva version agrees exactly with those of Radhia and Mathia, it is of no great importance for the interpretation of these documents. These three eastern versions have either been engraved according to the same MS., or, at least, according to three MSS. written out by the same Karkun. Their verbal discrepancies are so exceedingly slight that they cannot possibly be ascribed to different draughtsmen. The two Dehli versions are also closely allied to each other. This agreement extends in both cases also to the grouping of the words, which the present edition indicates by hyphens put between those written continuously. I believe that it is advisable to attend to this point, because evidently only those words have been placed close together, which may

[1] These impressions, which Dr. Fleet kindly presented to me, have been made over to the Oriental Institute of the Vienna University.

[2] See Cunningham's *Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 110f.

be joined according to the construction. There is not a single instance in which words written continuously belong to different sentences. It would seem that the clerks connected those words, which in reading the documents they pronounced together. Hence the breaks are equivalent to signs of interpunction, commas, semi-colons and full stops, and they, as well as the combined groups, must be taken into account in the interpretation. And it follows, *e.g.*, that in the second edict the division of the group *chakhudánepi* into *cha khu dáne pi* is impossible, and again that the attempt to combine the separated words ***isyá kâlanena***, in the third edict, cannot be upheld.

As regards the translation and interpretation of the Pillar edicts, the majority of the numerous problems, which Lassen and Burnouf left behind, have been solved by Professor Kern in his ***Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten***, and in his ***Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien***, or by M. Senart in his ***Inscriptions de Piyadasi***, tome ii, and in his articles in the ***Indian Antiquary***, vols. XVII and XVIII, which Mr. Grierson has translated in excellent style. Hence there was not very much remaining for me, especially as M. Senart in his latest publication has adopted my suggestion (***Indian Antiquary***, vol. XIII, p. 306) that the so-called eighth circular edict on the Dehli-Sivalik pillar is only the end of the seventh.[3] Nevertheless, I hope that my translation and notes will not be superfluous.

I differ from my predecessors, especially from M. Senart, in several essential points. First, as I hold on principle all conjectural emendations, which alter the texts of several versions, to be inadmissible, I have tried to show that in all cases, where such changes have been proposed in the Pillar edicts, the original readings admit of explanation. Secondly, I have attempted to further substantiate my view that a full explanation of Aśoka's edicts can only be given with the help of the Brahmanical literature and by a careful utilisation of the actualities of Hindu life. I have called attention to this point in the introductory remarks to my German articles on the Rock edicts, and in explaining the latter, I have shown how a certain proportion of the institutions in Aśoka's empire agrees with those prescribed by the Brahmanical *Rájaníti*, as well as, that certain other details become easily intelligible, when one consults other ***Śástras*** or pays attention to still existing Indian customs. This principle of interpretation is, it seems to me, particularly important for the fourth and fifth Pillar edicts, and hence the remarks on these two pieces have become rather extensive.

Thirdly, I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi-Aśoka had not yet joined the Buddhists, when the Pillar edicts were completed. His conversion to Buddhism fell, as I shall show in a new discussion of the Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth edicts, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Up to the end of his twenty-seventh year the king continued to preach and otherwise to work for the spread of that general morality which all Indian religions, based on the ***Jñánamárga*** or Path of Knowledge, prescribe for the people at large and which is common to the Brahmans, Jainas and Buddhists. This conviction, of course, has forced me to demur against a specially Buddhistic interpretation of various words and terms.

Finally, there are some passages, *e.g.*, in the second, third, fourth and seventh edicts where I have tried, by new divisions of the continuously written syllables or new trans

[3] In justice to Professor Kern I must point out that he has recognised this very obvious fact quite independently *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 384

literations of the Prakrit words into Sanskrit, to elicit a more satisfactory sense than that obtained through the older interpretations. Most philologists will have felt that the hitherto current explanations of *chakhudâne-pi-me bahuvidhe dimne, kâlanena-va-hakaṁ má palibhasayisaṁti, nâtikâ-va-kâni nijhapayisaṁti*, etc., do not carry conviction, and could only be regarded as make-shifts which might be excused as long as nothing more plausible offered.

In the fifth edict I have left many names of animals unexplained. Every one of them will probably be traceable, if the medical *Saṁhitâs* and *Nighaṇṭus* are thoroughly examined, of which for the moment only a small proportion is accessible to me. A special examination of the older Buddhist and Jaina literature, which I have begun, but been unable to complete, will probably furnish the means for the further explanation of some other words, which have still to be translated conjecturally or stand in need of further elucidation. In his contributions to the *Academy* of 1891, Dr. Morris has shown that something may still be done in this way, and some of my notes will show that the Jaina literature also furnishes contributions for the Aśoka inscriptions. Eventually, and, I believe, in a not very distant future, every word and form of these precious documents will admit of as certain an interpretation as those of the ordinary classical texts.

Edict I.

Dehli-Sivalik.	*Dehli-Mirat.*	*Allahabad.*
Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâja-	. . . .	Devânaṁ piye Piyadasî lâjâ
hevaṁ-âhâ [.] saḍuvisati[4] [1]	. . . .	hevaṁ âhâ [:] saduvîsati vasâbhi-
vasa abhisitena-me iyaṃ-dham-	. . . .	sitena me iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi likhâ-
malipi likhâpitâ[:] [2] hidatapâ-	. . . .	pitâ [:] hidatapâlate dusaṁpaṭipâd-
late dusaṁpaṭipâdaye aṁnata-	. . . .	(a)y(e) [1] aṁnata agâya dhaṁ-
agâyâ-dhaṁmakâmatâyâ [3] agâ-	. . . .	makâmatâya agâya palîkhâya
ya-palîkhâyâ agâya-susûsâyâ age-	. . . .	agâya susûsâyâ agena bhayena
na-bhayenâ [4] agena-usâhenâ [.]	. . . .	[age]na usâhena [.] Esa chu kho
Esa-chu-kho-mama anusathiyâ [5]	. . . .	mama anusathiyâ [2] dhaṁmâ-
dhaṁmâpekhâ dhaṁmakâmatâ-	. . . .	pekhâ dhaṁmakâmatâ cha suve
châ suve-suve-vaḍhitâ vaḍhîsati-	. . . .	suve vadhitâ vadhisati chevâ [.]
chevâ-[6] Pulisâ-pi-cha-me ukasâ-	. . . .	Pulisâ pi me ukasâ cha gevayâ
châ gevayâ-châ majhimâ-châ anu-	. . . .	cha majhimâ cha anuvidhiyamti
vidhîyaṁtî [7] saṁpaṭipâdayaṁ-	. . . .	sampatipâdayamti cha [3] alaṁ
ti-châ alaṁ-chapalaṁ-samâdapay-	. . . .	chapalaṁ samâdapayitave [;] heme-
itave [;] hemevâ-aṁta [8] mahâ-	. . . .	va aṁtamahâmâtâ pi [.] Esâ hi
mâtâ-pi [.] Esâ-pi[5]-vidhi yâ-	. . . .	vidhi yâ iyaṁ dhaṁmena pâlanâ
iyaṁ-dhaṁmena-pâlanâ dhaṁ-	. . . . . naṁ dhaṃmena	dhaṁmena vidhâne dhaṁmen[a]
mena-vidhâne [9] dhaṁmena-	[1] vidhâne dha[ṁ]m......	sukhîyanâ dhaṁmena guti ti chu[6]
sukhiyanâ dhaṁmena-gotî-ti [.]	kui[ya]........[2] [.]	[4] [.]

[4] The sign, read here *ḍu*, appears exactly in the same shape in the Sânchi inscriptions, *e.g.*, in ***Pâḍukulikâ***, *i.e*, ***Pâṁḍu kulikâ***. With the form *saḍuvisati* compare *dure, duvâla, kuḍumala.*

[5] Possibly the stone may have *hi* instead of *pi*, which former appears to be the correct reading.

[6] I give the words *ti-chu* on the strength of Dr. Fleet's note, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 310. The vowel sign of *ti* stands irregularly to the left of the consonant, just as in the Kâlsi version of the Rock Ed. XIII, 2 l. 12, in the last syllables of *anuvidhiyaṁti* and *anuvidhiyisaṁti*

EDICT I.

Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi [1] likhâpita [:] hidatapâlate[7] dusaṁpaṭipâdaye aṁnata-agâya-dhaṁmakâmatây[a] agâya-palîkhâya [2] agâya-susûsâya agena-bhayena agena-usâhena [.] Esa-chu-kho-mama - anusathiya dhaṁmapekha [3] dhaṁmakâmatâ-cha suve-suve-vaḍhitâ vaḍhisati cheva [.] Pulisâ-pi-me ukasâ-cha gevayâ-cha majhimâ-cha anuvidhîyaṁti [4] saṁpaṭipâdayaṁti-cha alaṁ-chapalaṁ samâdapayitave hemeva-aṁtamahâmâtâ-pi[.] Esâ-hi-vidhi yâ-iyaṁ dhaṁmena-pâlana[5] dhaṁmena-vidhâne dhaṁmena-sukhîyana dhaṁmena gotî-ti [6][.]

Mathia.

Devânaṁ - piye Piyadasi - lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisilena me iyaṁ [1] dhaṁmalipi likhâpita [:] hidatapâlate dusaṁpaṭipâdaye aṁnata-agâya dhaṁmakâmatâya[2] agâya-palîkhâya agâya-susûsâya agena-bhayena agena-usâhena[.] Esa-chu-kho-mama [3] anusathiya dhaṁmâpekha dhaṁmakâmatâ-cha suve-suve-vaḍhita vaḍhisati-cheva [ ] Pulisâ-pi-me[4] ukasâ-cha gevayâ-cha majhimâ-cha anuvidhîyaṁti saṁpaṭipâdayaṁti-cha alaṁ-chapalaṁ-samâdapayitave [5] hemeva-aṁtamahâmâtâ-pi[.] Esâ-hi-vidhi yâ iyaṁ dhaṁmena-pâlanadhaṁmena-vidhâne dhaṁmena-sukhîyana [6] dhaṁmena-gotî-ti [7.]

Râmpûrva.

Devânâṃ in-piye Piyadasi-lajaja . hevaṁ-âha[:] sa[ḍu] . . . . [1] dusaṁpaṭipâdaye aṁnata-agâya dhaṁmakâmatâya . . . . [5.] . . . . [2] Esa-chu-kho-mama anusathiya dhaṁmâpekha dhaṁma . . . . [3] gevayâ-cha majhimâ-cha anuvidhîyaṁti saṁpaṭipâdayaṁ . . . . [4] yâ iyaṁ dhaṁmena pâlana dhaṁmena vidhâne dhaṁmena s[u] . . . .

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—" After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the sacred law, the greatest circumspection, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy.[8] But, through my instructions, these have, indeed, increased day by day, and will increase still more (*viz.*) the longing for the sacred law and the love of the sacred law. And my servants, the great ones, the lowly ones[9] and those of middle rank, being able to lead sinners[10] back to their duty, obey and carry out (*my orders*), likewise also the wardens of the marches.[11] Now the order (*for them*) is to protect according to the sacred law,[12] to govern according to the sacred law, to give happiness in accordance with the sacred law, to guard according to the sacred law."

[7] Burnouf's explanation of *hidata* and *pâlata*, which are found also below IV, (l. 7 (D. S.), l. 18 (D. S.), VII, 2, l. 10 as inflected forms of the adverbs in *tra*, is no doubt correct. In popular Sanskrit, too, *paratram* is used in the sense of *paralokaḥ* or *pâralaukikam*, see *Pañchatantra*, iii. p. 54, l. 17 (Bo. edition).

[8] *Circumspection, i.e.*, a careful examination, whether one's actions are lawful or not; *obedience, i.e.*, towards Piyadasi's sacred law; *fear, i.e.*, of sin.

[9] *Gerayâ*, 'the lowly ones' or 'subalterns' is derived from the Sanskrit root *gep* or *glep*, which the *Dhâtupâṭha* explains by *dainye*. The corresponding Sanskrit word was, no doubt, **gepya*-**glepya*, literally 'the poor' or 'wretched.'

[10] *Chapala*, literally 'fickle', means both in Pali and in Sanskrit *durvinita*, 'ill-behaved', 'a sinner.'

[11] The *aṁtamahâmâtâ*, 'the wardens of the marches,' are the *antapâlâḥ* of the Sanskrit writers, see, *e.g.*, *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, p. 16, l. 7 (Bo. S. Ser. 2nd ed.).

[12] It will be best to take *hi* here *avadhârane, i.e.*, in the sense of 'indeed', 'even', which it has not rarely in Sanskrit prose.

ASOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION AT RADHIA,—SOUTH SIDE.

Ed I.

Ed II.

Ed III.

Ed IV.

H. B. W. Garrick, fecit

Scale: 1-8th.

AŚOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION AT RADHIA,—NORTH SIDE.

Ed. V.

Ed VI.

H B W Garrick fecit.

Scale 1-5th.

Edict II.

Dehli-Sivalik.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ
[10] hevaṁ-âhâ [:] dhaṁme-
sâdhû [.] Kiyaṁ-chu-dhaṁme-
ti [?] Apâsinave bahu-kayâne
[11] dayâ-dâne sache-sochaye [.]
Chakhudâne-pi-me bahuvidhe-
diṁne dupada-[12] chatupadesu
pakhivâlichalesu vividhe-me-anu-
gahe-kaṭe â-pâna-[13] dâkhinâye
aṁnâni-pi-cha-me-bahûni kayân-
âni-kaṭâni [.] Etâye-me [14]
aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi-likhâ-
pitâ [:] hevaṁ-anupaṭipajaṁtu
chilaṁ-[15] thitikâ-cha-hotû-tî-
ti [.] Ye-cha-hevaṁ-saṁpaṭipa-
jîsati se-sukaṭaṁ-kachhatî-ti [.16]

Dehli-Mirat.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâjâ-
hev . . . [:] dhaṁme-sâdh[u] [13] [.]
Kiyaṁ . . . . . . [?3] Apâsinave
bahu-kayâne dayâ dâne sache [so]-
chaye [.] [Chakhudâ]naṁ-
pi-me [4] bahuvidhe-diṁne dupa-
dachatupadesu pakhivâlichale. [vi-
vidhe-me-anu] [5]gahe-kaṭe â-pâ-
nadâkhinâye aṁnâni-pi-cha-me
bahû[ni . yânâni] [6] kaṭâni [.]
Etâye-me-aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁma-
lipi-li[khâpitâ] . . [7] anupaṭipa-
jaṁtû chila[ṁthi]tikâ [14] - cha-
hotû-[ti] [.] Ye-cha-he . . . . . .
[8] sati se-sukaṭaṁ-ka[chha]tî-
[ti] [.9]

Allahabad.

Devânaṁ piye Piyadasî lâjâ
hevaṁ âhâ [:] dhaṁme sâdhu [:]
Kiyaṁ chu dhaṁme ti [?] Apâsin-
ave bahu kayâne dayâ dâne
sache sochaye [.] Chakhudâne pi
me [5] bahuvidhe diṁne dupada-
chatupadesu [15] pakhivâlichalesu
vividhe me anugahe kaṭe â pâ-
nadakhinâye [16] aṁnâni pi cha me
bahuni kayânâni kaṭâni [.6] Etâye
me aṭhâye iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi
likhâpitâ [:] hevaṁ anupaṭipa-
jaṁtu chilaṭhitîkâ cha hotû ti [.]
Ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajisati se
sukaṭaṁ kachhatîti [.7]

Edict II.

Radhia.

Devânaṁ piye Piyadasi lâja
hevaṁ-âha [:] dhaṁme-sâdhu [ ]
Kiyaṁ-chu-dhaṁme-ti [?] Apâ-
sinave bahu-kayâne daya dâne
sache [7] socheye-ti [.] Chakhu-
dâne-pi-me-bahuvidhe-diṁne du-
padachatupa●su pakhivâlichalesu
vividhe-me-anugahe-kaṭe [8] â-pâ-
nadakhinâye aṁnâni-pi-cha-me
bahûni-kayânâni-kaṭâni [.] Etâye-
me-aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhamalipi likhâ-
pita [:] hevaṁ [9] anupaṭipajaṁtu
chilaṁthitîkâ-cha-hotû-ti [.] Ye-
cha-hevaṁ-saṁpaṭipajisati se-su-
kaṭaṁ-kachhati-ti [.10]

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja
hevaṁ-âha [:] dhaṁme-sâdhu [.]
Kiyaṁ-chu-dhaṁme-ti [.] Apâsi-
nave bahu-kayâne [8] daya dâne
sache socheye-ti [.] Chakhudâne-
pi-me bahuvidhe-diṁne dupada-
chatupadesu pakhi- [9] vâlichalesu
vividhe-me-anugahe-kaṭe â-pâ-
nadakhinâye aṁnâni-pi-cha-me
bahûni-kayânâni [10] kaṭâni [.]
Etâye-m[e]-aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁ-
malipi likhâpita [:] hevaṁ-anu-
paṭipajamtu chilaṁthitîkâ-cha-
hotû-ti [.11] Ye-cha-hevaṁ-saṁ-
paṭipajisati se-sukaṭaṁ-kachhati
[.12]

Râmpûrvâ.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja
hevaṁ-âha [:] dhaṁme-sâdhu [.]
Kiyaṁ . . . .
. . . .
. . . . . . [6] bahuvidhe-diṁne
dupadachatupadesu pakhivâlicha-
lesu vivi . . . .
. . . .
. . . . [7] . . . .
Etâye-me-aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁma-
lipi-likhâpita [:] hevaṁ a . . . .
. . . .
. . . . [.8]

Translation.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"(*To fulfill*) the law is meritorious. But what does (*the fulfilment of*) the law include? (*It includes*) sinlessness[a], many good works, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity. The gift of spiritual insight[b] I have given (*to men*) in various ways; on two-footed and four-footed beings, on birds and aquatic animals I have conferred benefits of many kinds, even the boon of life, and in other ways have I done much good. It is for this purpose that I

[13] The quantity of the second vowel of *sâdhu* is not certain.

[14] *Chilaṁ*° looks like *chilâ*°; possibly *ṭhitikâ* to be read.

[15] Possibly *dupadaṁchatupadesu*. But the dot after *da* is probably accidental.

[16] *Pânadakhinâ* is the Sanskrit *prânodakshinâ*, a less commonly used variant for *abhayadakshiṇâ* 'the boon of safety.' The smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, however, gives it in this sense.

have caused this religious edict to be written, (*viz.*) that men may thus act accordingly, and that it may endure for a long time. And he who will act thus will perform a deed of merit.

Remarks.

a. I explain *apâsinave* by *apâsravam*, used in the sense of *apâsravatvam*. It may be noted that the Jainas possess a term *aṇhaya*, which exactly corresponds to *âsinava*, and is derived, like the latter, from *âsnu* (see Weber: *Indische Studien*, vol. XVI, p. 326, note 7). Piyadasi's theory of the *âsinava*, which is more fully developed in the next edict, does not agree with the Buddhist doctrine of the threefold or fourfold *âsava*, but comes closer to that of the Jaina *aṇhaya*, which includes injury to living beings, lying, stealing, unchastity, and attachment to worldly possessions.

b. The usual interpretation of *chakhudâne* by *cha khu dâne* cannot stand, because the enclitic words *cha* and *khu* cannot begin a sentence, and because the continuousness of the syllables in the text does not permit their being taken as parts of two sentences. The metaphorical use of *chakhu*, in Sanskrit *chakshus*, 'eye,' for 'spiritual insight or knowledge,' is common with all Hindu sects. Piyadasi alludes here to the *dhaṁmasâvanâni* and *dhaṁmanusathini*, 'sermons on, and instruction in, the sacred law,' of which he speaks more fully below (VII, 2, l. 1); compare also *dhaṁmadâne* (Rock Edicts XI and the note to the latter passage).

Edict III.

Dehli-Sivalik.

Devânam-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-ahâ[:] kayânaṁm-eva-de-khati[:] iyaṁ-me[17] kayâne-ka-te-ti[.] No-mina-pâpaṁ-dekhati [.] iyaṁ-me-pâpe-kaṭe-ti iyaṁ-vâ-âsinave[18] nâmâ ti[.] Dupa-tivekhe-chu-kho-esâ[.] Hevam-chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[:] imâni[19] âsinavagâmîni-nâma atha-chaṁ-ḍiye niṭhûliye kodhe mâne isyâ [20] kâlanena-va-hakaṁ mâ-pali-bhasayisaṁ[.] Esa-bâḍha-de-khiye[:] iyaṁ-me[21] hidatikâye iyaṁ-mana-me pâlatikâye [.21]

Dehli-Mirat.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâjâ-hevam-âhâ[:] kayânaṁm va-d[ekha].(:) . . m.[10] kayâne-kate-ti[.] No minâ-pâpaṁ-de-khati[:] [i]yaṁ-me-pâpaṁ-ka[ṭe-ti iyaṁ v.][11] âsinave-nâ[mâ]-ti [.][17] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esâ [.] Hevaṁ-chu . . [sâ d]ekhiye :12] [i]mâni-âsinavag[âmîni]-nâma atha[18] chaṁḍiye niṭhû-liye-kodhe[13] mâne isyâ kâlane-na-v[a][19] hakaṁ-mâ-palibha[sa]-yisa [.]. . bâḍhaṁ[14] dekhiye[:] iyaṁ . e [hidati]kâye iyaṁ-me-pâlatikâye [.15]

Allahabad.

Devânaṁ piye Piyadasî lâjâ hevaṁ âhâ[:] kayânam-eva de-khati(:) iyam me kayâne kaṭe ti [.] No mina pâpakaṁ dekhati[:] iyam me pâpake kaṭe ti iyaṁ vâ âsinave nâmâ ti[8] . . . . .
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Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] kayânaṁm-eva-de-khaṁti[:] iyaṁ-me-kayâne-kaṭe-ti [.] No-mina-pâpaṁ-dekhaṁti[:] iyaṁ-me-pâpe-kaṭe-ti[11] iyam-va-âsinave-nâmâ-ti[ ] Dupaṭive-khe-chu-kho-esa[.] Hevaṁ-chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[:] imâni-âsinava-

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja he-vaṁ-âha[:] kayânaṁm-eva-dekh-aṁti[:]iyaṁ-me-kayâne-kate-ti[.] No-mina-pâpaṁ [13]d [e]khaṁti-[:] iyaṁ-me-.âpe-kaṭe-ti iyaṁ-va-âsinave-nâmâ-ti[ ] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esa[.] Hevaṁ-chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[:14] imâni-âsinave-

Râmpûrvâ.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] kayânaṁm-e . .
. . . .
. . . .[9] iyaṁ-va-âsinave-nâ-mâ-ti[.] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esa[.] He-[v.] . . . . . .
. . . .

[17] Possibly *nâma-ti* is to be read.
[18] The apparent vowel-stroke to the left of *atha* is probably an accidental scratch.
[19] Possible *vâ* is to be read.

I

II

III

IV

H. B. W. Garrick, fecit.

Scale. 1-5th

Ed V

Ed VI.

H B W Garrick, fecit

Scale 1-5th.

EDICT III—*contd.*

Radhia.	*Mathia*	*Râmpûrvâ.*
gâmîni-nâmâ-ti atha-chaṁḍiye [12] niṭhûliye kodhe-mâne isya kâlanena-va-hakaṁ mâ-palibhasayisaṁ-ti[.] Esa-bâḍhaṁ-dekhiye [:] iyaṁ-me-hidatikâye iyaṁ-mana-me pâlatikâye-ti[13]	gâmîni[20]-nâmâ-ti atha-cha[ṁ]-ḍiye niṭhûliye kodhe mâne isya kâlanena-va-hakaṁ[15] mâ-pali-bhasayisaṁ-ti[.] Esa bâḍhaṁ-dekhiye [:] iyaṁ-me - hidatikâye iyaṁ-mana-me-pâlatikâye-ti[.15]	. . . [10] kodhe mâne isya kâlanena-va-hakaṁ mâ-palibhasa-yi. . . . . [11]

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—" Man only sees his good deeds, (*and says unto himself*) 'This good deed I have done.' But he sees in no wise[21] his evil deeds (*and does not say unto himself*) 'This evil deed I have done; this is what is called sin.' But difficult indeed is this self-examination. Nevertheless man ought to pay regard to the following (*and say unto himself*): 'Such (*passions*) as rage, cruelty, anger, pride, jealousy (*are those*) called sinful; even through these I shall bring about my fall.'[22] But man ought to mark most the following (*and say unto himself*): 'This conduces to my welfare in this world, that at least to my welfare in the next world."

EDICT IV.

Dehli-Sivalik.	*Dehli-Mirat.*	*Allahabad.*
Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-	. . . .	. . . .
hevaṁ-âhâ[:] saduvîsativasa-[1]	. . . .	. . . .
abhisitena-me iyam-dhaṁmalipi-	. . . .	. . . .
likhâpitâ[.] Lajûkâ-me[2] ba-	. . . .	. . . .
hûsu-pânasatasahasesu janasi-	. . . .	. . . .
âyatâ tesaṁ-ye-abhihâle-vâ[3]	. . . .	. . . .
daṁḍe-vâ atapatiye-me-kaṭe[;]	. . . .	. . . .
kiṁ-ti-[?] lajûkâ asvatha abhîtâ	. . . .	. . . .
[4] kaṁmâni-pavatayevû janasa-	. . . .	. . . .
jânapadasâ hitasukhaṁ-upadah-	. . . .	. . . .
evû[5] anugahinevu-châ[.] Su-	. . . .	. . . .
khîyana dukhîyanam-jânisaṁti	. . . .	. . . .
dhaṁmayutena cha[6] viyova-	. . . .	. . . .
disaṁti janaṁ-jânapadaṁ[;] kiṁ-	. . . .	. . . .
ti-[?] hidataṁ-cha pâlataṁ-cha	. . . .	. . . .
[7] âlâdhayevû-ti[.] Lajûkâ-pi-	. . . .	. . . .
laghaṁti paṭichalitave-maṁ[;]	. . . .	. . . .
pulisâni-pi-me[8]chhaṁdaṁnâni-	. . . .	. . . .
paṭichalisaṁti te-pi-cha-kâni-vi-	. . . . [lajû-	. . . .
yovadisaṁti yena-maṁ-lajûkâ	kâ] chaghaṁti-[â]lâ[dhayi-	. . . .
[9] chaghaṁti-âlâdhayitave[.]	tave] [.2]	. . . .
Athâ-hi-pajaṁ viyatâye-dhâtiye	. . . . . tu asva[the-ho]	. . . .

[20] The e-stroke of *âsinavegâmîni* is too distinct in the new facsimile to be considered as accidental. But it is probably only due to a mistake of the mason.

[21] *Mina, minâ* (D. M.) and *mana* represent in my opinion the Sanskrit *manâk*, Pali *manâ*. *Na manâk* or *no manâk* 'not in the least, in no wise,' which fits here excellently, is very common in Sanskrit.

[22] Or 'may I not cause my fall through them.' The Sanskrit translation of the phrase is [*teshâṁ*] *kâranenaivâhaṁ mâ paribhraṁśayishyâmi*, and *mâ* may be taken in this case to stand for *mâṁ*, or as the negative particle. M. Senart's attempt to connect *isyâ-kâlanena* is barred by the fact that all versions have breaks between the two words.

Edict IV—*contd.*

Dehli-Sivalik.

nisijitu[10] asvathe-hoti[:] Viyata-dhâti chaghati-me-pajaṁ sukhaṁ-palihaṭave[,11] hevaṁ-mamâ-lajûkâ-kaṭâ jânapadasa-hitasukhâye[;] yena-ete-abhîtâ [12] asvatha-saṁtaṁ .avimanâ-kammâni-pavatayevû-ti[.] Etena-me-lajûkânaṁ[13] abhîhâle-va-daṁḍe-vâ atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhitaviye-hi-esâ-[;]kiṁ-ti[?14] viyohâlasamatâ-cha-siya daṁḍa-samatâ-châ[.] Ava-ite-pi-cha-me-âvuti[:15] baṁdhanabadhânaṁ-munisânaṁ tîlîtadaṁḍânaṁ patavadhânaṁ timni-divasâni-me [16] yote-dimne[.] Nâtikâ-vakâni nijhapayisaṁti jîvitâye-tânaṁ[17] nâsaṁtaṁ-vâ-nijhapayitâ dânaṁ-dâhaṁti-pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ-va-kachhaṁti[.18] Ichhâ-hi-me[:] hevaṁ-niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâlataṁ-âlâdhayevû-ti janasa-cha[19] vaḍhati-vividhe-dhaṁmachalane saṁyame dânasa-vibhâge-ti[.20]

Dehli-Mirat.

ti [:3] [viya]. . . . . .
. . . . . . li[ha] ṭave[,]
h[e]vaṁ-mamâ[4] lajûk[â] .
. . . . ye[;]
yena-ete-abhîtâ[5] asvatha-saṁ .
. . . .
[pa]vatayevû-ti[.] Etena-me
[6] . [j]ûkânaṁ . . . .
. . . atapatiye-[kaṭe] [.7]
Ichhitavi . . . .
. . . . hâlasamatâ-ch[a]-siyâ [23] [8] daṁḍasa[ma] . . .
. . . . . [me]-âvuti[:]
baṁdhanaba[dhâ]naṁ[9] munisâna[ṁ] . . . . . .
. . vadhânaṁ timni-divasâni-[m]e[10] yote dimne[.] . . .
payisaṁ[t]i jîvitâye-tânaṁ [11]
nâsaṁtaṁ-vâ-ni . . . . .
. . . ti pâlatikaṁ[12] u[pa]
vâsaṁ-vâ-ka- . . . . . .
hevaṁ-niludhasi-pi-[k]âlasi[13]
[p]âlataṁ-âlâdhay . . . .
vaḍhati vividhe-dhaṁmachalane
saṁyame dâ[na] . . . . . . [15]

Allahabad.

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. . . . . . hâlasamatâ châ siyâ daṁḍasamatâ cha[.] Ava [24] ite pi cha me âvuti[:] baṁdhanabadhânaṁ munisânaṁ tîlîtadaṁḍânaṁ patavadhânaṁ timni divasâni yote dimne[:17] . . . va kâni nijhapayisaṁti jîvitâye tânaṁ nâsaṁtaṁ vâ nijhapayitâ dânaṁ dâhaṁti pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ vâ kachhaṁti[.18] . . . me[:] hevaṁ niludhasi pi kâlasi pâlataṁ âlâdhayevu janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe dhaṁmachalane sayame dânasavibhâge [.19]

Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi-likhâpita[.] Lajûkâ-me-bahûsu-pânasatasahasesu[14] janasi-âyata tesaṁ-ye-abhihâle-va-daṁḍe-va atapatiye-me-kaṭe[;] kiṁ-ti-[.?] lajûka-asvatha abhîta kaṁmâni pavatayevû-ti janasa-jânapadasa [15] hitasukhaṁ-upadahevu anugahinevu-cha[.] Sukhîyanadukhîyanaṁ jânisaṁti dhaṁmayutena-cha-viyovadisaṁti janaṁ-jânapadaṁ[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] hidataṁ-cha[16] pâlataṁ-cha âlâdhayevu[.] Lajûkâ-pi-laghaṁti-paṭichalitave-maṁ[;] pulisâni-pi me-chhaṁdaṁnâni paṭichalisaṁti[;] te-pi-cha-kâni viyovadisaṁti yena-maṁ[17] lajûka-chaghaṁti-âlâdhayitave[.] Athâ-hi-pajaṁ-viyatâye-dhâtiye-nisiji-

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsativa-[â]-bhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi-likhâpita[.] Lajûkâ-me[17] bahûsu-pânasatasahasesu janasi-âyata tesaṁ-ye-abhihâle-va-daṁḍe-va atapatiye-me-kaṭe[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] lajûka-asvatha [18] abhîta-kaṁmâni-pavatayevû-ti janasa-jânapadasa-hitasukhaṁ — upadahevû anugahinevu-cha[.] Sukhîyanadukhîyanaṁ[19] jânisaṁti dhaṁmayutena-cha-viyovadisaṁti janaṁ-jânapadaṁ[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] hidatam-cha pâlataṁ-cha âlâdhayevû-ti[.] Lajûkâ-pi-laghaṁti[20] paṭichalitave-maṁ[;] pulisâni-pi-me chhaṁdaṁnâni paṭichalisaṁti[;] te-pi-cha-kâni-viyovadisaṁti-yena-maṁ-lajûka chaghaṁti âlâdhayitave[.21] Athâ-hi-pajaṁ viyatâye-dhâtiye-

Râmpûrvâ.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsati . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . .[12] janasi-âyata tesaṁ-ye-abhihale-va daṁḍe-va atapati.
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . [13]
hitasukhaṁ-upadahevu anugahinevu-cha[.] Sukhîyanadu . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . [14] âlâdhayevû-ti[.] Lajûkâ-pi-laghaṁti paṭichalitave-maṁ . . . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
.[15] chaghaṁti âlâdhayitave[.] Athâ-hi-pajaṁ viyatâye-dhâtiye-

[23] Possibly *châ-siyâ* is to be read.

[24] Possibly *ava-ite* is to be read.

PORTION OF ASOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION AT RAMPURWA.

EDICT IV—*contd.*

Radhia.

tu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata-dhâti-chaghati-me-pajam-sukhaṁ-palihaṭave-ti[,18] hevaṁ-mama-lajûka-kaṭa[25] jânapadasa-hitasukhâye[;] yena-ete-abhîta-asvathâ-saṁtaṁ-avimana-kaṁmâni-pavatayevû-ti[.] Etena-me lajûkânaṁ abhihâle-va[19] daṁḍe-va-atapatiye-kate[.] Ichhitaviye-hi-esa[;] kiṁ-ti[?] viyohâlasamatâ-cha-siya daṁḍasamatâ-cha[.] Âvâ ite-pi-cha-me âvuti[:] baṁdhanabadhânaṁ[20] munisânaṁ-tîlitadaṁḍânaṁ patavadhânaṁ tiṁni-divasâni-me-yote-diṁne[.] Nâtikâ-va-kâni-nijhapayisaṁti jîvitâye-tânam nâsaṁtam-va[21] nijhapayitave dânaṁ-dâhaṁti-pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ-va-kachhaṁti[.] Ichhâ-hi-me[:] hevaṁ-niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâlataṁ-âlâdhayevû-ti[22] janasa-cha-vaḍhati vividhe-dhaṁmachalane sayame dânasaṁvibhâge-ti[23]

Mathia.

nisijitu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata-dhâti-chaghati-me-pajaṁ sukhaṁ-palihaṭave-ti[,22] hevaṁ-mama-lajûka-kaṭa jânapadasa-hitasukhâye[;] y[e]na-ete-abhîta-asvathâ-saṁtaṁ avimana-kaṁmâni-pavatayevû-ti[.23] Etena-me-lajûkânaṁ-abhihâle-va-daṁḍe-va atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhitaviye-hi-esa[;] kiṁ-ti[?]-viyohâlasamatâ-cha-siya daṁḍasamatâ-cha[24] Âvâ-ite-pi-cha-me-âvuti[:] baṁdhanabadhânaṁ-munisâna[ṁ]tîlitadaṁḍânaṁ patavadhânaṁ tiṁni-divasâni-me yote-diṁne[.] Nâtikâ-va-kâni[25] nijhapayisaṁti jîvitâye-tânaṁ nâsaṁtaṁ-va-nijhapayitave dânaṁ-dâhaṁti-pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ-va-kachhaṁti[.] Ichhâ hi-me[:] hevaṁ[26] niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâlataṁ-âlâdhayevû-ti janasa-cha vaḍhati vividhe-dhaṁmachalane sayame dânasavibhâge-ti[27]

Râmpûrvâ.

ni . . . . [16] jânapadasa-hitasukhâye yena-ete-abhîta-asvathâ . . . . [17] Ichhitaviye-hi-esa[;] kî-ti[?] viyohâlasamatâ-cha-siya . . . . [18] tiṁni-divasâni-me y[o]te-diṁne[.] Nâtikâ-va-kâni nijha- . . . . [.19] Ichhâ-hi-me-hevaṁ niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâlataṁ . . . . [20]

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My *Lajûkas*[a] are established (*as rulers*) among the people, among many hundred thousand souls; I have made them independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments[b]—Why? In order that the *Lajûkas* may do their work tranquilly and fearlessly, that they may give welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (*on them*). They will know what gives happiness and what inflicts pain, and they will exhort the provincials in accordance with the principles of the sacred law,[c]—How?—That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the *Lajûkas* are eager to serve me[d]. My (*other*) servants also, who know my will, will serve (*me*), and they, too will exhort some (*men*), in order that the *Lajûkas* may strive to gain my favour.[e] For, as (*a man*) feels tranquil after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself, 'The clever nurse strives to bring up my child well,'—even so I have acted with my *Lajûkas* for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquil, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the *Lajûkas* independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments. For the following is desirable:—What? That there may be equity in official business[26] and

[25] It is possible to read *lajûka-kaṭe*. But the se[illegible] e-stroke is much shorter than the real ones, and, hence, is probably due to an accidental flaw in the stone.

[26] Though *viyohâla*, in Sanskrit *vyavahâra*, frequently means 'legal business,' 'judicial proceedings,' there is no objection to taking it here in the not less common wider sense 'business,' 'official business,' as the translation of *abhihâra* by "awarding honours" makes advisable.

equity in the award of punishments.' And even so far goes my order, "I have granted a respite of three days to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death.[27] Their relatives will make some (*of them*) meditate deeply (*and*) in order to save the lives of those (*men*) or in order to make (*the condemned*) who is to be executed, meditate deeply, they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts[1]. For my wish is that they (*the condemned*) even during their imprisonment[28] may thus gain bliss in the next world; and various religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow among the people."

Remarks on the Translation.

a. In note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III, I have pointed out that Professor Jacobi has found the Jaina Prakrit representative of *lajûka* or *râjûka* (Girnâr) in the *Kalpasûtra*, where *rajjû* means "a writer, a clerk." I have added that *lajûka*, *i.e.* *lajjûka*, was an old name of the writer caste, which is later called *Divira* (*Dabîr*) or *Kâyastha*, and that Aśoka calls his great administrative officials simply "the writers," because they were chiefly taken from that caste. Though I do not see any reason to change this view, I now leave the word untranslated, because the rendering "writers" might mislead. Regarding my explanation of *âyatâ*, which I take to be equivalent to *pratishṭhitâh*, note 2, on Sep. Ed. I, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

b. Professor Kern has without doubt correctly explained the general meaning of this sentence. Piyadasi declares that he has made his *Lajûkas* independent in the discharge of their duties and has abolished the appeals to higher authorities. This follows from the further statement (see below) that he has confided his subjects to them, just as a man confides his child to an intelligent nurse. I may add that there is a weighty objection to M. Senart's view, according to which Piyadasi says that he will keep legal proceedings against, and punishments of, the *Lajûkas* in his own hands. For, in all Native States of India a high official, who is "placed over many hundred thousand souls," is solely answerable to the king for his actions, and it is a matter of course that the same was the case in ancient India, as indeed in all despotic countries. An order enjoining that such men were to be punished by the king alone would have been quite superfluous. As regards the construction, I explain the sentence in Sanskrit as follows:—*teshâṁ yo' bhihâro vâ daṇḍo vâ* [*tatra*] *mayâ* [*teshâṁ*] *svatantratâ kṛitâ*, and I take *âtmapatyam* [*svatantratâ*] as a substantive, formed according to the analogy of *âdhipatyam* and so forth. The term *abhihâra* occurs in Pali in the sense of "honour, honorarium," see *Jâtakas*, vol. V, p 58, verse 143, and *ibid* p. 59, l. 28f. In the former passage the commentary explains *abhihâraṁ* by *pûjam*. It is obvious that this meaning fits here excellently.

c. I interpret *dhammayutena* with Professor Kern by *dharmayuktena*, i. e. *dharmayuktyâ*. M. Senart's attempt to translate it by 'together with the Faithful,' *i.e.*

[27] In the interpretation of *ava ite* (Dh. A) and *âvâ ite* (M. R) I follow Professor Kern and M. Senart, who explain it by *yâvad itaḥ*, and I take *âvuti* with M. Senart as equivalent to *âyuktiḥ*. *Tilita* or *tilita* has here the same sense as *tîrita* Manu, IX, 233.

[28] *Niludhasi pi kâlasi*, literally *niruddhe pi kâle*, may be taken in the sense of *nirodhakâle pi*. Similar phrases occur in Pali, *e g.*, *mithyâchâraṁ* and *anâchâraṁ chinnadivase* for *anâchâracharaṇadivase*, *Jât.* i, p. 309.

the Buddhists, is not tenable. The passage, Pillar Edict VII, 2, 2, which he connects with this, has nothing to do with it. For, *dhammayutaṁ janaṁ* means there 'the loyal people,' and denotes Piyadasi's subjects, as distinguished from the *aṁtá*, 'the free borderers.'

(*d*) M. Senart's conjectural emendation *chaghaṁti* for *laghaṁti* is barred by the fact that the four complete versions all offer *laghaṁti*, and that the supposed *varia lectio* '*chaghaṁti*' does not exist. *Laghaṁti* seems to be the representative of Sanskrit *raṅghaṁte* 'they hasten', *i.e.* 'are eager.' I fully agree with the same scholar's remark that *paṭichal* must be taken in the sense of Sanskrit *parichar*, because in Pali the preposition *paṭi* is frequently used for *pari*. Its correctness is demonstrated by the fact that in the Jaina Mahârâshṭrî, *paḍiyar*, i.e. literally *pratichar*, means 'to serve,' see Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahárâshṭrî*, glossary *sub voce* '*paḍiyariya*.'

(*e*) As there are no other instances in which the neuter terminations are added to feminines in *a*, I cannot explain *chhaṁdaṁnáni* with M. Senart as a Dvandva compound, formed of *chhanda* and *ájñá*. I take it with Burnouf, as a Tatpurusha compound, equivalent to *chhandaṁ jânantîti chhandajñâh*, 'knowing the will,' and construe it with *pulisáni*, 'the servants.' This explanation seems also advisable, because one naturally expects that *maṁ* must be understood and is the object of *paṭichalisaṁti*, as of the preceding *paṭichalitave*. The 'servants', whom Piyadasi mentions here, are most probably the *paṭivedakas*, the spies, whom the great Maurya employed according to Rock Edict VI, in order to watch the actions of his great officials, of the Pañchs and other bodies in accordance with the precepts of the Indian *Rájanîti*. The further statement that these servants will exhort *káni*, "some" (as must be read with M. Senart), in order that the Lajûkas may strive to gain the favour of the king, probably means that these "servants" will exhort remiss Lajûkas, and that they will also, by exhorting or spreading the Dharma among the provincials at large, rouse the zeal of the Lajûkas. *Káni* thus refers both to the Lajûkas and the provincials. With the phrase *maṁ-áládhayitave* compare *lajáladhi*,—Sep. Ed. I, 15 (Dhauli). To Professor Kern's excellent explanation of the verb *chagh* by the Hindî *cháh-ná*, I would add that *cháh* occurs in all Indian vernaculars and without doubt belongs to the ancient stock of Aryan speech.

'Regarding this passage I can only agree with one of my predecessors in a single point. I believe that M. Senart is right in deriving *nijhapayisaṁti* and *nijhapayitá* from the Prakrit causative of *nidhyâi* and not from *nikshapayati*. This derivation is perfectly justified by the word *nijhati*, below, VII, 2, 8, which in its general sense is certainly equivalent to Sanskrit *nididhyâsaná* 'profound meditation.' In all other respects I differ. I am unable to accept the assertion of Professor Lassen, approved of by Professor Kern and M. Senart, that *nátikávakáni* is a compound, meaning 'neither more nor less.' The six syllables certainly must be separated into the three words *nátiká-va-káni*, i.e. *jñátaya eva kâṁśchit*. That is the only explanation which is grammatically possible, and gives, as will be shown presently, an excellent sense. I am further unable to disregard the well authenticated reading *nijhapayitave*, which R. and M. offer, instead of *nijhapayitá*. *Nijhapayitave* is clearly an infinitive in *tave*, such as occurs frequently in Piyadasi's inscriptions. This form must in my opinion be used in order to explain the more difficult *nijhapayitá*. The latter may be, too, an infinitive, on the supposition that it stands for *nijhapayitáya*. And the contraction of the syllable *âya* does occur in Pali, *e. g.*, in

esanâ for *esanâya* (E. Müller, *Simplified Pali Grammar*, p. 67), just as it is found in the older Vedic Sanskrit and in the later Prakrit inscriptions. Finally, I cannot agree to the transliteration of *nâsantaṁ* by *nâśântam*, because the latter word can never mean the term, *i. e.* 'the period of the execution,' but only either, 'the end of the execution' or 'that which has the execution for its end.' Neither translation gives any sense in our passage. I take *nâsaṁtaṁ* as equivalent to *nâśyamânam* 'him who is going to be shortly executed.' It is thus the present participle of the passive of *nâśayati* with the sense of the immediate future. And this explanation is formally unobjectionable, because even in the ancient Prakrits the passive may take the terminations of the active.

With these new interpretations the passage may be translated into Sanskrit as follows:—*jñâtaya eva kâṁśchit* [*prâptavadhân*] *nididhyâsayishyanti* [tathâ] *teshâṁ jîvanâya nâśyamânaṁ vâ nididhyâsayituṁ pâratrikaṁ dânaṁ dâsyanty upârâsam vâ karishyanti.* The general sense is: "During the respite of three days the relatives will exhort the condemned criminals to turn their thoughts to higher things, and they will give religious gifts (not bribes to the Lajûkas) or undergo fasts, hoping that either the lives of the condemned may be spared, or that at least the hearts of those who must die, will be softened and turn heavenwards." This sense is a perfectly natural one and agrees with the further remark in the next sentence, that the king wishes them, *i. e.* the criminals, to gain heaven, while they lie in prison, and that among the people at large the performance of religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow in consequence of the king's measures. Against the earlier interpretation, which ascribes the gifts and fasts not to the anxious relatives, but to the condemned criminals themselves, it must be objected that a Hindu criminal sentenced to death has nothing to give away. His property is confiscated just as that of an English felon was formerly taken by the Crown. The written Hindu law does not always state that capital punishment entails confiscation of property. But, numerous stories from ancient and modern times leave no doubt that the practice prevailed universally under Native Governments.

Edict V.

Dehli-Sivalik.	*Dehli-Mirat.*	*Allahabad.*
Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-	. . . .	. . . piye Piyadasî lâjâ hevam
hevaṁ-ahâ [:] saḍuvîsativasa [1]	. . . .	âhâ [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena me
abhisitena-me imâni-jâtâni ava-	. . . .	imâni jâtâni avadhiyâni kaṭâni
dhiyâni-kaṭâni [,] se-yathâ [2]	. . . .	[,] se yatha suke sâlikâ alune
suke sâlikâ alune chakavâke haṁ-	. . . .	chakavâke . . [20] . . mukhe ge-
se naṁdîmukhe gelâṭe [3] jatû-	. . . .	lâṭe jatûke[29] ambâkipilikâ daḍî[30]
kâ ambâkapîlikâ daḍî anaṭhika-	. . . .	anathikamachhe vedaveyake gaṁ-
machhe vedaveyake [4] gaṁgâ-	. . . .	gâpu putake saṁkujamachhe ka-
pupuṭake saṁkujamachhe kapha-	. . . .	phaṭa . . ke paṁnasase simale
ṭasayake[31] paṁnasase simale [5]	. . . .	saṁ . [21] . . . . kapote
saṁḍake okapiṁḍe palasate seta-	. . . .	gâmakapote save chatupade ye
kapote gâmakapote [6] save-cha-	. . . .	paṭibhogaṁ . . . .
tupade ye-paṭibhogaṁ-no-eti na-	. . . .	. . . .
cha khâdiyati . . . . . i [7] eḍa-	. . . .	. . . .

[29] Possibly *jitûke*, or *jatûkâ*.

[30] The strokes which make *uaḍî* look like *dubhi* are, according to Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.*, due to flaws in the stone.

[31] The apparent *i*-stroke above the last syllable of *kaphaṭa* is, as Dr. Fleet states (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 310) the lower part of the visarga of *Mahâdevaḥ* in the intervening line of later writing just above *kaphaṭa*.

Edict V—*contd.*

Dehli-Sivalik.

kâ-châ sûkalî-châ gabhinî-va-pâyamînâ-va avadh[i]y. p. take[32] [8] pi-cha-kâni âsammâsike[.] Vadhikukuṭe no-kaṭaviye[;] tuse-sajîve[9] no-jhâpetaviye[;] dâveanaṭhâye-vâ vihisâye-vâ no-jhâpetaviye[;10] jîvena-jîve no-pusitaviye [.] Tîsu-châtummâsîsu tisâyam-pumnamâsiyam[11] timni-divasâni châvudasam pamnadasam paṭipadâye dhuvâye-châ [12] anuposatham-machhe-avadhiye no-pi-viketaviye[.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni[13] nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yâni-amnâni-pi jîvanikâyâni[14] no-hamtaviyâni[.] Aṭhamîpakhâye châvudasâye pamnadasâye tisâye [15] punâvasune tîsu-châtummâsîsu sudivasâye gone-no-nîlakhitaviye [,16] ajake edake sûkale e-vâ-pi-amne nîlakhiyati no-nîlakhitaviye [.17] Tisâye punâvasune châtummâsiye châtummâsipakhâye asvasâ gonasâ[18] lakhane no-kaṭaviye[.] Yâva-saḍuvîsativasa abhisitename etâye[19] a[m]talikâye pamnavîsati bamdhanamokhâni kaṭâni [.20]

Dehli-Mirat.

. . . .
[a] v. dh. y. p. t. k. pi cha-kâni [1] . . . . ke [.] [Vadhi]kukuṭe no-kaṭaviye[.] Tuse-sa[jîve] [2] . . . [taviye] [;] dâve ana[ṭh]âye-vâ[33] vihisâye-vâ no[3] [jhâpetaviye] [;] jîvena jîve nopusitaviye[.] Tîsu châtammâsîsu[34] [4] tisâya[m] pumnamâ[si]yam timni-divasâni châvudasam pamnadasam 5] paṭipadâ. dhuvâye-cha anuposatham machhe-avadhiye no-pi [6] viketaviye [.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi [7] [yâ]. [a]. [ni]-pi-jîvanikâyâni[35] no-[ha]mtaviyâni[36] [.8] Aṭham(i)[37] . . ye châvudasâye pamnadasâye tisâye[9] punâvasune tîsu châtummâsisu sudivasâye g[o]ne [10] [no-nî] la[khi]taviye ajake edake sûkale e-vâ-pi(1 1)am[ne nîlakhi]yati [no]-nîlakhitaviye [ ] Tisâye punâvasune[12] châtummâsiye châtu[mmâ] sipakhâye asvasâ gonasâ lakhane[13] no- . . viye(.) Yâva-saduvîsati[va]sa abhisitena-me etâye[14] amtalikâye pamnavî[sa]ti tbamdhanamokhâni kaṭâni[.15]

Allahabad.

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . sajîve
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . . . no jhâ
. . . .
. . . .
. .châ[vuda] sam pamchada-[sam] . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. [tâni] . . . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . . tha . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
l[a]khane no kaṭa[viye][.] [Yâva]-sa . . . . . .
. . . .
. [27]
. . . .

Radhia, North Side.

Devânam-piye Piyadasi-lâjahevam-âha [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitasa-me imâni-pi-jâtâni avadhyâni [1] kaṭâni [,] se-yatha suke sâlika alune chakavâke hamse namdîmukhe gelâṭe jatûka [2] ambâkapilika duḍi anaṭhikamachhe vedaveyake gamgâpupuṭake samkujamachhe kaphaṭaseyake [3] pamnasase simale samḍake okapimḍe palasate setakapote gâ-

Mathia.

Devânam-piye Piyadasi-lâjahevam-âha[:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitasa-me imâni-pi [1] jâtâni avadhyâni-kaṭâni [,] se-yathâ[38] [16] suke sâlika alune chakavâke hamse [2]namdîmukhe gelâṭe jatûka ambâkapilika duḍi anaṭhikamachhe vedaveyake [3] gamgâpupuṭake samkujamachhe kaphaṭaseyake pamnasase simale samḍake okapimḍe [4] palasate setaka-

[32] It is, of course, possible to read *avadhây*. But the right side of the vowel is mutilated, and the real reading was no doubt *avadhiy*, as the sense and the variants of the other versions require.

[33] Possibly *anathâye*

[34] Read *châtummâsîsu*.

[35] This might be read° *nikâyâni*, but the double stroke above *na* is probably due to a flaw.

[36] This looks like *hamtaviyâni*, but the double stroke above *na* is probably due to a flaw in the stone.

[37] The quantity of the third vowel of *aṭhami* is not certain.

[38] The *â*-stroke of *yathâ* is not certain.

makapote save chatupade[4] ye-paṭipogaṁ-no-eti[39] na-cha-khâdiyati [.] Ajakâ-nâni eḍakâ-cha sûkalî-cha gabhinî-va pâyamînâ-va[5] avadhya potake-cha-kâni âsaṁmâsike [.] Vadhikukuṭe no kaṭaviye [;] tuse-sajîve no jhâpayitaviye[;] dâve [6] anaṭhâye-va vihisâye-va no jhâpayitaviye [;] jîvena jîve no-pusitaviye [.] Tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu tisyaṁ [7] puṁnamâsiyaṁ tiṁni divasâni châvudasaṁ paṁnadasaṁ paṭipadam dhuvâye-cha anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye no pi [8] viketaviye[.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yâni-aṁnâni-pi-jîvanikâyâni[9] no-haṁtaviyâni[.] Aṭhamipakhâye châvudasâye paṁnadasâye tisâye punâvasune tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu[10] sudivasâye gone-no-nîlakhitaviye ajake eḍake sûkale e-vâ-pi-aṁne nîlakhiyati no-nîlakhitaviye[.12] Tisâye punâvasune châtuṁmâsiye chatuṁmâsipakhâye asvasa gonasa lakhane-no-kaṭaviye(.12) Yâva-saḍuvîsativasâbhisitasa-me etâye aṁtalikâye paṁnavîsati baṁdhana-mokhâni kaṭâni[.13]

pote gâmakapote save-chatupade ye-paṭibhogaṁ-no-eti na-cha khâdiyati[5] Ajakâ-nâni eḍakâ-cha sûkalî-cha gabhinî-va pâyamînâ-va avadhya potake-cha-kâni [6] âsaṁmâsike[.] Vadhikukuṭe no kaṭaviye[,] tuse-sajîve-no-jhâpayitaviye[.] Dâve-anaṭhâye-va [7] vihisâye-va no-jhâpayitaviye [;] jîvena-jîve no-pusitaviye[.] Tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu tisiyaṁ [8] puṁnamâsiyaṁ tiṁni—divasâni châvudasam-paṁnadasaṁ paṭipadaṁ dhuvâye-cha-anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye [9] no-pi-viketaviye [.] Etâni-yeva divasâni nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yâni-aṁnâni-pi[10] jivanikâyâni no-haṁtaviyâni[.] Aṭhamipakhâye châvudasâye paṁnadasâye tisâye punâvasune[11] tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâye gone-no-nîlakhitaviye ajake eḍake sûkale e-vâ-pi-aṁne[2]nîlakhiyati no-nîlakhitaviye[.] Tisâye-punâvasune chatuṁmâsiye chatuṁmâsipakhâye asvasa gonasa[13] lakhane-no-kaṭaviye[.] Yâva-saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena-me etâye aṁtalikâye paṁnavîsati[14] baṁdhana-mokhâni kaṭâni[.15]

EDICT V.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I forbade the slaughter of the following creatures,[a] *viz.* parrots, starlings,[b] *aruṇas*, Brâhmani ducks, swans,[c] *nandîmukhas*,[40] *gelâṭas*, *jatukas*,[41] *aṁbâka-pilikâs*,[d] terrapins,[e] boneless fish,[f] *vedaveyakas*, *gaṁgâpupuṭakas*, *saṅkuja*-fish,[g] tortoises, porcupines,[h] *paṁnasasas*,[i] *srimaras*,[j] bulls set free,(?) *okapiṇḍas*,[k] rhinoceros,[l] grey doves,[m] village-pigeons,[42] and all quadrupeds, which are not used[n] nor are eaten. She-goats, ewes and sows, (*i.e.*) those which are with young or in milk, must not be slaughtered, nor their young ones, (*i.e.*) some (*of them*) which are less than six months old[o]. Caponing cocks is forbidden; husks, containing living animals, must not be burned;[p] forests must not be burnt out of mischief or in order to injure (*living beings*);[q] living creatures must not be fed with living creatures[r]. At the (*full moon of each*) of the three seasons and at the full

[39] Read *paṭibhagaṁ*.

[40] According to the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary* the Nandîmukha is mentioned as an aquatic bird in the *Bhâvaprakâśa*.

[41] *Jatuka*, no doubt, means 'a bat'. But I must confess that I do not understand, how bats come on this list, as in general they are neither eaten nor used in any way. Possibly the flying foxes which otherwise have the separate name *manthâla* or *vâguda*, may be meant. These are eaten at least by low-caste people, like the Kâṭkaris. Their flesh is forbidden in some of the law-books, *e.g.*, Gautama, xvii, 34.

[42] *Gâmakapote* is, of course, the blue rock pigeon, found in most villages and towns, especially in the wells.

moon of Taisha fish shall neither be killed nor be sold during three days, (*viz.*) the fourteenth, the fifteenth (*and*) the first (*of the following fortnight*), nor constantly, on each fast day.[s] On the same days no other animals, found in the elephant-preserves and in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.[t] On the eighth of (*each*) fortnight,[u] on the fourteenth, the fifteenth, on the Tishya and Punarvasu days,[v] on the full-moon days of the three seasons, and on festivals[43] bulls shall not be castrated,[w] nor he-goats, rams, and boars; nor shall any other animal be castrated which is (*commonly*) castrated. On the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the seasons, and during the fortnights connected with the full-moons of the seasons,[x] the marking of horses and oxen is forbidden.[y] Up to the twenty-sixth (*anniversary*) of my coronation I have decreed twenty-five (*times*) the liberation of (*all*) prisoners[z].

Remarks on the Translation.

(*a*) According to the general maxim, prevalent in Sanskrit and the Prakrits, which permits the neuter of the perfect participle past to be used in the sense of the noun of action in *ti, jâtaṁ* might be interpreted with M Senart by *jâti* and be translated by "animals of the following kinds." But, as the neuter *jâta* means also "creature," I prefer this simpler interpretation. The eastern versions offer: "Of even the following creatures."

(*b*) M. Senart's latest translation gives correctly the modern Indian expression "*maina*." I prefer to put the English word. All the European dictionaries translate *sârikâ* wrongly or omit the translation. Molesworth gives the right meaning in the *Marâṭhi Dictionary*. The scientific name of the bird is *Acridotheres tristis*, Linn., Murray, *Avifauna of British India*, No. 912.

(*c*) This term probably includes wild geese and large ducks, see Molesworth, *Marâṭhî Dictionary sub voce*. The birds, which were pointed out to me as *haṁsas* in the palace at Kolhâpur and elsewhere, looked very much like Turkish ducks.

(*d*) M. Senart connects the first part of *aṁbâkapilikâ* or *aṁbâkapilika* with *ambu*, 'water,' and translates "water-ants(?)". As far as I am aware, no such animal is known in natural history. The explanation 'mother-ant,' or 'queen-ant,' is at least possible. For the queens of the white-ants are eagerly sought after and eaten, because they are considered to act as a strong aphrodisiac. The only time when I obtained a queen-ant, it was at once stolen by my servants. But, as three versions read °*kapilikâ*, it may be doubted if the word is the Pali representative of *pipilikâ*.

(*e*) As *duḍi* is said to be a small tortoise, it is no doubt the terrapin, which is found in many Indian gardens. Tortoises belong to the five-toed animals that may be eaten, —see remark (*h*).

(*f*) M. Senart's conjecture that prawns are meant by the expression 'boneless fish' is not improbable.

(*g*) M. Senart's suggestion that *saṁkuja* is identical with Sanskrit *saṅkuchi* 'a skate,' seems very probable.

[43] The translation of *sudivasa* by 'festival' is merely conjectural, but may be defended by its etymological meaning *śobhana divasa*, which would suit a festival. I think that popular festivals, like the modern Divâli, Dasara, and the like may be meant.

(*h*) *Sayaka* and *seyaka* (R. M.), of course, represent Sanskrit *śalyaka*. The *śalyaka* is one of the five-toed animals that may be eaten by Aryans, see—*e.g.*, Âpastamba, *Dh. Sû*, i, 17, 37, Baudhâyana, *Dh. Śâ*. i, 12, 5, Gautama, *Dh. Śâ*. xvii, 27, Vasishṭha, *Dh. Śâ*, xiv, 39. It is associated with the *kaphaṭa*, *i.e.*, according to M. Senart's excellent conjecture, *kamaṭha*, 'the tortoise,' because in the law-books *śalyaka* and *kachchhapa* are always closely put together among the eatable five-toed animals.

(*i*) According to the analogy of *parṇamṛiga*, 'an animal living in the leaves of trees,' *paṁnasase i.e. parṇaśaśaḥ* may mean 'a hare, *i.e.* a hare-like animal living in the leaves of trees,' and denote the large white-bellied, red squirrel, which is found in the forests of the Western Ghâṭs. It is quite as large as a hare, and its skinned body looks exactly like that of a hare. I have shot it near Yellapur in Kanara. Its meat tasted very much like that of a hare.

(*j*) *Simale* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit *sṛimara*. Vâgbhaṭa, *Ashṭâṅgahṛidaya Sû*. I, 49, names this animal, among the ten *mahâmṛiga* or large wild animals, next to the *chamara* or yak-ox and the rhinoceros. It stands also next to the yak in the enumeration of wild animals, which occurs in the *Jâtakamâlâ* xxvi, 7, see the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, sub voce *sṛimara*). Perhaps it may be the large Bârâsing stag.

(*k*) M. Senart has called attention to the passage of the *Mahâvagga*, vi, 17, where the *ukkapiṇḍâ* are said to eat the provisions of the monks. According to the note to the translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XVII, p. 70, Buddhaghosha explains the term by *bilâlamûsikagodhâmuṅgusâ*, 'cats, mice, iguanas and mungooses'. He takes it evidently in its etymological sense, *ukke i.e oke piṇḍo yeshâṁ te* 'animals which find their food in the houses,' *i.e.* 'vermin.' This general explanation does not suit here, because cats, mice and mungooses are not eaten, and because a particular kind of animal must be meant. I would suggest that Piyadasi forbids the slaughter of one of the animals named by Buddhaghosha, *viz.* of the *godhâ*, the large lizard, which, according to the law-books, quoted in note (*h*) belongs to the eatable five-toed animals.

(*l*) M. Senart's correction *palapate* for *palasate* is inadmissible, because all the three versions agree, and because the turtle-dove is denoted by the next term. Mr. Trenckner's explanation of the corresponding Pali *parasato* by 'rhinoceros' (*Pâli Miscellany*. I, 50) fits excellently. For the rhinoceros is also one of the five-toed animals which may be eaten,—see the passages from the law-books, quoted in note (*h*). Moreover, the rules regarding the Śrâddhas show clearly that the meat of the rhinoceros was highly esteemed According to Manu, iii, 272, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis, rhinoceros meat satisfies the manes "for an endless time."

(*m*) *Setakapote*, no doubt, denotes the whitish-grey doves, which are found in large numbers in many parts of India, and which are usually included in the general term *hollo* or *hullâ*. White pigeons, as indeed all tame pigeons, are only kept by Musalmans, not by Hindus.

(*n*) M. Senart has stated that *paṭibhoga*, literally 'enjoyment,' does not refer *exclusively* to nourishment. I should say that on account of the following clause "nor are eaten" it must mean "other use than for food" and that Piyadasi means to forbid the slaughter of all animals whose skins, fur, feathers, etc., are not required, as well as of those which are not eaten.

(*o*) *Ajakânâni* must be separated into *ajaká náni*. *Náni* is the neuter plural of the pronoun *na*, which is associated with a feminine in utter disregard of the rules of concord, as happens more frequently in these inscriptions. The proper form of the sentence would be in Sanskrit *ajâ eḍikâścha sûkaryaścha tô garbhiṇyo dhayantyo vâ avadhyâḥ*. M. Senart's conjectural emendation *píyamâná* for *pâyamíná* is inadmissible, because all the versions agree in giving the latter word and because *píyamâná* is against the Pali idiom. *Páyati*, not *píyati*, means in Pali 'to suckle', see Childers Dictionary, *sub voce pibati*. Nor is it necessary to change the vowel of the affix. The affix *mína*-*mina* occurs more frequently for *mâna* in the inscriptions, and it is evidently an interesting rélic of ancient times, as the Zend *mana-mna*, the Greek *menos* and the Latin *minimina* show. The additional clause may be translated and explained thus:—

Potakâś cha [*api cha*, D. S., D. M.] *kechit* [*te cha kathaṁbhûtâḥ*] *âshaṇmâsikâḥ* [*avadhyá iti śeshaḥ*]. The plural *kâni* is joined with the singular *potake*, because the latter is taken in a collective sense. M. Senart's derivation of *âsaṁmâsika* from *âshaṇmâsam* 'up to six months,' may be defended by the analogy of *âkâlika*, the adjective belonging to *âkâlam*, 'up to the same hour on the next day'. Piyadasi's prohibition agrees with the sentiments of the Brahmanical teachers, who all forbid to sacrifice animals which have not changed their teeth, and who sometimes forbid their flesh to be eaten, see, *e.g.*, Gautama, *Dh. Śá.*, xviii, 31.

(*p*) This prohibition probably refers to the practice, which here and there still survives, of burning the last remnants of the husks remaining on the threshing-floor of the village, in order to destroy the vermin.

(*q*) *Vihisâye*, 'to injure living beings" very probably refers, as M. Senart suggests, to the custom of setting the jungles on fire in order to drive out the game and of thus destroying it.

(*r*) I here again follow M. Senart, whose explanation appears to me the most natural. The prohibition probably refers to cases where sacred crocodiles or snakes, tame tigers and other carnivorous animals were fed with living fowls, sheep or goats.

(*s*) *Châtuṁmâsî*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *châturmâsî*, is the full moon of each term or season of four months, which according to one reckoning is considered the last day of that period, and according to another as falling in its beginning. The formation of the Sanskrit *châturmâsî* is taught in Vârttika 7 on Pâṇini, v. 1, 94:—*saṁjñâyâm aṇ*. "*To chaturmâsa*,[44] '*a period of four months*', (*is added*) the affix *a*, which causes Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, in a (*word of*) technical import." Patañjali adds: "*chaturshu mâseshu bhavá châturmâsî paurṇamâsî*, 'the full-moon day which falls after a period of four months is called *châturmâsî*,'' and the *Kâśikâ*, which repeats Patañjali's explanation, says further that the three full-moon days of Âshâḍha, Kârttika and Phâlguna are meant.[45] More explicit are the statements, which the *Sumaṅgala Vilâsinî* makes on *Dîgha Nikâya*, ii, 1 (p. 139), while explaining the words *Komudiyá châtumâsiniyá* "on the full-moon (*night or tithi*) of Kârttika (*which is*) *châtumasini*." It says:—*châtumâsiniyâ ti châtumâsiyá sá hi chatuṇṇaṁ mâsâṇaṁ pariyosânabhûtá châtumâsî idha pana châtumâsiníti vuchchati*. "*Châtumâsiniyâ* is equivalent to *châtumâsiyâ*. For that (*full*-

[44] This must be understood from Vârttika 6: *chaturmâsân ṇyo yajñe tatra bhave*. See the *Mahâbhâshya*, Vol. II, 361 (ed. Kielhorn).

[45] Compare also Haradatta on Âpastamba. *Dharma Sûtra*, I, 10, 1.

moon of *Kârttika*) is the end of four months (*and is*) hence (*called*) *châtumâsi*, but here *châtumâsinî*.[46] It thus appears that the real meaning of *châtumâsî-châtumâsinî* is "that which falls at the end of a period of four months." And this explanation presupposes a division of the year into three periods of four months each, the months ending, according to what is called the *pûrṇimânta* scheme of Northern India, with the full-moon days.

The division of the year into three seasons of four months certainly was in India the most popular in the prehistorical period and in the earlier part of the historical period.[47] Each of them was called a *Chaturmâsam* or *Châturmâsyam*.[48] Both the *Brâhmaṇas* and the Brahmanical *Sûtras*, as well as the canonical books of the Buddhists, frequently refer to the division of the year into three seasons, which is at the bottom of various religious institutions. With the Brahmans it was the cause of the celebration of the Châturmâsya[49] sacrifices which were offered according to some 'at the end,' according to others 'at the beginning' of each season.[50] With the Buddhist monks it was the reason for extending the retreat during the rainy season, the *vasso*, over four months, see *Mahâvagga*, iii, 2, 2 and iii, 14, 11 The same period was kept by the Jaina Nirgranthas and the ancient Brahmanical ascetics. It further was used in official documents, and influenced the manner of dating them in most parts of India. The second Separate Edict prescribes the reading of the document 'on the Tishya day at each *Châtuṁmâsa*.' The large majority of the ancient dated inscriptions, those from Mathurâ incised during the rule of the Indo-Scythic kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vâsudeva (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 371, ff, and vol. II, p. 195 ff.; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. III, plates xiii-xv), two Gupta inscriptions from the same town (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 210), the early dated inscription of the Mathurâ Satrap Śoḍâsa, the edicts of the Andhras and Abhiras (Burgess, *Rep. Arch. Surv. W. I.*, vol. IV, p. 103ff. and vol. V, p. 73ff), the old Pallava land grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 1ff.) and the Sanskrit Kadamba inscription (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 37), invariably mention the season in which the documents were issued. And only three seasons occur, viz. *grishmâḥ-gimhâ*, 'summer,' *varshâḥ-vasâ*, 'the rains,' *hemantâḥ-hemantâ* 'winter,' the names of which are frequently abbreviated to *gr* or *gri*, *va* and *he* In the inscriptions from Mathurâ and the neighbourhood each season is divided into four months, and we actually find, Mathurâ inscriptions, 2nd series (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, No. 4; Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, vol. III, No. 12) *gri*, (*i.e. grishmamâse*)

[46] The Sanskrit equivalent *châturmâsin* likewise exists, but has a different meaning, see Vârttika 5 on Pâṇini, v. 1, 94.

[47] Other divisions, especially that into six seasons, are no doubt equally ancient, see Prof. Weber, *Die Nachrichten von den vedischen Nakshatra*, ii, p. 327ff. But they do not seem to have been used in popular life to an equal extent.

[48] *Châturmâsyam* is formed according to the analogy of *trailokyam*, *traimâsyam*, *châturvarnyam*, *châturâśramyam* and so forth, see Vârttika 1 on Pâṇini, v. 1, 124, and the explanation of the passage in the *Kâśikâ*. I point this out in order to meet the doubt which M. Senart, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVIII, p. 76, feels regarding my explanation of the compound *anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ* in the second Separate Edict. He thinks that, if *anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ* meant 'at the commencement of every term or season of four months,' it must be *anuchatuṁmâsaṁ* with a short *a* in the third syllable. In stating this he has overlooked that *châturmâsyaṁ*, in Pali *châtuṁmâsaṁ*, is a perfectly correct synonym of *chaturmâsam*.

[49] The word *châturmâsya* is according to Vârttika 6 on Pâṇini v. 1, 95, derived from *chaturmâsam* by the affix *ya*, causing Vṛiddhi, and meaning *tatra bhava*, falling into that.

[50] See Manu, iv, 26, and the parallel passages in the synopsis to my translation Manu says that they are to be offered *ritvante*, and thus reckons the three full-moon days as the last of the season. Similarly he uses IV, 119, *ritvantâsu râtrishu* for *châturmâsishu*. Baudhâyana has *ritumukhe*, and other passages from the Śrauta Sûtras and Brâhmaṇas are quoted by Professor Weber in his *Nachrichten v.d. Nakshatra*, ii, 329ff. The discrepancy has no doubt been caused by a difference in the reckoning of the commencement of the seasons.

4; Mathurâ inscriptions, 1st series, No. 3, and second series, No. 20, *va*, (i.e., *varshamáse*) 4, Cunningham, No. 20, *varshamáse* 4; Mathurâ inscription, 1st series, No. 21, *hemantamáse chaturtthe* 4, ibidem No. 8, *hemantamáse* 4, and Cunningham, No. 20, *he* 4. In the inscriptions from Southern India each season is divided into eight fortnights, and the latest, actually mentioned, are the fifth (Nâsik inscriptions Nos. 16 and 17, Kaṇheri inscriptions Nos. 4 and 16), the sixth (Pallava land grant of Śivaskandavarman) and the eighth (Kadamba inscription of Mṛigeśavarman). The period during which this method of dating was in general use, embraces the first century B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. But, in Mathurâ it survived until the fifth century A.D., as No. 39 of the second series was incised during the reign of Kumâragupta and in the Gupta year 113 or A.D. 431—2 Kâ[rttikahema]ntamâs[e] divase 20, "on the 20th day of the winter month of Kârttika. In Southern India it presumably lasted at least until the same period, to which the Kadamba land grants probably belong.

Finally, it may be noted that the old division into three seasons is the only one used by the common people in the districts known to me. The Gujarâtî villagers and all persons not affected by the learning of the *Śástras* speak only of the *uṇháḷo* (*ushṇa-kála*) *varsád na deháḍá* or *chomásum* and *shiyálo*. The Marâṭhas know only *unháḷá*, *pávasáḷá* (*právṛish* and *kála*) and *himváḷá* (*himakala*.) Further north and east I have frequently heard the terms mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,[61] *dhúpkál*, *barkhakál* and *sítkál* or equivalents thereof. With respect to the beginning of each season the authorities differ. The oldest, the *Bráhmaṇas*, as well as some *Śrauta Sútras*, begin the hot season with the month of Phâlguna, other *Śrauta Sûtras* with the month of Chaitra.[52] The two schemes of the seasons, therefore, are:—

	I	II
Grishmâḥ	Phâlguna.	Chaitra.
	Chaitra.	Vaiśâkha.
	Vaiśâkha.	Jyaishṭha.
	Jyaishṭha.	Âshâḍha.
Varshâḥ	Âshâḍha.	Śrâvana.
	Śrâvana.	Bhâdrapada or Praushṭhapada.
	Bhâdrapada or Praushṭhapada.	Âśvina.
	Âśvina or Âśvayuja.	Kârttika.
Hemantâḥ	Kârttika.	Mârgaśirsha.
	Mârgaśirsha	Pausha.
	Pausha or Taisha.	Mâgha.
	Mâgha.	Phâlguna.

The statements of the Buddhists show the same discrepancies. Hiuen Tsiang, *Si yüki*, vol. I, p. 72 (Beal), alleges that "according to the holy doctrine of Tathâgata the year is divided into three seasons," the hot, the wet and the cold, the scheme of which agrees with the second given above. But the canonical books of the southern Buddhists show clearly that their authors knew also the scheme according to which the hot season began with Phâlguna. For they prescribe for the *vasso*, the retreat during the rainy season, an "earlier" period, beginning with "the day after the full moon in Âshâḍha,"

[51] Gladwin ed., vol. I, p. 266; see Sir A. Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 3; Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, § 1083; and Hillebrandt, *Die Sonnenwendfeste*, p. 26f.

[52] See A. Weber: *op cit.*, p. 329f.

and a later one, commencing "a month later than the full-moon of Ashâḍha," *i.e.* with the day after the full-moon of Śrâvaṇa. And it is further stated that the "later" term closed with *Komudî châtumâsinî* "the full moon of Kârttika with which the season of four months ends"[53] Both these passages presuppose, just like that from the *Dîgha Nikâya* (above, p. 261). the use of the *pûrṇimânta* reckoning for the months.

In the inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period there is no indication showing when the seasons began. But, if the restoration of the Gupta inscription No. 39 is correct, it follows that in the fifth century A.D. the winter began with Kârttika, and that the scheme of the seasons was the older one, given under No. I.

Under these circumstances it is not possible to decide with certainty which full moons are meant by "the three Châtuṁmâsîs." They may be either those of Phâlguna, Âshâḍha and Kârttika, or those of Chaitra, Śrâvaṇa and Mârgaśîrsha. It is further not certain if these full-moon days were considered respectively as the last days of winter, summer and the rains, or as falling in the beginning of summer, the rains and winter. But the *consensus* of the three passages from the Buddhist scriptures and of Manu's passages induces me to assume that the former view was that held in Piyadasi's times, as these works were probably composed not very long before and after Piyadasi.

The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of Taisha or Pausha, December—January. The forms *tisyaṁ* (R) and *tisiyaṁ* (M) are derived from the feminine adjective *tisî*, which has been formed from *tishya* without Vṛiddhi in the first syllable. With the form *tisâyaṁ* (D. S., D. M.), the locative of *tisâ*, i.e. *tissâ* (*tishyâ*), compare the first part of the Vedic *tishyâ-pûrṇamâsa* (see Prof. Weber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326). The word *dhuvâye* which stands before *anuposathaṁ* must no doubt be taken in the sense of the Sanskrit *dhruvâya*, "constantly" (see the Petersburg Dict., *sub voce*) i.e. "in all months". *Anuposathaṁ* consists of *anu* and *posatha*, and it is worthy of note that the form *posatha*, with which Piyadasi denotes the fast days or Parvan days, stands midway between the Pali *uposatha* and the Jaina Prakrit *posaha*.

The total number of days on which Piyadasi prohibited the killing and sale of fish, amounts to fifty-six in the year, *viz.*:—

(1) Six in each of the months in which a new season began and in Taisha or Pausha, the eighth of each fortnight, the full-moon days with those immediately preceding and following them and the new-moon day, or 24 in all; (2) four in the remaining eight months, the full and new-moon days, and the eighth of each fortnight, or 32 in all.

As regards the reasons which induced Piyadasi to apply his prohibition to the particular days mentioned, the selection of the Posatha days as well as of those at the end and beginning of the seasons is easily intelligible. The four days of the changes of the moon, which the Brahmans designate by the astronomical term Parvan, were the ancient Sabbath days of the orthodox Hindus. The Brahmanical Sûtras prescribe on the two chief Parvans, the full and new-moon days, for every householder, the performance of sacrifices, which are preceded by fasting. Moreover, there are in the *Dharmasûtras* and *Dharmaśâstras*[54] a number of rules which make the Parvan days times of

[53] See *Sacred Books of the East*. vol. XIII. p. 299 f. and p. 324. The note on the second passage explains the word *Châtumâsinî* erroneously. I translate it according to the explanation given in the *Sumaṅgala Vilâsinî*, see above, p. 261.

[54] See Manu iii, 45, and iv, 128, as well as iv, 150 and 153, and the passages quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation

continence, worship, prayer, and abstention from doing injury even to plants.[55] According to the commentaries most of these rules refer to the two chief Parvans alone. But the texts, one and all, state explicitly that the injunction of continence applies also to the eighth days of each fortnight, and it is not improbable that the other rules in reality were meant to apply likewise to these two days. All the four Parvan days were kept as holidays in the Brahmanical schools. The *Dharmasûtras* and metrical *Smṛitis* prescribe that the Veda-study is to be interrupted on these occasions for a whole day and night[56] and a verse is adduced which describes the bad results of a breach of this rule. It would thus appear that the Buddhists and the Jainas, in giving their rules for the Uposatha or Posaha days, did not much more than take over and perpetuate the ancient rules of the orthodox Hindus, and it would further appear that, by ordering a partial *amârî*,[57] Piyadasi acted in accordance with the sentiments not only of the heterodox sects, but also of his orthodox subjects. It is equally easy to understand why Piyadasi's rule applies to the end and the beginning of each season. The three *Châturmâsi* full-moons were also great holidays. The orthodox Brahmans, who kept three sacred fires, performed on these occasions the Châturmâsya sacrifices, those who kept a single fire celebrated corresponding rites, and the Brahmanical schools kept them as holidays[58] on which studying was forbidden. According to the Buddhistic *Sumaṅgala Vilâsini*, p. 140 (explanation of the words *uparipràsâdavaragata*) at least one of these days, the full moon of Kârttika was kept as a popular festival. The *Nakshatra*, *i.e.* the conjunction, was publicly proclaimed, the houses were gaily decorated, and the citizens gave themselves up to celebrating the Nakshatra by amusements of various kinds. From the *Dîpavansa*, XV, 19, it appears that the Buddhists worshipped the sacred relics on that day. Similar popular and sectarian festivals were probably held on the other two days, and it is very likely that the modern Śivite festival on Kârttika sudi 15, the Holi on Phâlguna sudi 15, and the practice of making presents to Brahmans on Kârttika and Âshâḍha sudi 15, may go back to the earliest times or be connected with the more ancient popular holidays at the end and the beginning of the three seasons.

More difficult is the answer to the question why Piyadasi included in his prohibition the three days at full moon of Taisha or Pausha. But it may be suggested that the day may have been regarded as the conventional beginning of the Uttarâyaṇa, the sun's progress towards the north. This is still a great festival, now called *Makarasaṁkrânti*, and celebrated not on the actual day of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign, but later in January.

(*t*) The term *nâgavana*, "elephant-preserve," is found both in Pali and in Sanskrit. It occurs repeatedly in the *Chûlahatthipadopamasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikâya*. Thus we read, p 178 (ed. Trenckner):—*Seyyathâ pi brâhmaṇa nâgavaniko nâgavanam paviseyya, so passeya nâgavane mahantam hatthipadaṁ dighato cha âyatam tiriyañ cha vitthatam, etc.* "Just as when, O Brâhmana, the keeper of an elephant-preserve, enters

[55] Vishṇu, lxxi, 87, says: "Let him not cut even a blade of grass."

[56] Manu, iv, 113—114, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis.

[57] Partial and temporary prohibitions to kill were issued occasionally even in much later times. Thus the Satruñjaya inscriptions, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 37, state that the emperor Akbar stopped for a year the killing of aquatic animals at the instance of Jiñahaṁsa Sûri, and that the same prince forbade the slaughter of all animals during six months in accordance with the prayer of Hiravijaya Sûri

[58] Manu, iv, 119, and the parallel passages in the Synopsis.

the elephant-preserve, he may see in the elephant-preserve large footmarks of elephants, both long in length and broad in breadth, etc." In Sanskrit it occurs in Bâṇa's *Harsha-charita.*[59] The taming of elephants was in India a royal prerogative and the sale of elephants a royal monopoly, see Medhâtithi on Manu, viii, 399. Particular forests, belonging to the Crown, were no doubt reserved in Piyadasi's days, as at present, for the breeding of elephants, and these are meant here.

The word *kevaṭabhoga* has not been traced in literary works. But its meaning is not doubtful both on account of its co-ordination with *nágavana* and on account of its etymological meaning, 'that which is enjoyed or used by fishermen.' Probably particular lakes or portions of the rivers are meant, which were set apart for the fishermen of the various towns and villages, and were consequently their *bhog*, as the modern phrase is.

(*u*) M. Senart's explanation of *aṭhamipakháye* by "*pakshasyáshṭamyám* on the eighth of (*each*) fortnight" is no doubt correct. In the Jaina *Âchârâṅga*, ii, 15, 17, p. 125, Jacobi we have an exactly analogous compound *dasamîpakkheṇa* "on the tenth of the fortnight." The position of the parts of the compounds is inverted in accordance with a license or slovenliness, frequently observable in all Prakrits, compare, *e. g.* the Deśî *valayabâhu* 'armlet' (Hemachandra, *Deśîkosha*, VII, 52) for *báhuvalaya*. Some formations of this kind like *várabáṇa*, 'a protection against arrows, *i. e.* 'a coat-of-mail,' have even crept into Sanskrit in addition to those words where the grammar or classical usage sanctions the irregular position of the parts of the compound.

(*v*) The days of the month were commonly named according to the Nakshatras, with which the moon was supposed to be in conjunction, see my note 11 on the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Ges.* vol. XLI. As no specification is added, Piyadasi's prohibition probably applies to the Tishya and Punarvasu days of each month. Both are among the *puṇya nakshatra* and Tishya or Pushya is occasionally cited as an example of an auspicious constellation. It is probable that, as the holier one, it has been placed before Punarvasu, which in the list of the Nakshatras stands earlier, being the fifth, while Tishya is the sixth. Bṛihaspati is the guardian deity of the latter; Aditi of the former.

(*w*) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nilakhiyati* by *nirlakshyate*, and correctly assigned to it the meaning 'is castrated.' I may add that the Deśi word[60] *ṇelach-chho* or *nelachchho*, 'a eunuch,' furnishes the proof for his assertion.

(*x*) According to the analogies, found in the *Śrauta Sútras*, *chátuṁmásipakha*, the fortnight connected with the full moons of the seasons, may mean either the dark fortnight following the *Chaturmâsî púrṇimá*, as Mr. Senart assumes, or the bright fortnight preceding it. For Kâtyâyana uses *mághîpaksha* for the dark half of Mâgha, and Lâṭyâyana *phálgunîpaksha* for the bright half of Phâlguna.[61] If, however, as I believe, Piyadasi used the *púrṇimánta* reckoning, the second explanation is the more natural one.

(*y*) According to a passage, quoted by Professor Weber (*Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, II, p. 330, Note 2), the Brâhmans considered the new-moon day of Phâlguna to be the proper time for marking cows (see also *Śáṅkháyana Gṛihya Sútra*, III, 10.)

[59] See also passage quoted in the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*

[60] See Hemachandra *Deśîkosha*, iv. 44, and *Pâiyalachchhi*, verse 235, as well as the note in the glossary to the latter.

[61] See the *Petersburg Dictionaries* under the two words, and the commentaries on the passages quoted there and in Professor Weber's *Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, Bd. II, p. 327.

(z) It is not necessary to depart with M. Senart from the natural sense of the passage and to assume that Piyadasi restricted his order to certain classes of criminals. For, it must not be forgotten that long terms of imprisonment were not in favour with the authors of the ancient criminal codes of India. For serious crimes they mostly prescribe capital punishment, mutilation and banishment; for lighter offences fines and whipping. In Piyadasi's times the prisons, therefore, did probably not contain many prisoners condemned to long terms for serious crimes. I may add that the liberation of all prisoners, as an act of royal clemency, seems quite natural to Hindus. Only a few years ago I remember reading a rather sarcastic paragraph in the *Bombay Gazette Summary* on a princeling in Bengal, I think, who on the birth of a son decreed a general jail delivery in his fortunately not very extensive dominions; compare also *Jâtakas*, vol. V, p. 285, l. 25.

EDICT VI.

Dehli-Sivalik.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-ahâ[:] duvâḍasa[1] vasa-abhisitena-me dhaṁmalipi-likhâpitâ lokasâ[2] hitasukhâye[:] se-taṁ-apahaṭâ taṁ-taṁ-dhaṁma-vaḍhi-pâpovâ[.3] Hevaṁ-lokasâ hitasukhe-ti-paṭivekhâmi atha-iyaṁ[4] nâtisu hevaṁ-patiyâsaṁ-nesu hevaṁ-apakaṭhesu[;5] ki-maṁ-kâni-sukhaṁ avahâmî-ti tatha-cha-vidahâmi[.] Hemevâ [6] savanikâyesu paṭivekhâmi[.] Savapâsaṁḍâ-pi-me-pûjitâ[7] vi-vidhâya-pûjâyâ[.] E-chu-iyaṁ-atunâ pachûpagamane[8] se-me-mokhyamate[.] Saḍuvîsativasa abhisitena-me[9] iyam-dhaṁma-lipi likhâpitâ[.10]

Dehli-Mirat.

Missing.

Allahabad.

[27] . . . . Piyadasî lâ-
. . . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . i pâ-
. .[.] Hevaṁ . . . [28]
hitasukhe-ti-paṭivekhâmi atha .
. . .[tisu] . . . . . .
. . âsaṁne[su] hevaṁ apaka-
. .[;] kimaṁ . . . . .
. . . .
da[hâ]mi[.] Hevaṁmeva sava
. .yesu paṭivekhâmi[.29] Sa-vapâsaṁḍâ pi-me-pûjitâ vividhâ-ya pûjâyâ[.] Echuiyaṁatanâ pachupagamane se me mukhya-mute[.] . . . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. lipi likhâpitâ-ti[30]

Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] duvâḍasavasâbhi-sitena-me dhaṁmalipi likhâpita lokasa[14] hitasukhâye[:] se-taṁ-apahaṭa taṁ-taṁ dhaṁma-vaḍhi-pâpova[.][63] Hevaṁ-lokasa-hitasukhe-ti paṭivekhâmi[15] athâ-iyaṁ-nâtisu hevaṁ-patyâ-saṁnesu hevaṁ-apakaṭhesu[,] kiṁmaṁ-kâni -sukhaṁ-âvahâmî ti tathâ-cha-vidahâmi[.16] Hem-eva-savanikâyesu-paṭivekhâmi [. Savapâsaṁḍâ pi-me-pûjita vivi dhâya-pûjâya[.] E-chu-iyaṁ-atana-pachûpagamane 17 se-me mukhyamute[.] Saḍuvîsati va-sâbhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi khâpita[.18]

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] duvâḍasavasâbhi-sitena-me dhaṁmalipi-likhâpita lokasa [16(1)] hitasukhâye[:] se-tam-apahaṭa taṁ-taṁ-dhaṁ-mavaḍhi-pâpova[.] Hevaṁ lo-kasa[17(2)] hitasukhe-ti paṭive-khâmi athâ-iyaṁ-nâtisu hevaṁ-patyâsaṁnesu hevaṁ-apakaṭhesu [,18(3)] kiṁmaṁ-kâni-sukhaṁ âvahâmî-ti tathâ-cha-vidahâmi [] Hem-eva savanikâyesu pa-ṭivekhâmi [.19(4)] Savapâsaṁ-ḍâ-pi-me-pûjita vividhâya-pûjâya [.] E-chu-iyaṁ atana pachû-pagamane [20(5)] se-me-mo-khyamute[.] Saḍuvîsati-vasâ-bhisitena-m iyam-dhammalipi likhâpita [.21(6)]

[63] The stroke which makes *pâpova* look like *pipova* is clearly due to an accidental scratch.

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—After I had been anointed twelve years,[a] I ordered religious edicts to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, (*in order that the people*), giving up that (*unrighteousness which they practised*), might obtain a growth of the sacred law (*in*) this or that (*respect*).[b] (*Saying unto myself*) "the welfare and happiness of the people (*is concerned*)," I thus direct my attention not only to my relatives, but also to those who are near and far;[c]—why so? "In order that I may lead some of them[d] to happiness." In like manner I direct my attention to all bodies corporate.[e] I have also honoured men of all creeds with various honours.[63] But I consider that to be most essential, what (*I call*) 'the approach through one's own free will.[f] After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written.

REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(*a*) *Dhaṁmalipi*, being a generic term, may refer to more than one edict. The edicts referred to are the third and fourth Rock Edicts. The former says, "when I had been anointed twelve years, I issued the following order," and the latter states with equal clearness at the end, "king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ordered this to be written, when he had been anointed twelve years." The earlier part of Piyadasi's spiritual course is fixed by his own statements, as follows :—

(1) After the conquest of Kaliṅga in his ninth year he repented of his cruelty, and resolved to make no further conquests by the sword (Rock Edict XIII).

(2) In his eleventh year he began to hold an annual progress through his dominions in search of religious truth (Rock Edict VIII).

(3) In his thirteenth year he solemnly adopted the *Dhaṁma* or Sacred Law, *i.e.* those principles of morality which he enumerates so frequently (Rock Edict IV), and ordered it to be spread by his officials and his vassals on their annual tours through their districts (Rock Edict III).

(4) In his fourteenth year he appointed the Dhaṁmamahâmâtas or Superintendents of the Sacred Law. All this long precedes his conversion to Buddhism, which happened in or immediately after the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

(*b*) *Apahaṭá* (D. S.) or *apahaṭa* is undoubtedly, as M. Senart suggests, equivalent to *apahṛitya* or *apahṛitvâ*. In my opinion it corresponds to the second form, just as *paṭiladdha*[64] (*Jâtaka*, iv, 46, 23) stands for *pratilabdhvâ*. With respect to the meaning I differ from M. Senart, as I take *apahṛi* in the sense of 'to avoid, to give up,' which it has not rarely in Sanskrit. *Taṁ*, the object of *apahaṭa*, stands for *tad*, and denotes 'that which the people used to do, before they were taught better.' The whole sentence down to *pâporá* gives briefly the contents of Rock Edict IV, and it would have been clearer if *ti* had been added at the end. I transliterate and explain the passage in Sans-

[63] Compare with this sentence the statements in the twelfth Rock Edict.

[64] The verse runs as follows :—*Saṁkappam etaṁ paṭiladdha pâpaṁ achchâhitaṁ kamma karosi luddaṁ.*

krit as follows:—*Saḥ[loka ityarthaḥ] tad [kriyamāṇam adharmam ityarthaḥ] apahṛitya [parihṛityetyarthaḥ] tāṁ tāṁ dharmavṛiddhiṁ prāpnuyāt.*

(*c*) The explanation of the statement that the king directs his attention to his relatives is given by the remarks in the fourth Rock Edict and the seventh Pillar Edict, according to which the gifts of his children, brothers and sisters were supervised by the Dhaṁmamahâmâtas. By "those who are near," Piyadasi probably means his Lajûkas and other officials, who are supervised and taught their duties by him, see the fourth Pillar Edict and the Separate Edicts. "Those who are far," *apakaṭha*, may be the wardens of the marches or perhaps the free borderers and the subjects of his friend the Yavana king Antiyoka, on whom Piyadasi conferred benefits according to the second Rock Edict, and whom he tried to convert to the Dhaṁma by ambassadors, as the thirteenth Rock Edict (Part ii) alleges.

(*d*) M. Senart has recognised that *kimaṁ* is equivalent to the very common phrase *kiṁti*. As R. M. read plainly *kiṁmaṁ*, I would suggest that *kimaṁ* too stands for *kimmaṁ*, and is a contraction of *kimva*, *i.e. kimiva*, with the not uncommon nasalisation of the last vowel.

(*e*) *Nikâya*, 'body corporate,' refers probably not only, as M. Senart suggests, to the classes of officials which are called *nikâyâ* in the twelfth Rock Edict, but also to the castes and sects called *nikâyâ* in the thirteenth Rock Edict.

(*f*) *Pachchûpagamana*, in Sanscrit *pratyupagamana*, might mean 'the return to,' but may also be taken as 'the approach towards.' The latter sense suits here best, and what is meant is the voluntary approach which one sect is to make towards the other in accordance with Piyadasi's recommendation in the twelfth Rock Edict:—"They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it. For it is the desire of the Beloved of the gods—what?—'that men of all creeds shall have heard much and possess holy doctrines.'"

Dehli-Sivalik Pillar

EDICT VII, 1.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ hevaṁ âhâ[:]ye-atikaṁtaṁ [11]
aṁtalaṁ lâjâne husu[,]hevaṁ ichhisu[:]kathaṁ-jane[12]
dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍheyâ[?] No-chu-jane anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ[13]
vaḍhithâ[.] Etam devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ hevaṁ-âhâ[:] esa-me[14]
huthâ[,] atikaṁtaṁ-cha aṁtalaṁ hevaṁ ichhisu lâjâne kathaṁ-jane[15]
anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍheyâ-ti[;] no-cha-jane anulupâyâ[16]
dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍhithâ[;] se-kina-su jane anupaṭipajeyâ[65][,17]
kina-su jane anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍheyâ-ti[;]kina-su-kâni [18]
abhyuṁnâmayehaṁ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ-ti[?] Etaṁ-devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ hevaṁ [19]
âhâ[:]esa-me huthâ[,] dhaṁmasâvanâni sâvâpayâmi dhaṁmânusathini[20]
anus[â]sâmi[66][;] etaṁ-jane sutu anupaṭîpajîsati abhyuṁnamisati[,21]

[65] The second *pa* of *anupaṭipajeyâ* stands above the line.

[66] This might be read *anusisâmi*, but I believe the blotched line above the *â*-stroke to be accidental. *Anusâsâmi* is also used by Aśoka elsewhere, *e.g.* Sep. Ed., II, 6, (8), etc.]

EDICT VII, 2.

dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ-cha bâḍhaṁ vaḍhisati[.] Etâye-me aṭhâye dhaṁmasavanâni sâvâpitâni dhaṁmânusathini vividhâni ânapitâni yath[â me pul]isâ-pi[67] bahune[68] janasi âyatâ ete paliyovadisaṁti-pi pavithalisaṁti-pi[.] Laj[û]kà-pi[69] bahukesu pânasatasahasesu âyatâ tepi-me ânapitâ[:] hevaṁ-cha hevaṁ-cha paliyovadâtha[1]

janaṁ dhaṁmayu[ta]ṁ[70][.] [D]e[v]ânaṁ-piye Piyadasi hevaṁ-âhâ[:] etam-eva-me anuvekhamâne dhaṁmathaṁbhâni-kaṭâni[,] dhaṁmanahâmâtâ-kaṭâ[,]dhaṁma[s]â[van]e[71]-kaṭe[.]Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ-hevaṁ âhà[:] magesu-pi-me nigohâni lopâpitâni[:] chhâyopagâni hosaṁti pasumunisânaṁ[;] aṁbâvaḍikyâ lopâpitâ[;]adhak[o]s[i]kyâni-pi-me-udupânâni[2]

khânâpâpitâni [;] niṁsidhiyâ-cha[72] kâlâpitâ[;]âpânâni-me bahukâni tata-tata kàlâpitâni paṭîbhogâye pasumunisânaṁ[.] La[huke chu][73] esa paṭîbhoge nâma[74][.] Vividhâyâ-hi sukhâyanâyâ pulimehi-pi lâjîhi mamayâ-cha sukhayite loke[.] Imaṁ-chu dhaṁmânupaṭîpatî anupaṭîpajaṁtu-ti[;] etadathâ-me[3]

esa-kaṭe[.] Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi hevaṁ âhà[:] dhaṁmamahâmâtâ-pi-me t[e]-bahuvidhesu[75] aṭhesu ânugahikesu viyâpaṭâ-se pavajitanaṁ-cheva gihithânaṁ-cha[;]sava-[pâsaṁ]ḍesu-pi-cha[76] viyâpaṭâ-se[.] Saṁghaṭhasi-pi-me kaṭe ime viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti-ti [;] hemeva bâbhanesu Âjîvikesu-pi-me kaṭe[4]

ime viyâpaṭâ hohamti-ti[.] Nigaṁṭhesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyapaṭâ hohamti [;] nânâpâsaṁḍesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti-ti [.] Paṭivisiṭhaṁ paṭivisiṭhaṁ tesu-tesu te-[t]e [ma]hâmâtâ[.] Dhaṁmamahâmâtâ-chu-me etesu-cheva viyâ[pa]ṭâ savesu-cha aṁnesu pâsaṁḍesu[.] Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ-hevaṁ âhà[:5]

ete-cha aṁne-cha bahukâ mukhâ dânavisagasi viyâpaṭa-se mama-cheva devinaṁ-cha[;] savasi-cha-me olodhanasi te-bahuvidhena â[kâ]lena[75] tâni tâni *uṭhâyatan[â]ni paṭî-[pâdayaṁti] hida-cheva disâsu-cha[.] Dâlakânaṁ-pi-cha-me kaṭe aṁnânaṁ-cha devikumâlânaṁ ime dânavisagesu viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti-ti[6]

dhaṁmâpadânaṭhâye dhaṁmânupaṭipatiye[.] Esa-hi dhaṁmâpadâne dhaṁmapaṭîpati-cha yâ-iyaṁ dayâ dâne sache sochave madave sâdha[ve]-cha lokasa hevaṁ vaḍhisati-ti[.]

[67] Faintly visible are, both on Dr. Fleet's facsimile and on Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, the following letters—*ya tha* . . . *i* and the left-hand curve of *sâ*, while the right half of *sâ* is quite plain. The restoration is not doubtful, because there is exactly room for three lost consonants and because the phrase *pulisâ-pi-me* "my servants" occurs above Pillar Edict, I, l. 7 (D. S.), l. 3 (A), and elsewhere. From Professor Kern's analysis of this edict, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, I infer that he would restore the passage in the same manner.

[68] *Bahune* is possibly a clerical mistake for *bahuke*. But it may be defended by the locative *punâvasune* above,—v. 16, 18 (D. S.).

[69] The quantity of the second vowel of *lajûkâ* is not certain.

[70] The last syllable of *dhaṁmayutaṁ* has been placed more than an inch from the rest, because there is a flaw in the stone.

[71] The restoration has been made correctly by M. Senart. The rubbing shows the *â*-stroke distinctly, and the facsimile has the final *e*.

[72] The continuation of the same flaw in the stone, which caused the separation of the syllables *dhaṁmayu* and *taṁ* in l. 2, has here made necessary the division *niṁsi ḍhiyâ* (not *ḍhayâ*). Of course, nothing has been lost.

[73] The initial *la* (not *sa*) is perfectly plain, both on the facsimile and on the rubbing. Between *la* and *esa*, three, or possibly four, syllables have been lost. The phrase was, therefore, either *lahuke chu esa* or *lahuke chu kho esa*, compare Rock Edict, XIII, 2, l. 14 (Kâlsî), *lahukâ vu kho sâ piti*, and below, l. 9, *tata chu lahu-se dhaṁmaniyame*.

[74] The *nâ* of *nâma* stands above the line, and has been added afterwards as a correction.

[75] Though the *ta* is damaged at the top, it seems probable, both according to the rubbing and the facsimiles, that the reading was *te*. The *se* after *viyâpaṭâ* is, of course, not required. Compare also the first clause in l. 5, where another redundant *se* occurs.

[76] The restoration has been given correctly by M. Senart.

Devânam-piye [Piyada]s[i] lâjâ hevâṁ-âhâ[:] yâni-hi-kâni-chi mamiyâ sâdhavâni kaṭâni taṁ-loke anûpatîpaṁne taṁ-cha anuvidhiyaṁti[;]tena vaḍhitâ-cha[7]
vaḍhisaṁti-cha mâtâpitisu sususâyâ gulusu sususâyâ vayomahâlakânaṁ anupaṭîpatiyâ bâbhanasamanesu kapanavalâkesu âva dâsabhaṭakesu saṁpaṭipatiyâ[.] Devânaṁ-piy[e Pi]yadasi lâjâ hevaṁ-âhâ[:] munisânaṁ-chu yâ-iyam dhammavadhi vadhitâ duvehi-yeva âkâlehi dhaṁmaniyamena-cha nijhatiyâ-cha[.8]
Tata-chu lahu-se dhaṁmaniyame[,] nijhatiyâ-va bhuye[.] Dhaṁmaniyame-chu-kho esa ye-me iyam-kaṭe imâni-cha imâni[77] jâtâni avadhiyâni[,] aṁnâni-pi-chu bahu[kâni] dhaṁmaniyamâni yâni-me kaṭâni[.] Nijhatiyâ-va-chu bhuye munisânaṁ dhaṁmavadhi vadhitâ avihiṁsâye bhutânaṁ[9]

anâlaṁbhâye pânânaṁ [.] Se-etaye aṭhâye iyaṁ kaṭe [,] putâpapotike chaṁda-masuliyike hotu-ti [,] tathâ-cha anupaṭîpajaṁtu-ti [.] Hevaṁ-hi anupaṭîpajaṁtaṁ hidata[pâla]te âladhe hoti [.] Satavisativasâbhisitena me iyaṁ dhaṁmalibi likhâpâ-pitâ-ti [.] Etaṁ devânaṁ-piye âhâ :] iyaṁ [10]

dhaṁmalibi ate athi silâthaṁbhâni-vâ silâphalakâni-vâ tata kataviyâ ena esa chila-ṭhitike siyâ [11].

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"Those kings who lived during the past ages conceived this wish, 'Might mankind in some way grow the growth of the sacred law,[a]! But mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law."

Concerning this[b] (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"This (thought) came to me, 'On the one hand kings conceived during the past ages this wish, Might mankind in some way grow a befitting growth of the sacred law!' On the other hand mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law. By what means then would mankind (*be moved*) to obey ? By what means would mankind grow a befitting growth of the sacred law ? By what means may I raise up[c] some among them to (*grow*) the growth of the sacred law ?"

Concerning this (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :-

"This (*thought*) came to me " Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached ; instruction in the sacred law I will order to be given. When men hear it, they will obey, they will raise themselves,[d] and mightily they will grow the growth of the sacred law." For this purpose I have ordered sermons on the sacred law to be preached, and have directed various instructions on the sacred law to be given, so that [*even my servants*] who dwell (*as rulers*) among many men, shall give instruction and expand it. Even the *lajûkas* who dwell (*as rulers*) among many hundred thousands of souls, even they have been ordered by me,[e] " Instruct (*my*) loyal people[f] in this way and in that."

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"Having regard to this same matter,[78] I have erected pillars of the sacred law, I have appointed superintendents of the sacred law, I have ordered to be preached [*sermons on*] the sacred law."

[77] Read *imâni cha*, as the sense requires.

[78] *Etam-eva-me anuvekhamâne* (*i e., anvavekshyamânam*) may be explained as a nominative absolute, analogous to *arijitaṁ hi vijinamane*, Rock Edict XIII (l. 36, k.). But it is not impossible that *anuvekhamânena* (*i.e. anavekshamânena*) was what Aśoka really wrote.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus: —

"I have also planted banian-trees on the high-roads, (*intending that*) they shall give shade to men and beasts. I have planted mango-gardens.[79] I have also ordered wells to be dug at every half *kos*[y] and I have ordered rest-houses[z] to be built; and I have ordered many watering stations[a] to be made here and there for the enjoyment of men and beasts. [*But something small indeed is*] this so-called enjoyment. Both former kings and myself have blessed the world with various blessings. But I have done (*all*) this (*in order*) that men may render their obedience to the sacred law."

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"My superintendents of the sacred law are also occupied with the various matters of grace, affecting both ascetics and householders; and they are likewise occupied with men of all creeds. I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the affairs of the Saṁgha[b]; likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Âjîvikas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Nigaṁthas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with (*all*) the manifold creeds. Various officials (*have been appointed*) for various (*classes of men and purposes*) in accordance with the several requirements. But my superintendents of the sacred law are occupied both with those (*mentioned*) and with the men of all creeds."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

Both these and many other chief officials[80] are occupied with the distribution of gifts both my own and those of the queens; and in my whole harem they [*point out*[c]] various ways the manifold sources of contentment[d] both here (*in Pâṭaliputra*) and in the distance. And I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the distribution of the gifts both of my sons and of the other princes[e] in order (*to promote*) noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and obedience to the sacred law. For, these are noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and this is action in accordance with the sacred law, whereby compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and holiness will thus[81] grow among men."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"Whatever works of holiness I have worked, these men have followed, and these they will imitate in future; and thereby they have grown and will grow in future in obedience towards parents, in obedience towards venerable men, in reverence towards the aged, in proper conduct towards Brahmans and ascetics, towards the poor and the wretched, even towards slaves and servants."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"But men have grown this growth of the sacred law in two ways, (*viz.*) through restrictive religious rules and through deep meditation[f]. But, among these two[82] the restrictive religious rules are something small, more (*is worked*) by deep meditation.

[79] Regarding the short *a* of °*vaḍikyâ* see note 17 on the Queen's Edict, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 123, where it has been pointed out that the corresponding *aṁbâvaḍikâ* may stand for *aṁbâvaḍḍikâ*. Regarding the long *â* of *ambâ*, see below, note 20.

[80] *Mukhâ* has either been used in the sense of *mukha*, m. a leader (see the smaller *Pet. Dict.*, sub voce), or it stands for *mukkhâ* and corresponds to *mukhyâh* 'chiefs,' *i.e.* 'officials of high rank.'

[81] *Thus* *i.e.* in the manner desired by the king

[82] *Tata*, *i.e.* *tatra*, has here, as often in Sanskrit, a distributive sense, and *tata-chu* is equivalent to *tayostu*.

But the restrictive religious rules, indeed, are these, that I have ordered various kinds of creatures to be exempt from slaughter;[83] but there are also numerous other restrictive religious rules which I have imposed. But by deep meditation the growth of the sacred law has been increased more among men, so that they do not injure created beings, so that they do not slaughter living creatures."

For the following purpose these (*orders*) have been issued, (*viz.*) that they may last as long as my sons and great-grandsons reign", as long as moon and sun endure, and that men may act accordingly. If man obeys them in this manner, happiness has been gained both in this world and the next. I have caused this religious edict to be written after I had been anointed twenty-seven years.

Concerning this the Beloved of the gods speaks (*thus*) :—

"This religious edict must be incised there, where either stone pillars or stone tablets are found, in order that it may endure for a long time."

Remarks on the Translation

(*a*) As the preceding clause states that the kings "conceived a wish," it is not possible to take ***kathaṁ*** as an interrogative adverb. It must have the sense of an indefinite pronoun, just as ***káni*** has more frequently.

(*b*) Though it is perhaps not absolutely impossible to take *etaṁ* with M. Senart as equivalent to ***itra*** or ***atra***, I prefer to explain it by *etad*, and to assume that we have here the "accusative of relation," which, as Professor Delbrück has shown (*Altindische, Syntax*, p. 165f.), appears not rarely with verbs of speaking, wishing, considering and the like.

(*c*) *Abhyumnámayehaṁ* is the future with the meaning of the subjunctive (see Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 266f., and especially the quotation from the *Rámáyaṇa* under *b*). *E* for *i* appears similarly in *paridahessati*, etc. (see E. Müller: *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 118).

(*d*) *Abhyuṁnamisati* may be either the future of the active *abhyunnamati*, or, equivalent to *abhyuṁnammissati*, the future of the passive of the causative *abhyunnamayati*. The use of the active *unnamati*, *abhyunnamati*, *pronnamati*, and so forth, in the sense of 'to rise up,' is the usual one both in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits.

(*e*) *Lajúka* means literally 'a writer, clerk,' and denotes here probably a high official, taken from the writer caste (see note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III). Regarding the meaning of *áyatá* note 2 to my German translation of the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

(*f*) *Paliyovadátha* is one of the few instances of the Vedic subjunctive, preserved in the old Prakrits of India (see Professor Pischel in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIII, p. 424, and Professor E. Müller, *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 108).

(*g*) *Aḍhakosikyáni* corresponds to a Sanskrit *árdhakrośikíyáni*. The krośa or *kos* meant here, must be that equal to 8,000 Hastas, or half a *gavyúti*, which thus corresponds to the so-called *Sultáná kos* of 3 English miles. The ordinary *kos*, equal to one and a half or one and three-quarter miles, cannot be meant, as the wells would come to close to each other.

[83] See above, Pillar Edict V.

(*h*) *Niṁsiḍhiyá* no doubt stands for *nisiḍhiyá*, just like the Pali *mahiṁsa* for *mahisa*, and is an equivalent of *nishidiyá*, 'dwelling,' which occurs in the Nâgârjunî Hill Cave inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 364f., in the compound *váshanishidiyáye*. Both *niṁsiḍhiyá* and *nishidiyá* are Pali representatives of the Sanskrit *nishadyá*, "a couch, a market-hall." They have, however, been derived not from the root *nishad*, but from the stem of the present tense *nishíd*. The lingual *ḍha* of *niṁsiḍhiyá* is due to the influence of the original *sha* of *nishídyá*. The Jainas use closely allied words *niśídhi*, *nishiḍhi* and *nisiḍhi* for the last resting-place, the ornamental tombs, of their saints, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 99. *Niṁsiḍhiyá* denotes here, of course, the public rest-houses or serais, which are found at certain distances on most Indian high-roads and which are frequently built *dharmárthaṁ* by benevolent and rich men. Ushavadâta, the pious son-in-law of the Satrap and king Nahapâna boasts in the Nasik inscriptions, *Rep. Arch. Surv. West Ind.* vol. IV, p. 99, that he erected many such buildings.

(*i*) *Ápána* cannot have here its usual meaning "tavern, liquor-shop." As Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, assumes, it must denote a watering station. Probably the huts on the roads are meant, where water is distributed to travellers and their beasts gratis or against payment. The usual Sanskrit name is *prapá*.

(*j*) *Saṁgha*, of course, denotes the order of Buddhist monks. The Âjîvikas are probably, as Professor Kern assumes, orthodox Vaishṇava ascetics, see my discussion of the question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 362. The Nigaṁṭhas are the Jaina ascetics or Nirgranthas. I take *paṭivisiṭhaṁ paṭivisiṭhaṁ*, "according to the several requirements" in the sense of *prativiśeshaṁ*, (see the smaller *Petersburg Dict.* sub voce). *Tesu-tesu*, literally "for these and those," probably refers not only to various classes of men, but also to various purposes, for which the unnamed officials were appointed. Compare the end of Rock Edict XII, where the Superintendents of women, the Vachabhúmikas and other bodies of officials are mentioned.

(*k*) I here follow Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 386, who takes *tuṭháyatanáni*, *i.e. tushṭyáyatanáni*, "sources of contentment," in the sense of "opportunities for charity." Such opportunities are to be pointed out to all the inmates of the king's harem. With this interpretation the necessity of the restoration *paṭi* [*pádayaṁti*] is self-evident.

(*l*) *Devikumála* 'prince' means literally 'son of a queen,' *i.e.* of such a lady who has the title *deví*. As the sons of the king have been mentioned separately, it follows that 'the princes' are the sons of the wives of Piyadasi's predecessors, *i.e.* his brothers and possibly his paternal uncles. In the parallel passage, Rock Edict V, Piyadasi names 'his brothers, sisters and other relatives.'

(*m*) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nijhati* as a derivative from the causative of *nidhyái* and appropriately translated it by "reflexion." It is equivalent to Sanskrit *nididhyásaná* "reflexion, deep meditation," which is derived by other affixes from the same verb.

(*n*) In *putápapotike* the nominative of the plural *putá* takes the place of the stem just as in *aṁbá-vaḍikyá*, above *l.* 2. Similarly the nominative singular frequently takes the place of the stem in the inscriptions from Mathurâ, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371 ff. Rare instances occur also in Pali. Thus we have, *Ját.* iv, 184, 18, *sakhábhariyaṁ*, 'the wife of a friend.'

MAHABAN PRAŚASTI OF SAMVAT 1207.

From Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's impression

Scale: 1-3rd of original

XXI.—THE MAHÂBAN PRAŚASTÎ OF SAMVAT 1207.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is identical with that which I have published, *ante*, vol. I, p. 287, under the title *Mathurâ Praśasti of the Reign of Vijayapâla*, according to an impression, furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer and described as an 'Inscription on black basalt recovered from Keśava mound at Mathurâ, 10th February 1889.'

Shortly after the publication of my article Dr. Führer wrote to me that he did not agree with my restoration of the king's name as Vijayapâla, because he had obtained lately from Mahâban another small inscription of the same period, which showed a different reading. His remarks induced me to look over Sir A. Cunningham's notices of Mahâban in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, where I found the facsimile[1] of a much more complete version of this supposed *Mathurâ Praśasti*, and the statement that the document had been obtained at Mahâban in 1882-83; my friend, Professor Kielhorn, likewise pointed it out to me. For some time I thought that Dr. Führer's inscription, in which the central portion has been rubbed out by the stone being used for grinding spices or *dâl* and a large piece at the right-hand corner has been broken off, might be a duplicate of Sir A. Cunningham's. But this theory became doubtful, when in answer to my enquiries Dr. Führer stated that Sir A. Cunningham's stone was not traceable at Mahâban. And it became absolutely untenable, when some time ago Dr. J. Burgess found Sir A. Cunningham's impression from which his lithograph was prepared. A comparison with Dr. Führer's impression shows that the latter has, in the portions preserved, all the minor abrasions which are found on Sir A. Cunningham's slab, whereby the identity of the two originals is established. It would now seem that, after Sir A. Cunningham's impression was taken in 1882-83, the stone was taken away from Mahâban, used as a grinding stone by somebody, and finally brought as a find from the Keśava mound to Dr. Führer, who in 1889 received quite a number of fragments[2] from the railway-workmen at Mathurâ.

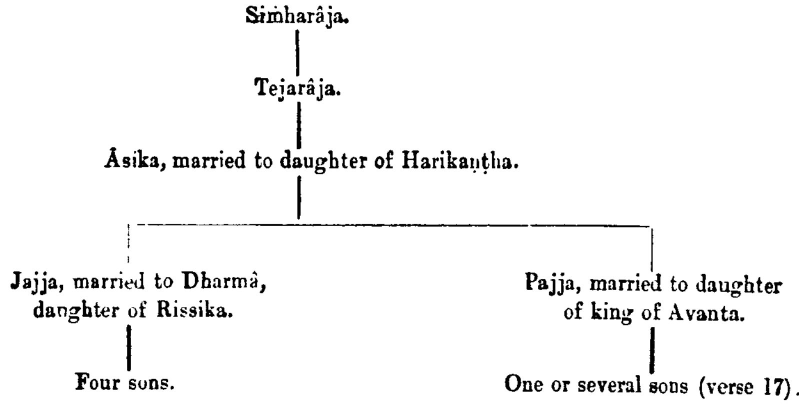
I now re-edit the inscription according to Sir A. Cunningham's impression, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate and permits me to give a much better version.

As regards the contents of the inscription, it is now plain that it refers to the erection of a temple at Mahâban. The paramount king, mentioned in the colophon, is probably, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated, *op. cit.*, vol. XX, p. 42, Ajayapâla, not Vijayapâla. And he may belong to the Yaduvaṁśî dynasty of Bayânâ-Śrîpathâ (see the pedigree *op. cit.*, p. 7). This view, which Sir A. Cunningham has put forward, is confirmed by the fact that Dr. Führer's above mentioned new inscription from

[1] Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, pl. x.

[2] The use of the slab for grinding condiments upon is perfectly evident from the impression, where a round piece in the centre is blank, and at the sides the deeper strokes of the letters are visible, while the shallower ones have disappeared. Dr. Führer has also sent me squeezes of several other fragments, which bear in pencil the dates when they came into his hands. One which is unfortunately very small shows the name of *parameśvara-śri-Śilâdityadeva* and may belong to the seventh century.

Mahâban shows the name of Ajayapâla's successor Haripâla and the date Saṁvat 1227. The pedigree of the Râjput who built the temple now stands as follows :—



TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. ओं ॥ ओं [ग]णपतेये[3] नमः ।
दिश्यात्स वः कैरवकु — — —
— यांसि[4] दंतो द्विरदाननस्य [।]
विजित्य विघ्नानिव — ो — शंके (?)
मुखे समाधातुमुपाहितो यः [॥१]

L. 2. [शौ]रेः कज्जलकांतिरस्त्वसिलता भूत्यै ि— ं —ः[5] करा-
त्कालिंदीव समुद्गता सरभसं या खड्गनीस्पर्द्धया ।
यत्ना[न्त]ज्ज्वलमानुषीव कमला डिण्डीरपिण्डो-

L. 3. पमः
कम्बुर्व्विम्बितमम्बरं क[मलिनी]किंजल्कंपुंजायते[6] ॥ [२]
स वोवतु ज — ं —ः सकलदैत्यदर्पार्द्दनः
महानर[क]मर्द्द[नः] प्रचुरचौरमंतर्द्द-

L. 4. नः [।]
समस्तभुवनाकरः कमलचक्रभूषाकरः
धृतामरमहाभरः तृ[ण]वदुद्धृतक्ष्माधरः ॥ [३][7]
इति प्रथममेव ॥
शाखा[स]न्ततिसन्निरुद्धस-

L. 5. कलप्रोद्दामदिग्मण्डलः
श्छायः पा[न्थ]समाश्रयो द्विजकुलैः संसेव्यमानोधिकं ।

[3] Read गणपतये. On Dr. Führer's impression the *e*-stroke above the *ta* has almost disappeared.

[4] Restore कैरवकुड्मलाभः श्रेयांसि.

[5] Restore चिरं वः.

[6] Read किंजल्कपुंजायते ।.

[7] Read °दय र्द्दनो;—भूषाकरो;—°महाभरम्;—Restore जनार्द्दनः.

क्षोणीमण्डलमण्डनं बहुतरप्र[ख्यात]पर्व्वक्रम:
श्रीमानस्ति समु-

L. 6. न्नत: क्षितितले राजन्यवंशो महान् ॥ [४]
सौजन्यामृतवारिधिर्गुरुगुणग्रामप्रकामावधि:
श्रीमान्धर्म्मनिधिर्नयैकनिपुणस्तुष्टाम्बचक्रप्रधि: [।]

L. 7. तत्राभूत्कलिकालकल्मषमषीप्रक्षालनैकश्रम:
मान्य: क्षत्रियवर्म्ममौलितिलक: श्रीसिंहराजाह्वय: ॥ [५][8]
दानेन लक्ष्मीर्व्विनयेन विद्या
भावेन भ-

L. 8. क्ति: क्षमया च शक्ति: [।]
सत्येन सूक्ति — — तेन मूर्त्ति-
रलंकृतालं कृतिना च येन [॥६॥][9]
तस्याभूत्तनयो नयोन्नतमति: श्रीतेजराजाह्वय:
सद्धर्म्मैकरुचि:

L. 9. शुचिर्गुरुगुणग्राही विवेकाकर: ।
यश्चित्रं पुरुषोत्तमोपि विदितो धत्ते न वैकुण्ठता-
मैश्वर्य्यभुजङ्गमो न तरलो यो नायकोपि स्फुटं ॥ [७][10]

L. 10. तस्मात्सूनुरजायतोज्वलतरप्रख्यातकीर्त्तिश्चय:
श्रीमानासिक इत्युदारमहिमा देवद्विजार्चारत: [।]
विद्वद्वांच्छितपूर्त्तिकल्पविटपी न्यायैकनिष्ठ: परं ॥

L. 11. — — — — — रोमणिर्व्विमलधीर्धीर: सतां संमत: ॥[11] [८]
शंभु: शैलसुतामिव श्रियमिव श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणि: प्रभु:
पौलो[मीमिव] वृत्रहाम्बुधिरिव स्रोतस्विनीं जाह्नवीं ।
शीतांशु: किल

L. 12. रोहिणीमिव मुनिर्मान्यामिवारुन्धतीं
स श्रीमान्हरिकण्ठआमुदवहत्सद्भक्तिभ — — तां ॥ [९][12]
तस्यां तेन सुतो जज्ञे अज्ज: सज्जनभूषणं ।
रामो दश-

L. 13. रथेनेव कौ[स]ल्यायामुदारधी: ॥ [१०]
कुंभेरंभ: कलयितुमलं वा[रि]धे: कस्य शक्ति:
को वा गङ्गापुलिनसिकताख्या: परिच्छेत्तुमीश: [।]
नक्षत्रा-

[8] According to Cunningham's rubbing one might read श्रीमान्धर्म्म°, but Fuhrer's gives plainly °धर्म्म

[9] Restore सूक्ति: सुकृतेन मूर्त्ति°.

[10] The second नयो° and the second क of विवेकाकर: stand below the line.

[11] The last Pâda stands in the margin, and there is a mark after परं in order to indicate the lacuna. Restore क्षोणीपालशिरोमणि°.

[12] Read श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणि:.—Restore सद्भक्तिभाराानता.

L. 14. स्त्रीं दिवि गणयितुं कोड्डलीभि: समर्थ:
तस्य स्तोतुं सकल[म]थ वा क: प्रगल्भ: गुणौघं [॥११]
चंद्र: कथंचित्समवाप्य वृद्धिं
पक्षं किलैकं विम-
L. 15. लं करोति [।]
अज्ज: पुनर्भूतलपार्व्व — ͡ —
द्वावेव पक्षौ विमलौ विधत्ते ॥ [१२][13]
सङ्ग: साधुभिरेव कोपशमने शक्तिश्च धर्म्मे मति:
दानेभ्यासविधि: प-
L. 16. रोपकृतये कार्यं गुरूणां न[ति: ।]
— — श्रीपुरुषोत्तमांह्रियुगले गोष्ठी समं पंडितै:
जज्जस्वामिकसंभवस्य सुमते: किं किं न लोकोत्तरं ॥ [१३][14]
का-
L. 17. य: परोपकृतिभि: सुकृतो ◡ — ◡
— ड्डिर्मुरारिचरणस्मरणेन चेत: [।]
लक्ष्मीरपि प्रणयिवांच्छितपूरणेन
सत्येन वागपि च येन कृता कृता-
L. 18. र्था ॥ [१४][15]
श्रीमान्निस्विकनामधेयविदितो राजन्यवंशोद्गत:
तस्यासावुपयेमिवान्दुहितरं धर्माभिधानां सतीं ।
शीलाचारविभूषणां शुभगुणां भर्तृव्र-
L. 19. ता सम्मतां
तस्यां [पुत्र]चतुष्टयं समभवद्धर्मोपपन्नं तत: ॥ [१५]
तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिर्गुणिनां वरिष्ठ:
ख्यात: सुरद्विजगुरूचितभक्तियुक्त: [।]
गांभीर्य-
L. 20. सत्यनयदान[विवे]कवृद्धि:
श्रीश्रासिकात्मजसुनिर्मलपज्जनामा ॥× [१६]
अवन्तराजतनयां भार्यामुदवहत्सतीं ।
तस्यां स जनयामास × × × × ◡ — ◡ ⏑̱ ॥ × [१७][16]
संसारं हरिभक्तिसारमखिलं विज्ञाय गोष्ठीजनै:
सार्द्धं धर्मधुरां चिरा-
L. 21. य वहता जज्जेन निर्मापितं ।
विष्णोर्हर्म्यमनल्पशिल्परचनावैचित्र्यपात्रं बहु-

[13] The reading of the stone seems to have been पार्व्वणेन्दु:.
[14] Restore भक्ति: श्रीपुरुषो°.
[15] Restore सुकृतोदयेन वृद्धिर्मु°.
[16] Verse 17 stands in the margin, and is preceded by the figure 20, which refers to the line where it is to be inserted.

त्मृर्म्मगानिललोलितध्वजपटं शुभ्राभमभ्रंलिहं ॥ [१८]
सौव:सैन्ध-

L. 22. वमन्धकान्तकजटाजूटाटवीनाटक-
क्रोडादुर्ल्ललितस्थितिस्थिरतरं यावत्पवित्रं पय: [।]
सध्रोची सुचिरं फणीश्वरफणारत्नांकुराणां च्चि-

L. 23. f—
—̂— —ावदिहास्तु मन्दिरमिदं लक्ष्मीपते: शाश्वतं ॥ [१९]
अत्र गोष्ठीकृतान्नामानि ॥
मुक्तिकात्मजधर्म्मोह रामस्तिल्हस्य नंदन: ।
पेहूचित्तक-

L. 24. — — ◡ × × णो वस्तिकात्मज: ॥ [२०]
मंगपुत्रो नारदश्च जासिको माहवांगज: ।
ढोलसूनुर्व्वसंतश्च कलस्यात्मजधन्तुक: ॥ [२१]
सोभरात्मा महीपाल:

L. 25. × × × × ◡ — ◡ न: ।
फुल्लोरी सडसंभूत: देधरो माधवात्मज: ॥ [२२]
सोढलो रामपालस्य सेल्हणो राजिकोद्भव: ।
एते गोष्ठीं समागम्य पुत्रपौत्रादि-

L. 26. — [रि]का: ॥ [२३]
[अथा]तो लिख्यते वृत्तिर्देवदेवस्य चक्रिण: ।
संप्रदत्ता नरेन्द्रेण पुरवासिजने[न च] ॥ [२४]
द्वे गृहे वीथय: षट्व वाटिका देवहेतवे ।
गोण्णी-

L. 27. [प्र]सृतिरन्नस्य मानोन्मानरसादिका ॥ [२५]
यंत्रे यंत्रे पली [ग्राह्या] चा[तुश्च] पुष्पमालिकात् ।
मापकाश्च चतुर्थांसो य: क[श्चि]न्मापको भवेत [।२६
य: कश्चित् हृ-

L. 28. रते वृत्तिं न ददाति च मानव: ।
स गच्छेन्नर[कं] घोरं यावदाभूतसंप्लव: ॥ [२७][1]
अस्या: [प्र]शस्ते: कर्त्तारौ वुधौ पालकुलङ्करौ ।
[चिं]तव्यं सर्वविवुधैर्न्यूनात्यूनं विचार-

L. 29. त: ॥ १८]
सवत् १२०७ कार्ति — पौर्ण्णमास्यां महाराजाधिराज — —
जयपालदेवविजयराज्ये उत्कीर्ण्णा सोमलसूत्र[धारे]ण ॥

[17] Restore च्चितिर्यावत्तावदि°.

[18] चातुश्च can, of course, not be correct. Read चतुर्थों श्री.

[19] The last word is probably meant for यावदाभूतसंप्लवं.

XXII.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

By Paul Horn, Ph. D., Strassburg.

As in my previous paper on Muhammadan inscriptions from the Ṣuba of Dihlî, I have reproduced the texts of the inscriptions as they are found on the stone, adding no wanting dots, *taskdîds, etc.*, except in the first six inscriptions.

1.—Bhâgalpûr.

The history of Bhâgalpûr during the first four centuries of Muhammadan rule offers nothing very remarkable. The first inscription below of the time of Maḥmûd Shâh ibn Ibrâhim Shâh of Jaunpûr, is of value, because it shows that Bhâgalpûr in the ninth Hijrat century belonged to the Sharqî kingdom, as did also Bihâr (*vide* below). In A. H. 982 it came into the possession of Akbar (*Akbarnâma, III,* 108). Further information regarding the place has been collected by C. J. O'Donnell in W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XIV, p. 82.

The inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are of little historical value; they bear the dates of the years 1032 (reign of Jahângîr), 1130 (reign of Farrukh Siyar) and 1793 A.D. The last falls in the period of English rule.

The first inscription[1] is engraved on a black basalt slab, fixed on a tomb in a garden belonging to Rânî Bîbî in Mânḍa Roga Maḥalla, Bhâgalpûr; it is no longer *in situ;* the stone measures 36 inches by 18 inches; the size of the inscribed part is 30 by 13 inches.

قال النّبي عليه السّلام من بني مسجدًا فی الدّنيا بني اللّه له قصرا فی الجنّة فی زمن ملک العادل محمود
شاه السّلطان بنا کرده این مسجد خانمعظم خرشید خان سر نوبت غیر محلیّان فی العاشر من [2]جمادالاوّل سنه
خمسین و ثمانمایة

Translation.

'The Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—says 'He who builds a mosque in this world, God will build for him a castle in Paradise'. During the time of the just king Maḥmûd Shâh the honoured Khân Khurshêd Khân, head of the guardians outside the palace, has built this mosque on the tenth of Jumâdi'l awwal, year 850 H. (3rd August 1446).'

The arrangement of the words on the stone is not quite regular, and the deciphering is therefore more difficult than it seems at first sight. I have found no information relative to Khurshêd Khân, whose title *sar-î naubat-î ghair-maḥallîân* I have translated according to Blochmann (*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 106, vol. XLII., p. 273, note).

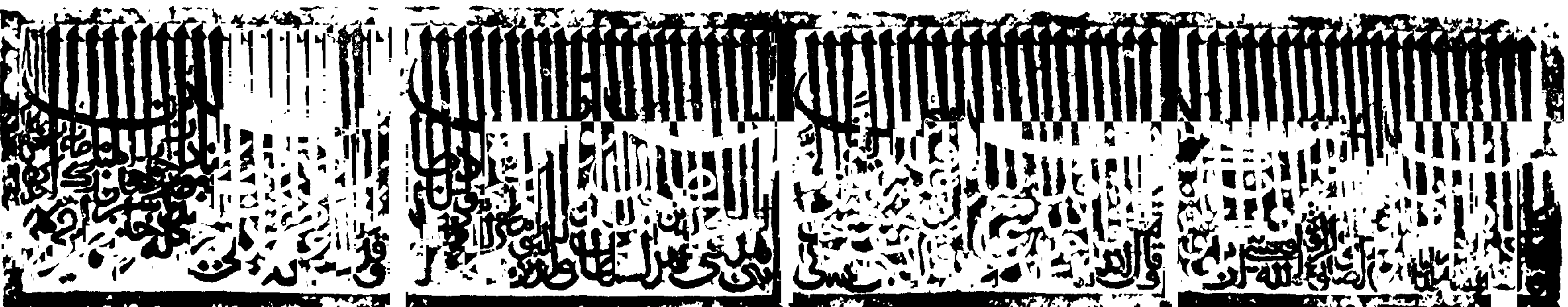
2. The second inscription has already been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, December 1873, p. 200. It is on a *Dargâh* called the Maskan-î Barârî or Makhdûm Shâh's Dargâh in Champanâgar near Bhâgal-

[1] See facsimile No. 1.

[2] The same form occurs, *e.g.*, in the inscriptions, *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 109, *Proceedings* for March 1874, p. 72.

NO. 1. BHAGALPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 850.

NO. 2. MAHDIPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 891.



From J. D. Beglar's impressions.

Scale · 1-5th of original.

pûr; the name of the saint buried there is not known. The basalt slab measures 27 by 16 inches, the inscribed part 20 by 13 inches; it contains four lines.—

لا اله آلا الله محمّد رسول الله

ابوبكر صديق رضي الله عليه | عمر فاروق رضي الله عليه | عثمان رضي الله عليه | علي كرّم الله وجهه

جون اضعف عباد الله خواجة احمد سمرقندي حسب الحكم نواب قدسي القاب شاهزادهٔ عالميان شاه پرويز

جهانگير بخدمت فوجداري سركار منگير آمده بود به بناى عمارت اين روضهٔ منوّره توفيق يافت سنه ١٠٣٢ هزار

سي و دو

TRANSLATION.

'There is no god but God and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God.

Abû Bakr, the veracious—may God be pleased with him! 'Omar, the distinguisher between right and wrong—may God be pleased with him! 'Osmân—may God be pleased with him! 'Alî—may God dignify his face![3].

When the humblest of the slaves of God, Khwâja Aḥmad of Samarqand, according to the order of the Nawâb, bearing holy titles, the prince of the people of the world, Shâh Parwêz, son of Jahângîr, had entered the service as Faujdâr of Sarkâr Mungir, he found grace to build this splendid tomb in the year 1032 H. [began the 5th November 1622].'

Shâh Parwêz was the second son of the emperor Shâh Jahângîr. He died of *delirium tremens* on the 6th Ṣafar 1035 (7th November 1625). In the year 1032 H. he gave Bengal[4] in *jágír* to Mahâbat Khân, after having defeated in battle Shâh Jahân (*Iqbálnáma-í Jahángírí*, p. 239), whereas Bihâr, to which sarkâr Mungir belonged (*Áín-í-Akbarí*, vol. I, p. 419), remained his own *tiyúl*.

In the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XV, p. 63, is a long account of the town of Mungir, compiled by Blochmann

3. This inscription was found near Cleveland's public garden; the rectangular black basalt stone on which it is engraved measures about 36 by 13 inches, the inscription covers 16 by 10 inches.

از بسي افسوس بملكِ بقا
رختِ سفر بست زفاني سراى
از سرِ اندوه بگو سالِ فوت
روحِ مجسّم زجهان رفت واى

Metre,—*Sarî'*:

With much sorrow he tied up the dress of journey from the perishable house towards the country of eternity. From the head of (*the word*) grief say the year of the death, "The soul clothed with a body went from the world, alas!"

The last line gives, according to *abjad* reckoning, 1129. As the poet seems to mean that the head of *andúh*, *i.e.* the letter *alif*, is to be added to the *táríkh*, we get 1129+1=1130 H. [which began the 5th December 1717].

[3] The four caliphs.
[4] In Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. VI, p. 417, l. 4, *for* Bihâr *read* Bengal.

The person referred to is not named.

4. The following inscription is from the same place as No. 3; the engraved area on the pillar is 12 by 5 inches.

از ضیاء ملک این تالاب خوش تحفیر یافت   بر لبش این دیرهم از سعي او تعمیر یافت

خواستم تاریخ هجر (؟) عسوي (*sic.*) سازم بیان   تا بود بر لوح سنک از سالِ تعمیرش نشان

ناکهان هاتف زروی شادماني لفظ بود   بعدِ نفظ دیده اندر مصرع هشتم فزود

آنکهان در کوشِ خاطر زد سروشي بس عجب   دیده کم اندر جهان آدم چنین جای غریب

TRANSLATION.

Metre,—*Ramal:*

By (order of) Zîyâ-i-Mulk this fair tank has been dug, on the bank of it this place of worship has also been erected by his exertion. I wanted to render manifest the date of the Christian era, so that there may exist a sign of the year of its erection on the face of the stone. Suddenly an invisible speaker by way of pleasure increased the word '*Bûd*' after the word '*Dîdah*' in the eighth hemistich; then in the ear of the mind he uttered a mysterious sound, indeed, strange: "Man has scarcely seen in the world such a rare place."

The letters of the *târîkh* which runs therefore '*Dîdah bûd kam*' etc., give 1793 A.D.—the last hemistich=1781 + 12 (*bûd*)—*i.e.*—1208-9H.

Ziyâ-i-Mulk must have been the title of some English officer whose European name I am not able to make out here.

On a hill to the west of Bhâgalpûr Station is a Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shâhjangî (Shâhbâz), to which belongs a tank. That tank which had gone out of use was cleaned and fitted with stone steps by order of Mr. Edward Latore, Magistrate, Zila' Bhâgalpûr, in 1843 A.D., corresponding with 1250 Faṣlî. As a memorial of that fact a Hindûstânî inscription has been engraved in a circle on the side wall of the ghâṭ, and the names of the personages who furthered the work with money have been inscribed in the margin. The total sum amounts to R2,677, if I have added rightly.[5]

II.—HAZRAT PANḌUAH.

The following inscriptions from Panḍuah belong to the *Âdîna* (*i.e.* Friday) Mosque of which large ruins still remain. These have been described at length by the late J. H. Ravenshaw in his *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, pp. 60 ff, where also a ground plan of the masjid is given.

The mosque was built by Abu'l Mujâhid Sikandar Shâh, son of Shams-addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Ilyâs Shâh, king of Bengal, who adorned his capital Panḍuah with that magnificent edifice. Except one, the inscriptions inside and outside the mosque are of no historical value, containing only verses from the *Qorân*. The rubbings transmitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley are very fine and worthy of the beautiful penmanship which can hardly be surpassed in other Indian Muhammadan inscriptions.

[5] There is another rubbing of a Hindûstâni inscription of the month of August of 1845 which has been engraved on a large basalt pillar near the public garden on the bank of a tank opposite Cleveland's house, but the inscription seems to be much defaced, so that it is not possible to decipher it from the rubbing. It relates also to a *tâlâv* and a *sairâi ṭayyâr*.

5. On the outer wall of the central nave near the doorway, which is very small in proportion to the size of the edifice, the inscription has been cut, which mentions the builder of the mosque and the year of its erection. The size of the stone is 58 by 11 inches, that of the inscribed part is 57 by 9 inches; it runs—

امربناء العمارة هذا المسجد الجامع في ايّا[م] الدّولة السّلطان الاعظم اعلم اعدل اكرم اكمل السّلاطين
العرب والعجم الواثق بتاييد الرّحمن ابوالمجاهد سکندر شاه سلطان بن الياس شاه السّلطان خلّد خلافته الى
يوم الموعود كتبه فى التّاريخ رجب سنة ستّ [و] سبعين وسبعماية

TRANSLATION.

'The edifice of this **Jâmi' Masjid** was ordered to be built during the days of the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal, the most perfect of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, **Abu'l Mujâhid Sikandar Shâh**, the king, son of **Ilyâs Shâh**, the king—May his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise! He wrote it during Rajab of the year 776 (began the 6th December 1374).'

There are some mistakes in Blochmann's readings of this inscription (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 257, and repeated in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 62). Regarding the accuracy of my conjecture that the eighth word is to be read *ayyám*, there can hardly be any doubt. The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if, with Blochmann, we read *rajab sitt;* besides, the succession of the words should be *sitt rajab.* Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengal inscriptions, but the construction *rajab sitt* instead of *sádis* would be too faulty even for them. I therefore prefer to supply a *va* (*and*) before *sab'in* or to read the *va* standing before *sab'miat* twice, a case that occurs not at all unfrequently.

We do not know the year in which the Âdîna mosque was finished; the *Riyás* mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 H. It is very probable that the building required a space of ten years, *e.g.* the Jâmi' Masjid at Kotila in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years, and ten are therefore not too much to allow for the erection of that 'gigantic barn,' as General Cunningham calls the Âdîna mosque (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 90).[6]

6. Over the doorway of the king's platform (Ravenshaw calls it *Báashâh ka takht*) we find the words of the *Kalima*. The size of the inscription is 8 by 7 inches.

Over the central prayer niche (*mihráb*) are inscribed on two stones the verses of *Qorán*, Sûr. xxxiii, 56, and Sûr. xxii, 76, the latter being quoted with the omission of some words in Major W. Francklin's *Journal of a Route from Rájmahál to Gaur, A. D. 1810*, see Ravenshaw, p. 64.

Round the three other prayer niches are also engraved passages from the *Qorán*, on the northern, the combined verses[7] Sûr. ii, 63, iii, 31, ii, 121 and Sûr. ix, 20, 21.

[6] I see, however, that nothing can be too faulty for the Indian Muhammadan inscriptions, for I have found once again at least the above construction, with the number *sitt* (inscr. of the *rauza* of Muhammad Sharif of Balkh in Dihlî,—*Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.*, for 1875, p. 212.

[7] The exordial phrase is— 'قال الله تعالى عن قائل وجلّ من متكلّم ("God has said, who is raised above another speaker and more glorious than another orator)".

Round the middle prayer niche runs Sûr. xlviii, 27 28, 29 (size: 153 inches by 12 inches, the measure of the whole stone is 160 by 15 inches); round the southern (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate xliv) Sûr. ii, 256, 257 has been inscribed. The intervals between the single letters and words are always copiously ornamented with flower arabesques.

The inscription over the prayer niche in the transept (Ravenshaw, photograph plate xli) has been mentioned by Blochmann in the *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 256. A facsimile is given in Ravenshaw's work, plate xlv; it contains *Qorân*, Sûr. ix 18, 19. The top line is in Kufik, a character of writing the artist was evidently not very conversant with, and contains the *Fâtiha*.

A stone (20 by 14 inches) once fixed in the wall of the nave, now lost, bore round a square which contains arabesques and the name of Muhammad twice, besides the *Kalima*, the text of Sûra cxii.

III.—Gaur.

For the city of Gaur, the reader may be referred to Ravenshaw's work already cited, the photographs of which give a picture of the former grandeur and magnificence of the town. It also gives a historical sketch of Gaur trom the Muhammadan conquest to the end of its independence (pp. 95ff). Some of the following inscriptions have been already published either in this work or by Blochmann.

7. Over the entrance to the court of the Qadam-Rasûl mosque (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate 13, and facsimile, plate 48, No. 6) is an inscription, 2′ 1″ by 1′ 2″ in two lines—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله تعالى له سبعين قصرا فى الجنة بنى هذ المسجد
فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان بن السلطان شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر
يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باربكشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان بنى هذ المسجد خان اعظم و خاقانمعظم
مرجاه خان اتابك ذات اعلى بتاريخ [8]هردهم ماه مبارك رمضان سنه خمس و ثمانين و ثمانمايه

Translation.

'The Prophet (on whom be peace!) has said: 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the king, the son of a king, who was the son of a king,[9] Shamsaddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Yûsuf Shâh, the king, son of Bârbak Shâh, the king, son of Mahmûd Shâh, the king. This mosque was built by the great Khân, the exalted Khâqân Marjâd Khân, the *atabeg* of the high person. On the 13th day of the blessed month Ramazân 885 (*17th November 1480*).'

In Ravenshaw's book the mistakes of Mr. Blochmann are reproduced. Blochmann has also published three other inscriptions of Yûsuf Shâh, of the years 882 (*Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 275), 884 (*ib.* p. 276), and 885 (*ib.* vol. XLIV, p. 293); they are from Panduah or the neighbourhood of Dhâka. The information about Yûsuf Shâh which the histories furnish is very meagre.

[8] *i.e.* هژدهم.

[9] This reiteration occurs also on coins.

8. Over the central door of the small golden mosque in Gaur (Ravenshaw, plate xxii) is an inscription. One corner of the stone which contained the date has been broken away in three lines (dimensions 9 feet by 1′ 8″)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالي انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله واليوم الاخر واقام الصلوة واتى الزكوة ولم يخش الا الله فعسي اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين وقال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بني مسجدا لله بني الله له بيتا في الجنة مثله و عمارة هذا المسجد الجامع

فى عهد سلطان السلاطين سيد السادات منبع السعادت ارحم المسلمين و المسلمات معلى كلمات الحق والحسنات المويد بتاييد الديان المجاهد فى سبيل الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجة والبرهان غوث الاسلام والمسلمين علاء الدنيا والدين

ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بني هذا المسجد الجامع خالصا مخلصا متوكلا على الله الولي محمد بن علي المخاطب بخطاب مجلس المجالس مجلس منصور نصره الله تعالي فى الدنيا والاخرة و تاريخه الميمون في الرابع عشر من شهر الله المبارک رجب رجب قدره سنه [... ... ...

TRANSLATION.

'In the name, etc. God Almighty has said: "He only shall repair," etc. (*Qorán*, Sûr. ix, 18). And the Prophet (may God's blessing rest upon him!) has said "He who builds," etc.

The erection of this Jâmi' masjid took place in the time of the king of kings, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, the fountain of auspiciousness, the most merciful of the faithful men and women, who exalts the words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, who strives on the road of the merciful, the viceregent of God, with proof and testimony, the defender of Islâm and the Muslims, 'Alâ addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh, the king, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! This Jâmi' masjid was built, from pure and sincere motives, and from trust in God, by the Walî Muḥammad, son of 'Alî, who has the title of *majlis al majālis majlis-í manṣúr*—may God render him victorious in this world and the next! Its auspicious date is the 14th of God's blessed month of Rajab—may its value increase! of the year . . . . . . '

Husain Shâh reigned from 899 till 929 A. H., we possess many inscriptions of his reign. I have noted *29*. This one has been published in Ravenshaw's work, p. 38.

9. From Shâh N'imat Allâh's *âsitána* near the Jâmi' masjid in the Fîrôzpûr suburb of Gaur. Two lines (dimensions 3 feet by 1′ 4″)—

بنى هذا الباب الحصن في عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه
السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في سنه ثمان عشر و تسعماية

TRANSLATION.

'This gate of the fort was built in the time of the exalted and liberal king, 'Alâ-addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf,

the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918 (*began the 19th March 1512*).[10]

10. At the same place two other inscriptions have been found containing only passages from the *Qorán*. Both are richly ornamented with varied patterns of flowers and arabesques. The first measures 6′ 5″ by 9 in.; on four lines, *Qorán*, Sur. vi, 59; viii, 19; xxxv, 2; xlviii, 1, 2, 3, *etc.*, and in three circles the words *Yá raḥmán, yá Alláh, yá raḥím* are inscribed; the second measures 2′ 4″ by 8 in., and contains *Qorán*, Sûr. lxii, 9, 10, 11.

11. Over the centre arch of the Qadam-Rasûl masjid outside, in three lines (dimensions 2′ 3″ by 1′ 6″.)—

قال الله تعالي من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنى هذه الصفه المطهره التى فيها حجر [11]فيه اثر قدم رسول صلى الله عليه و سلم السلطان

المعظم المكرم السلطان بن السلطان ناصرالدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان

بن سيد اشرف الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلي امره و شانه في سنه سبع و ثلثين و تسعماية

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said: "He who brings a good work shall have ten like it" (*Qorán*, Sûr. vi, 161). This pure dais on which is a stone with the foot-print of the Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—was erected by the great, generous king, the king, the son of a king, Nâṣiraddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Nuṣrat Shâh, the king, son of Husain Shâh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his dignity! In the year 937 (*began the 25th August 1530*).'

Mr. Blochmann has remarked that these inscriptions rectify the *Riyáz* and Stewart, who give as the date of the completion of the *Qadam-Rasúl* mosque A.H. 939.

12. From Shâh Ni'mat Allâh's *ásitána*, not *in situ*, in one line (dimensions 2′ 1″ by 7 in.)—

قال الله تعالي انّ المساجد لله بانى هذا الباب خانجهان في التاريخ غرة من ذوالحجه سنه سبعين و تسعماية

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "surely the mosques belong to God" (*Qorán*, Sûr. lxxii, 18). The builder of this gateway is Khânjahân. In the beginning of Zu'l Hijja, 970' (*22nd July 1563*).[12]

The inscription falls in the reign of Ghiyâs addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Jalâl Shâh of Bengal, *14* years before the conquest of Bengal by Akbar. Khânjahân was in 982 governor of Orîsâ (*Akbarnáma*, vol. I, p. 161 var.); he was therefore the successor of Lôdî Khân, *amír al umará* of Sulaimân, king of Bengal, who was put to death by his sovereign the year before (*Badauní*, vol. II, p. 174). In the Moghul empire the title of Khânjahân was the next to that of Khânkhânan (*Ma'ásir*, I, 649).

[10] This was published in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 295, and repeated in Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 88, No. 19.

[11] There is no reason for Blochmann's *sic*, who has read faultily.

[12] Pub shed in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 36. The number *tis'* is not legible on my rubbing.

13. From the Jâmi' masjid in the Fîrôzpûr suburb, evidently a fragmentary inscription (size 1′ 4″ by 2 in.), which contains *Qorân*, Sûr. lxii, 5 (it begins in the middle of the verse with the words [*kamis*]*li'l ḥimâri*).

IV.— Mahdîpûr (village).[13]

14. The following inscription is now fixed in the modern mosque at Mahdîpûr, it is arranged in four squares and measures 4′ 4″ by 10 in.—

قال الله تعالی انما یعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله و الیوم الاخر واقام الصلوة واتی الزکوة ولم یخش الا الله
فعسی اولئك ان یکونوا من المهتدین

و قال الله تعالی وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی
مسجدا لله تعالی بنی الله تعالی له بیتًا فی الجنّة

بني هذ المسجد فی عهد السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنیا و الدین ابوالمظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن
محمود شاه السلطان

وقد بنا السید الاعظم سید دستور بن سید راحت بالحسنة ثمر جعله سر کنبد مولانا برخوردار ابن خانمعظم
تاسر خان فی شهر المبارک رمضان سنه احدی و تسعین و ثمانمائه

Translation.

'God Almighty has said "He only shall repair," *etc.* (*Qorán* Sûr ix, 18).

God Almighty has also said "verily, the mosques," *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. lxxii, 18). The Prophet—on whom may rest God's blessing! has said "He who builds a mosque" *etc.*

This mosque was built in the time of the king, son of a king, Jalâl addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Path Shâh, the king, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, the king. Its builder was the exalted Sayyid, Sayyid Dastûr, son of Sayyid Râḥat—through good deeds he has collected fruits for himself—at the head of the vault of Maulânâ Barkhurdâr, son of the exalted Khân Tâj Khân. In the blessed month of Ramazân of the year 891' (*began the 31st August 1486*).

The letters being very closely written it is not easy to decipher the names. This is the sixth inscription of Fatḥ Shâh, who reigned from 886 till 893; the others fall in the years 886 from Bandar near Dhâkâ, (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 282), 887 from Dhâmrâi, north of Dhâkâ, (*ib.*, vol. XLI, p. 109); 888 from Bikrampûr, Dhâkâ District (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 284), 889 from Sunârgâoṇ, (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 285), and 892 from Sâtgânw, (*ib.*, vol. XXXIX, p. 293).

15. The following inscription of the same king has lost the date; it is from the Challa masjid (size 5′ 7″ by 4 in.), one line

جلال الدنیا والدین ابوالمظفر فتحشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه السّلطان خلد اللّه ملکه و سلطانه واعلی امره
وشانه بسعي خان الاعظم و خاقان المعظم الواثق بالملك المنان خانمعظم دولتخان وزیر لشکر تقبل الله منه
فی سنه اربع ... ...

[13] See facsimile No 2.

TRANSLATION.

'**Jalâl addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fath Shâh**, the king, son of **Mahmûd Shâh**, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his rule! Through the exertion of the exalted Khân and the high Khâqân, who trusts upon the beneficient Lord, the exalted Khân **Daulat Khân**, the wazir of the army—may God accept from him (*his prayers*)![14] In the year . . . . . .'

16. From the modern mosque, as No. 14. One line (size 1′ 5″ by 7 in.), a fragment—

الدّنیا و الدّین ابوالمظفر حسین شاه السلطان بنی هذا المسجد ملك یزید معظم طفرحان بن ملك ...

... سر نوبت ... ... در سهر ربیع الاخر [؟] فی التاریخ سنه ... ...

TRANSLATION.

['**Alâ-**]**addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh**. This mosque was built by **Malik Yazîd Mu'azzam Zafar Khân**, son of **Malik** . . . . . head of the guardians . . . . . in the month of Rabi' al âkhir, in the year . . . . . .'

As the upper part of the left side is broken away, it is not possible to read correctly the name of the builder. Nothing is known about the original place of the stone which bears the inscription.

V.—KHANDKARTOLA (SHÊRPÛR).

17. In the jungal in the midst of the deserted village of **Khandkartola**, about two miles south of the **Shêrpûr** municipality, are the ruins of the **Khema** masjid. Two slabs of equal size (4′ 7″ by 2′ 4″ by 3″) bear the inscriptions, the middle portions of the stone being carved in a vase pattern in one and in a square in the other. The right slab is cracked in two or three places; the cracks seem to be very old. As Mr. H. Lee has remarked on the inscription form, these slabs were Hindu gods originally, but the gods have been turned round and the inscriptions cut on their backs. The holes were probably made to destroy the sanctity of the gods. About 500 yards distant are the remains of the **Bâdishâhi** masjid; both are in bad repair and will soon go to ruins.

The inscription on the left side runs—

یا مظهر العجائب

مالله روز دوشنبه ۲۴ ماه ذوالحج سنه ۹۸۹

با سعادت نواب مرزا مراد خان مسجد اغاز کرد دویم روز

سه شنبه ۲۶ شهر حال فراز مسجد مبارك معمر عبد الصمد دو کبوتر

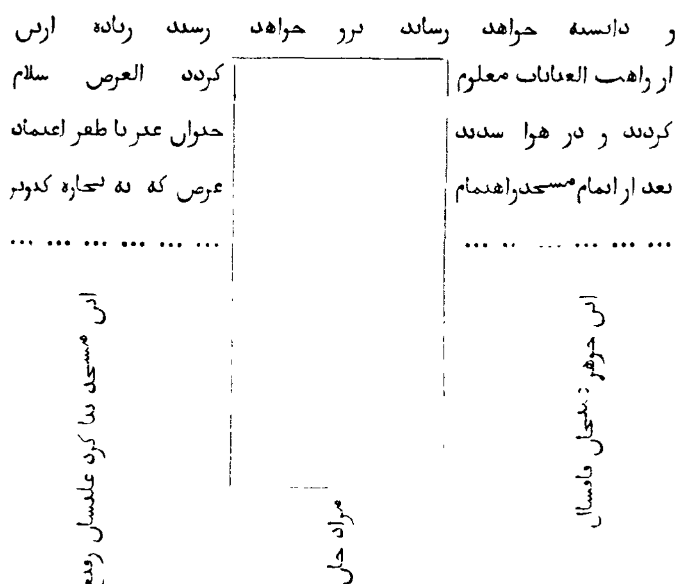
سفید ام از هوا فرود امدند و سلام کردند و بعد از مبارکبادی عرض

کردند که از مکه مبارکه نام رس وطلاه داریم برای ما و اصحاب ما درین

مسجد اشیانه حکم خواهند فرمود معمر گفت حرا نه اما مسجد

بزرگ مبادا از مردم زمانه جهر جفا برسد کسندد هرکه دیده

[14] In the Qorân, *qabala* occurs in the same manner without the addition of an object.



TRANSLATION.

'O (*Thou*) who manifestest spiritual wonders! On Monday, the 24th of month Zu'l Hijja A. 989 (*19th January 1582*), the Nawâb Mirzâ Murâd Khân with sacred observances made the beginning of this mosque. The second day—, on Tuesday the 26th (*sic.*), the *faqir'* Abdassamad comes for the sake of the mosque. Two milk-white pigeons came down from the air and saluted him, and after the benediction[15] they said 'we are from the blessed Makka; will you command for us and our friends a place of rest in this mosque?' The *faqir* said, 'Why not? But the mosque . . . . . lest oppression . . . should come from the men of the world.' They said 'every one who purposely—brings it on him it will come. More than that will be known from the bestower of bounties.' They saluted and disappeared in the air . . . . . . After the completion of the mosque the petition which the pigeons . . . .

This mosque has been built by the noble exalted Murâd Khân, son of Jauhar 'Alî Khân Qâqshâl.'

Murâd Qâqshâl in 988 became commander of 1,000 and received the title of Khân (*Akbarnâma*, vol. III, pp. 304, 305). In 991 he fought against Ma'ṣûm Khân Kâbulî (p. 417).

It is well known that the mosque at Makka abounds in flocks of wild pigeons which are considered as inviolable and are called *kabûtar* (*ḥamâm*)-*i ḥaram*, 'pigeons of the sacred boundary.' Such were those Makka pigeons which begged an asylum in Murâd Khân's mosque. Besides the impossibility of uniting the numbers 24 and 26 to each other without altering, a chronological difficulty seems to occur in this inscription. The 24th Zu'l Hijja A.H. 989 namely was not Monday but a Friday, and the 26th of the same month was not Tuesday, but a Sunday. I cannot make out these contradictions. In A.H. 988 the 24th Zu'l Hijja fell on a Monday, but the number 989 is quite clear on the rubbing.

[15] This form is not so rare as Rückert indicates, *Grammatik, Poetik and Rhetorik der Perser*, 2nd edition, by Pertsch, p. 249, note 1. Confer also '*bimubârakbad ishtighâldâsht*',—*Ma'âsir al Umarâ*, vol. I, p. 121.

The inscription on the right side seems to be of no historical value, and as I could not decipher the whole from the rubbing, I have omitted it.

18. From the Badishâhî masjid, 18 lines (size 2′ 3″ by 1′ 5″.)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ... ... بالخير

قال صدر جهان بن میان جیو بن بایزید بن داود

بنی مسجدا فی بلد شیرپور بمتاع التوکل علی الله الغفور

بحین شاه جهان جهانگیر مشهور سنه الف واثنی و اربعون بالشکور

قال الله تعالی و من یتوکل علی الله بنی مسجد فی دور شاه جهان

فهو حسبه ان الله بالغ امره و سوبه (*sic*) بنگاله معظم خان

قد جعل الله لکل شی قدرا

قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی سنه الف و اثنی و اربعون

مسجدا فی الدنیا بنی له الله تعالی سبعین

قصرا فی الاخره سنه الف و اثنی و اربعین الله کافی فی کل مسلمین

TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! . . . .

Ṣadr Jahân, son of Miyân Jayû, son of Yâzîd, son of Dâûd, says—

The mosque in the town of Shêrpûr has been built through the benefit of confidence in the forgiving God in the time of Shâhjahân, the famous conqueror of the world, in the year 1042 (*began the 19th July 1632*). God Almighty has said "And whosoever relies on God," *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. lxv, 3, 4). The Prophet (on whom may rest God's blessing!) has said "He who builds a mosque in the world," *etc.* A. 1042.

This mosque has been built in the age of Shâhjahân in the *Ṣûba* of Bengal by Mu'azzam Khan in the year 1042. Allâh is a sufficiency for all the faithful.'

Ṣadr Jahân's poetry is not of the best. He was not Chief Sadr (*Sadr-i Jahân*) as Ṣadr Jahân was who filled that office under Akbar and under Jahângîr and whose name coincided with the title of his dignity. If we may be allowed to judge of his poetical abilities from the verses of the above inscription—which to be sure are not worse than thousands of others—it is to be hoped that he imitated the example of his name-sake above mentioned who also composed poems at first, but later gave up petry (*ma'âsir al Umarâ*, vol. III, pp. 350, 351).

Mu'azzam Khân or, as his name properly was, 'Azam Khân Mîr Muḥammad Bâqir Irâdat Khân became Governor of Bengal after Qâsim Khân in 1041. In the *Riyâz* (pp. 207, 208) it is related that he could not keep the province in order as it ought to be. The inhabitants of Assam (*Âshâm*), neighbours of Bengal, plundered the frontiers unpunished (cf. also *Munt. allubab*, vol. II, p. 132); they defeated 'Abd al Islâm with a great army of infantry and thousands of horse and made him prisoner with a large booty. After that, A.H. 1044, 'Azam Khân was dismissed and his post bestowed upon Islâm Khân, who undertook successful campaigns against the Râja of Assam. 'Azam Khân was appointed Governor of Allahâbâd. Shêrpûr which is mentioned in the last inscription

is the so-called Shêrpûr Mûrcha (in Elliot-Dowson: Shêrpùr Mîraja). The *Aîn-i Akbari*, vol. I, p. 405, identifies it with Mihmânshâhi, stating its revenues at 2,207,715 *dâms*. Its fort Salîmnagar was built by Râja Mân Singh, Governor of Bengal, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign *Akbarnâma*, vol. III, p. 697; it was so named in honour of Prince Salîm, afterwards the emperor Jahângîr. Shêrpûr was always an important place and a base of operations for the imperial troops.

VI.—Bihâr.

The following six Bihâr inscriptions belong to four different portions of the history of that province. If we follow Blochmann's division (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 245), the two first inscriptions fall into the 'Initial period,' or the reigns of the Governors of Lak'hnautî appointed by the Dihlî sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muḥammad Bakhtyâr Khiljî, *viz.*, from A. H. 600 to 739, when Fakhr addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Mubârak Shâh, armour-bearer to Bahrâm Khân, the Dihlî Governor of Sunârgâon, on his master's death, proclaimed himself ruler and established an independent dynasty in Bengal. But Bihar was detached from Bengal and remained to the Dihli empire till the foundation of the Jaunpùr kingdom, A. H. 796. This is the second period of the history of Bihâr. The third under the Sharqî rulers lasted till 881, when Jaunpûr again became subject to Dihlî. To this fourth period belongs one inscription (No. 22) while Nos. 21 and 24 are of the second, and No. 23 of the third period. Inscription Nos. 19, 20, 21, and 23 have been published by Blochmann.

19. On a fine slab of basalt leaning against the wall of the Choṭâ Dargàh, measuring 3 feet by 8 in.; it contains two lines—

بنی هذ المسجد فی نوبة السّلطان الاعظم سمس الدنیا والدین ابی المظفر فیروز شاه السّلطان وایام امارة خاقان الزمان المخاطب بحاتمخان

ادام الله ظلالهما العبد الواثق بالله والرحمة الراجی احقر الخلائق بهرام بن حاجی تاب الله علیه وعفی لوالدیه فی الغرة من رجب سنة خمس و عشرة سبعمائة

Translation.

'This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sulṭân Shams addunyà waddìn Abu'l Muzaffar Fîrôz Shâh, the king, and during the governorship of the Khàqân of the age, known as Hâtim Khàn—may God cause their shadows to last!—by the slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of creatures, Bahrâm, son of Hàjî—may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents!—In the beginning of the month of Rajab of the year 715' (*1st October 1315*).

Hâtim Khân was a son of Fîrôz Shàh, as we see from the inscription published by Blochmann (*ut sup.*). He must have been governor of Bihàr during the years 709—715.

20. Over the gateway of the *Sukûnat* or residency of the Imperial governor in Bihâr, was a beautiful inscription[16] (now in the Bayley Sarai) of three lines, measuring 4 feet by 1′ 10″—.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

شد بتجدید عمارة این دروازه عالی عالم‌آرای واین طاق رفیع فلک‌سای

درایام خلافت خلیفه جهانداه اسمان‌بارگاه خدایگان سلاطین

[16] See facsimile No. 3.

کیهان فرمان فرمای عالمیان ذی الامن والامان الاهل الایمان وارث ملک سلیمان ابوالمجاهد محمد بن
تغلقشاه السلطان خلدت خلافته وسلطانه فی الغرة من الشهر المبارک رمضان [سنه] اثنی و ثلثین وسبعمائه

TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico were renewed in the reign of the Khalîfa, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind, who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Salomon, **Abu'l Mujâhid Muḥammad**, son of **Tughluq Shâh**, the king—May his kingdom and rule be perpetuated! In the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazân, 732' (*27th May, 1332*).

Muḥammad Shâh's inscriptions, which have been published up till now, are of the years 726 (*Proc. of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, p. 199), 732 (*Proceedings* for 1874, p. 72), and 737 (*Journal* of the *As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 299),—the last also being from Bihâr.

21. On the Dargâh of **Ibrâhîm Abû Bakr Malik Bayyû**'s shrine, which lies on a hill to the north-west of the town, dimensions 5′ 1″ by 1′ 2″ two lines—

بعهد دولت شاه جهانگیر | کی[17] بادا در بهار ملک نوروز
شهنشاه جهان عدل سلطان | کی بر شاهان گیتی گشت فیروز
ملک سیرت ملک بیو براهیم | کی بد در دین چو ابراهیم دین توز
بماه ذی الحجه یکشنبه از دهر | بدست چون سیزده از مهر درین سوز
بهجرت هفصد و پنجه سه تاریخ | مسافر شد ملک در جنت این روز
خداوندا بفضل خویش بر وی | کنی آسان حساب آخرین روز

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Hazaj*—

'In the time of the reign of the world-conquering Shâh (may the power of the new-year's day be in Bihâr!), the king of the world, Fîrôz, the king who was victorious over the kings of the universe. The king of virtue **Malik Bayyû Ibrâhîm**, who in the faith was as zealous as Abraham, in the month of Zi'l Hijja, on a Sunday, of the time when thirteen sun-burnt (*days were passed*) (?), in the year 753 A. H. (*20th January 1353*), travelled on that day to Paradise. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him!'

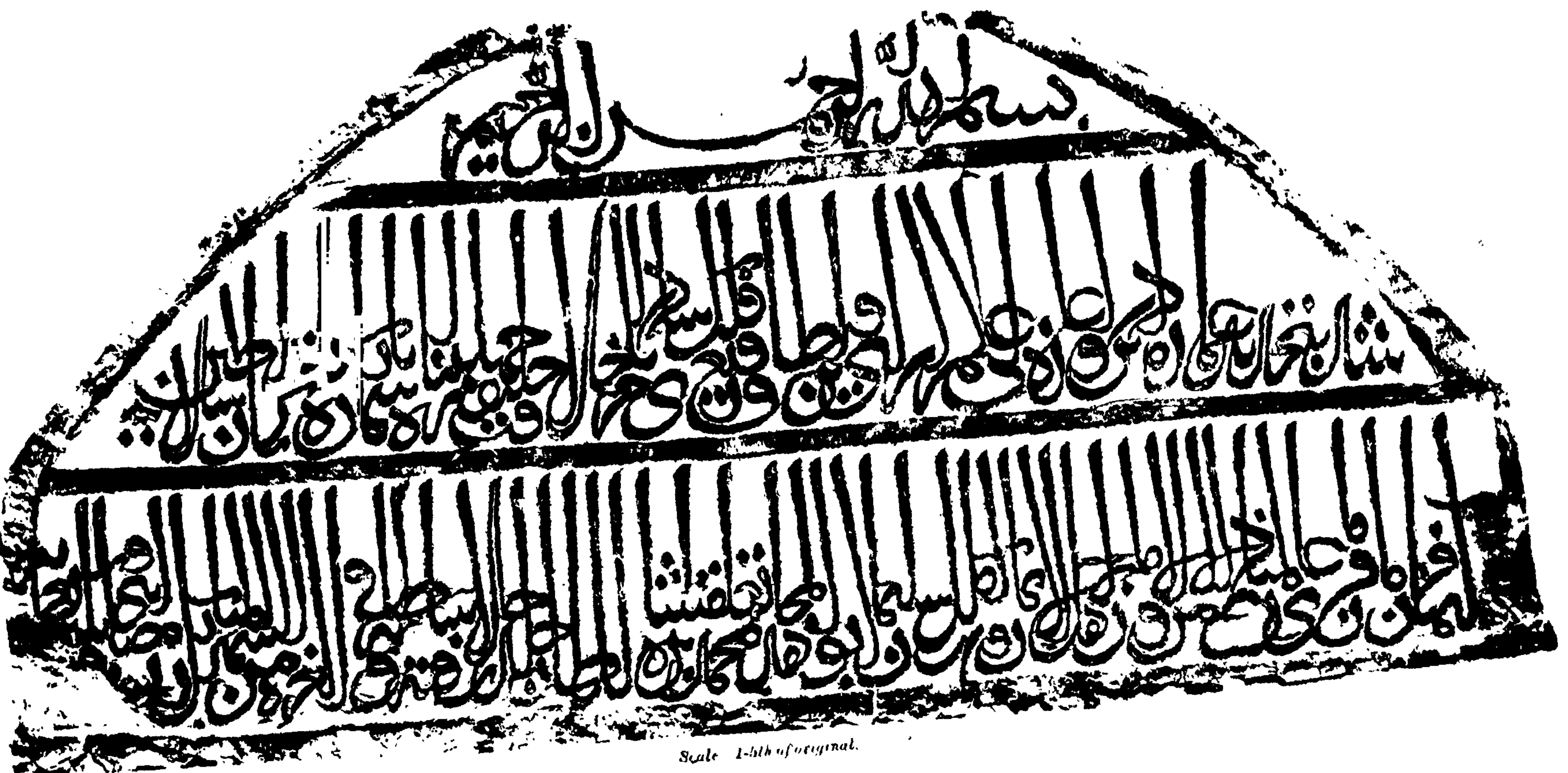
Respecting **Malik Bayyû**, who is, *par excellence*, the saint of Bihâr, see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 300.

22. From the **Bayley Sarâi** at Bihâr. Two lines (size 1′ 5″ by 8 in.)—

بتاریخ یازدهم ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه ستون تسعمایة تاران شهید بسر حاجی اسحاق مرسجل [?]
درین مقام حعده ارباع و حوض بناء ایاها . . . . . . برسد تروح حعه واسعه کان اذا ثنا[س] [?]

[17] This archaic spelling, instead of *kih*, occurs several times in the inscriptions.

NO. 3. BIHAR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 732.



Scale 1-5th of original.

J. Burgess, impress.

Translation.

'On the date of the 11th of month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 960 (*the 23rd January 1553*) Nârân Shahîd, son of Hâjî Isḥâq . .

On this place . . . . . .[18]

23. From a mosque which stood opposite to the Choṭâ Takya on the other bank of the Adyânadî, in Bihâr. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found. The inscription is in two parts, each measuring 3′ 5″ by 1′ 2″ and bearing two lines—

بسم اللّٰه الرحمن الرّحيم. قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنا الله له بيتا فى الجنه

شد بتوفيق الهى واز طفيل مصطفي　　مسجد جمعه بعهد شاه دين‌پرور بنا

شاه محمود ابن ابراهيم شاه عادل ايك　　كشور از شاهان ستاند تاج بخشد بر گدا

بانى اين مسجد ان مسند شريعت هست كو　　ذات پاكش قرةالعين نبى ومرتضا

سرور و صدر جهان ان سيد اجمل كه شد　　ملك و ملت ودين ودولت را در او الجا

كرده فرمايش بناء خير ملك الشرق كان　　مقطع داود درين خطه نصير ابن بها

اين بنا شد استوار از طاق كسرى در بهار　　كعبه در عظمت برفعت بيت معمور علا

غرهٔ ماه رجب بد هيصد و چهل و هفت سال　　كاندرين مسجد امامت شد بتاييد خدا

Translation.

Metre: *Ramal*—

'In the name, *etc.* He upon whom be peace (*the Prophet*) says "He who builds *etc.*"

By divine grace and for the sake of Muṣṭafâ (*Muḥammad*), the Jum'a mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king Shâh Maḥmûd, son of Ibrâhîm, the just king who takes realms from kings, (*and*) gives beggars crowns. The builder of this mosque is the throne of law, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtazâ (*'Alî*), the chief and the lord of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and empire, take refuge. The *muqti'*, the David[19] in this district, Naṣîr, son of Bahâ, ordered this building (*to be erected*), the best in the Eastern kingdom (*Jaunpûr*). This building in Bihâr is stronger than the portico of Kisrâ; it is a Ka'ba in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity. It was in the beginning of Rajab, of the year 847[20] (*25th October 1443*), when, with the assistance of God, the (*first*) *iqâma* took place in this mosque.'

The metrical Bihâr inscriptions are all remarkable for their very bad poetry. This is the fourth known inscription of Maḥmûd Shâh of Jaunpûr, the others being dated in the years A. H. 847 (from Bihâr), 850 (above No. 1), and 859 (also from Bihâr, published by Blochmann).[21]

18 I have not succeeded in making out the meaning of the second line.

19 In this inscription the letters *re* and *dâl* often cannot be separated. Blochmann has read *dâwar*.

20 The form *hîṣad*, instead of *hashtṣad*, is not at all, seldom in Indian inscriptions.

21 The Maḥmûd Shâh inscription on a stone in the Hindu temple at Bedibân is very dubious, *see* General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 25, Plate iv.

24. Also from the Bayley Sarâî. Two lines (size 3 feet by 1′ 3″); the right side is partly broken—

. . . . مدار وب خانزادهٔ سلطان . . . . .
افتخار اهل سیف وکار هجا اعتبار [؟] . . . . کرده کار
دفتر ارتاریخ هجرت هفصد و شست وهفت باز از ماه محرم فی شهر . . . . . شمار

TRANSLATION.

Metre: ***Ramal***—

'. . . . . In the time of the Khânzâda . . . .

Who is the glory of the men of the world and an esteemed satirist (?) . . . . . .

The account of the Hijra-date is 767 (*began the 18th September 1365*); backwards from the month of Muḥarram reckon . . . . . .[22]

VII.—MUNÊR.

Munêr, Mâner or Munair, is a very old place on the right bank of the Son at its confluence with the Ganges. Elliot-Dowson erroneously confounds it sometimes with Mungir. Firishta ascribes its foundation to the mythical times of Fîrôz Râî, son of Kêshû Râj, a contemporary of the hero Rustam (*lithogr. ed.*, vol. I, p. 18, *muqaddima*). General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. VIII, pp. 22, 23, offers a theory of his own about the establishment of Munêr immediately after the Muhammadan conquest. He supposes that the Son through some unknown cause at that time had abandoned its original bed and taken its present course, thus forming new waste lands which had no name before, not having been in existence. The town was almost half a *krôh* distant from the river. Bâbar in his *Memoirs* (p. 478) describes its situation in the following words: 'Down the stream from the place where I was I saw a large number of trees; they said to me that it was Munêr.'

In the *Âîn* (vol. I, p. 419) Munêr is registered with 89,039 *bighas*, 15 *biswas*, 7,049,179 *dâms*, (*say*) 325,380 *dâms*. Bâbar and Sikandar Shâh Lôdî are related to have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahyâ, father of Shaikh Sharaf addîn (*Târîkh-î Dâûdî* in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 462, Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 478), from whom the *pargana* occasionally is named *Munêr-î Shaikh Yahyâ*. Shaikh Sharaf addîn was also a renowned saint; in his honour his disciple Ibrâhîm Qiwâm Farûqî has called his dictionary *Sharafnâma* (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXVII, p. 7). Munêr now belongs to the district of Patna, subdivision Danâpûr.[23]

25. Two lines (dimensions 1′ 9″ by 8 in.)—

بحمد الله در عهد سه انجب سه محمود سلطان مهذب
بهین مسجد که بُد بانی اول جلیل الحق زاقطاب مقرب
جو حماد خطیر ار . . . . . . عمارت کرد بار از سر مرتب
زهجرت هفصد و هشت و نود بود بعصمت دار بنیادش تو ای رب

[22] The first and the third hemistich have been almost ruined; besides the letters of the inscription are very rude, so that I could decipher it only fragmentarily.

[23] No information is given about the places where the following three Munêr inscriptions have been found.

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Hazaj*—

'By God's grace (*it was*) in the time of the most noble king Mahmûd, the sincere monarch, when this fine mosque, whose first builder was Jalîl al Haqq, one of the confidential chiefs, was rebuilt and newly adorned by Hammâd Khâṭir........

It was in 798 A. H. (*began the 16th October 1395*). Preserve its foundation in security. O God.'

This and the Maḥmûd Shâh inscription of A. H. 799 (*Journ. of As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 304), are valuable, because they show that Nuṣrat Khân, the opposing king, who was advanced as a claimant to the throne by Sa'âdat Khân A.H. 797, was not acknowledged in Bihâr. It is not easy to form a correct picture of the complicated conditions then existing in the empire. Khwâja-î Jahân (*Malik ashsharq Khwâja-î Sarâi*), the founder of the Jaunpûr kingdom, had got into his possession the provinces of Qanauj, Karah, Audh, Sandêlâ, Dalamau, Bahrâîch, Bihâr, and Jaunpûr; the emperor Maḥmûd was confined for some years only to old Dihlî, the fortress of Sîrî, and the Jâhâupanâh, while the districts of the Doâb, of Sambhal, Pânîpat, Jhajhar and Rohtak were occupied by Nuṣrat Khân, *viz.*, Sulṭân Naṣîraddîn, who had his residence at Fîrôzâbâd. Other provinces perpetually changed their masters, ambitious *amîrs* and *maliks*, who combatted each other angrily. The harvest was fully ripe for the bloody reaper Timûr.

26. Three lines (size 5′ 9″ by 1′ 4″)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

وسيق الذين اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زمرا حتى اذا جاؤها و فتحت ابوابها وقال لهم خزنتها سلام عليكم طبتم فادخلوها خالدين

كُنْتُ فِى فِكرِ سَنِّ هذا البَابِ كَانَ قَلبِى بِحَوْلِه سَاكِنًا

قَالَ عَقلِي عَلي طَرِيقِ الاَمْرِ قُل مَن دَخَلَهُ كَانَ امِنًا

چون در روضهٔ مقدس شاه روی رفعت نهاد [بر اتمام]

سال انجامش از خرد جستم خردم بهر این خجسته مقام

بدعا لب کشودهٔ و کفتا در دولت کشا[ده باد دوام]

TRANSLATION.

'There is no God, *etc.* But those who fear their Lord, *etc.* (*Qorán*, Sûr. xxxix, 73).

Metre: *Ramal*—

I was thinking to make out the chronogram of this gate, my heart was quiet by His (*God's*) power. My mind said by way of command "say, who entered it was safe."

Metre: *Khafîf*—

When the gate of the holy sepulchre of the king raised its face towards completion, I asked the mind the year of its finishing. For this auspicious place the mind opened the lip of blessing, and said, "may the door of power remain open for ever."

Both *tárikhs* give the year 1022 (*began the 21st February 1613*).

27. Three lines (10′ 9″ by 1′ 3″.)—

بسم اللّٰه الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا اللّٰه محمّد رسول اللّٰه اللهم صلی علی محمّد و علی ال محمّد و بارک

سلم اسهد ان لا اله الا اللّٰه وحده لا شريك له و اشهد ان محمّد عبده و رسوله قال اللّٰه تعالی ان

اوّل بيت وضع للناس للّذی ببکة مبارکا وهدی للعالمين فيه ايات بيّنات مقام ابراهيم و من دخله کان

امنا ولله علی الناس حجّ البيت من استطاع اليه سبيلا و من کفر فانّ اللّٰه غنی عن العالمين

چو اين عالی سرای کعبه‌تمثال جهان‌ارا بفيض صانع قادر تمامی اقتضا کرده

دل عاصی همی جست از خرد سال بنای او خرد گفتا چو ابراهيم بيت الله بنا کرده

TRANSLATION.

'In the name, *etc.* There is no God, *etc.* O God, have mercy on Muḥammad and on the descendants of Muḥammad. I testify that there is no God, but God who is alone and has no partner. I testify also that Muḥammad is His slave and His Apostle. God Almighty has said, "Verily, the first house, *etc.*" (*Qorân*, Sûr. iii, 90-91).

(Metre: *Hazaj*)—

When this high, Ka'ba-like, world-adorning edifice, through the benevolence of the powerful Creator, was completely erected, the heart of 'Âṣî was consulting the mind for the year of its erection. The mind said, "just as Abraham has built the house of God."'

According to the *abjad* reckoning the *târikh* gives 1028 A.H. (*began the 19th, December 1618*).

The *târikh* betrays the name of the builder, *viz.* Ibrâhîm Khân Fatḥ Jang, son of Ghiyâs Beg of Tahrân. This combination relies upon the very similar *târikh* in the '*Haft Qulzum*' (Rückert-Pertsch, p. 223): *baná-yi Ka'ba-ya sáni nihâd Ibrâhîm*, 'the erection of the second Ka'ba has been made by Ibrâhîm,' where Ibrâhîm Khân Fatḥ Jang is expressly named as builder. He became governor of Bihâr A.H. 1024, and afterwards of Bengal A.H. 1028, and stayed there till 1032, when he was killed in the battle with Prince Shâhjahân The *târikh* of the *Haft Qulzum* gives the date 1040, but as Ibrâhîm Khân had already died in 1032, this date cannot be correct. Perhaps the *izâfat* after *baná* should not be reckoned, so that the year would be 1030

XXIII.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KARNADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 793.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN

This inscription was first brought to public notice, about eighty-five years ago, by Captain Wilford, who, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, page 108, gave the following account of it:—

"A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found, at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly, and in the same shape, with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad: on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pârvatî with four arms, sitting, with her legs crossed: two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pârvatî, and the bull, is written *Śrî-Karṇṇa-deva.*[1] The grant is dated the second year of his new Era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192 . . . . . The ancestors of Śrî-Karṇṇa-deva, mentioned in the grant, were, first, his father Gâṅgeya-deva, with the title of *Vijaya-kaṇṭaka*: he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kokalla-deva, whose father was Lakshmaṇa-râja-deva."

The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford, were lost for a long time; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression of the inscription, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College.[2] Both were made over to Dr. F. E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal,[3] and has thus enabled me to publish the text of this inscription the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise.

The inscription is on two plates which appear to measure about 1′ 4″ broad by $11\frac{1}{2}$″ high each, and each of which is inscribed on one side only. Each plate contains a round hole, about $\frac{5}{8}$″ in diameter, for a ring to which was affixed the seal, described by Wilford. The plates probably are thick and substantial, for, to judge from the impression, the letters must have been deeply engraved. The first plate contains twenty-eight lines of very close writing, the second only twenty lines. The writing is well preserved almost throughout, so that, with the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas*, the actual reading of the text is hardly at all doubtful. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$″ and $\frac{3}{8}$″. The characters are Nâgarî of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Saṁskṛit, excepting a verse in line 13, which is in

[1] I give the names which occur in this extract as we should spell them now.

[2] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 82. In justice to myself I must say here that the transcript, mentioned above, has not been of any use to me.

[3] I have to thank my friend Professor Lanman for having personally communicated to Dr. Hall my request, which has been granted most readily.

Mâhârâshṭrî Prâkṛit. Excepting the introductory *oṁ oṁ namaḥ Śivâya* and the words ***kim=vâpareṇa*** in line 13, lines 1-32, which mainly contain the genealogy of the grantor, are in verse; the rest of the inscription, being the formal part of the grant, is in prose, but includes six of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 44-48.—As regards orthography, *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal everywhere, except in the word *śrî* which ordinarily is spelt correctly; *ksh* is employed instead of *khy* in *sauksha*, line 7, and *kshâtaṁ*, line 27, and *ky* instead of *ksh* in *kaukyeyako*, line 26; *j* and *y* are confounded, *e.g.*, in *parjjanaishit* (for *paryyaṇaishît*), line 10, *dur jjasaḥ* (for *duryyaśaḥ*), line 27, and *anuya* (for *anuja*), in lines 16 and 22; and the dental nasal is employed instead of the lingual in *ânṛinya*, line 8, and *kârunya*, line 20, and instead of *anusvâra* in *vansa*, in lines 6 and 45. In addition to these, the inscription contains many other errors, due to the carelessness of the writer or engraver. Thus, the signs of *anusvâra* and *visarga* and whole *aksharas* (or even groups of *aksharas*) are often omitted, short vowels are used instead of long ones, and medial *e* and *o* are employed instead of *ai* and *au*. Such and other mistakes, too numerous to enumerate here, occur especially frequently in the bottom lines of the first plate; and they have sometimes rendered it impossible for me to restore the correct wording of the original text. Nevertheless, there is no doubt whatever as to what historical facts are intended to be recorded in the poetical part of the inscription; and I am particularly glad to be able to state that the date of this document is so clearly written and engraved as to remove any doubts which may have been entertained in this regard.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva), the lord over Trikaliṅga, the illustrious Karṇadeva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vâmadeva (lines 33-34). The epithets which are here officially applied to Karṇadeva are the same which are used with reference to Narasiṁhadeva in the Lâl-Pahâḍ rock inscription [4] of the Chedi year 909, to his younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva in the Rewah copper-plate grant [5] of the *Mahârâṇaka* Kîrtivarman of the Chedi year 926, and to Jayasiṁhadeva's son Vijayasiṁhadeva in the Kumbhî copper-plate grant [6] of the Chedi year 932, and which apparently were applied also to Karṇadeva's immediate successor Yaśaḥkarṇadeva in the Jabalpur copper-plate grant [7] [of the Chedi year 874]. As regards the meaning of these epithets, I have already had occasion to state [8] that I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trikaliṅga to denote, or to be an older name of, the province of Teliṅgana; but that I am unable to explain the exact significance of the phrase 'who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vâmadeva,' which we thus find employed with reference to five different kings. In accordance with ordinary usage, that phrase ought to mean that Vâmadeva was one of the ancestors of the princes who are said to have meditated on his feet; but none of the inscriptions of the Chedi

See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 212. The inscriptions of Narasiṁhadeva, Jayasiṁhadeva and Vijayasiṁhadeva add *nijabhujopârjit-âśvapati-gajapati-narapati-râjatrayâdhipati.* after *Trikaliṅgâdhipati*.

[5] See *ib.*, vol. XVII, page 226.

[6] See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 119.

[7] See above, page 5; *ib.*, page 7, line 16, the translation should have been: 'And this . . . . who [meditates on] the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vâmadeva . . . .'.

[8] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 225.

rulers of Tripurî or Ratnapur mention a prince Vâmadeva in the genealogical lists which they contain.

To proceed first with the prose part of the inscription, the king **Karṇadeva** from his camp of victory,[9] located at a place the name of which looks like **Svasâga** in the rubbing, (in lines 34-41) informs his queen, his son [10] (or sons), his chief officials (among whom may be specially pointed out the *mahápramátára*[11]) and others, that, having bathed in the river **Veṇî**, worshipped the god Trilochana (Śiva), and performed the proper rites at the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father **Gâṅgeyadeva**, on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phâlguna, he has granted the village of **Susi** [12] (or **Susî**) to the learned **Viśvarûpa**,—a son of Nârâyaṇa, grandson of Vâmana, and great-grandson of Maha,—a student of the Vâjasaneya *śákhá*, who belonged to the Kauśika *gotra*, and whose three *pravaras* were Audala, Devarâta and Vaiśvâmitra, and who or whose ancestors had come from the village of **Vesâla**. Karṇadeva further (in lines 41-43) directs the inhabitants of Susî to make over to the donee all taxes and whatever else may be due to him by this donation; and he also, in six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (in lines 44-48), appeals to future rulers to keep the grant intact, and warns them not to resume it. The date of the deed with which the inscription ends is **Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phâlguna of the year 793**.

As regards the localities mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the only thing certain is, that the river Veṇî, near which Karṇadeva was encamped when making the grant, and on the banks of which Svasâga (?) should be looked for, is the Wen-Gangâ of the Central Provinces, which rises about 40 miles south of Jabalpur and flows in a southern direction, about 30 miles east of Nâgpur.[13] The villages of Susî and Vesâla[14] I am unable to identify.

The date,—Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phâlguna of the year 793—must of course be referred to the Chedi or Kalachuri era, and I feel confident that its European equivalent is **Monday, the 18th January**[15] **A.D. 1042**, as I have given it in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, and *ante*, vol. I, p. 33. Since I wrote my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era four years ago, I have ascertained from the best materials the exact reading of eleven out of the twelve Chedi dates which contain sufficient *data* for verification; and there can be no doubt that all these dates, without exception, work out satisfactorily, as dates in current years with the 26th August (= Âśvina-śudi 1[16]) A.D. 249, or as dates in expired years with the 5th September (also = Âśvina-śudi 1) A.D. 248 as the initial day of the era, and with the *púrṇimánta*

[9] The Saṁskṛit for 'camp of victory' is *vijaya-kaṭaka*, for which Captain Wilford put *vijaya-kanṭaka*, and which he took to be a title of the king Gâṅgeyadeva. Wilford's *vijaya-kanṭaka* has found its way even into the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

[10] Compare the Kumbhî copper-plate, where, instead of *mahâdevîṁ mahârâjaputraṁ*, we have *mahârâjñîśrî(?)-mahâkumâraśrî-Ajayasiṁhadeva*.

[11] See *ante*, vol. I, page 73, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 254.

[12] The original also gives the name of the district in which this village was situated, but I am not able to make out its proper reading.

[13] See Plate i in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII.

[14] I hardly think that Vesâla could be the ancient Vaiśâlî, the position of which is shown by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. I, page 443, and Plate xi.

[15] On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna ended 17*h*. 9*m*. after mean sunrise.

[16] Writing at Nâgpur (which once must have belonged to the Chedi kings), on the 30th October 1799, Colebrooke, whose words may certainly be relied upon, says: '*The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Âśvina*; but, opening in the midst of Durgâ's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke*, page 163.

scheme of the lunar months. The complete agreement of all the twelve dates proves that the date given in the last line of this inscription,—*saṁvat* 793 *Phâlguna-vadi* 9 *Some*, —is correct; but it also shows that the statement in line 40, according to which Karṇadeva performed the funeral rites in honour of his father on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phâlguna, is incorrect. For the second *tithi* of the same lunar fortnight in which the inscription is dated commenced on Sunday, the 10th January A.D. 1042, 4 *h.* 15 *m.* after mean sunrise, and ended 5 *h.* 49 *m.* after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, and cannot therefore in any way be connected with a Saturday.[17] I suspect that the day on which the funeral ceremonies were really performed was Saturday, the 12th December A.D. 1041, when the second *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha ended about 11 hours after mean sunrise, and that the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in line 40 the month in which he was writing the grant. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Monday, the 18th January A.D. 1042, is really the date of this inscription, and that this is as trustworthy a date for the reign of the king Karṇadeva as we could wish to have.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, I have still to give an account of the thirty-one verses with which the inscription opens. As is the case with most copper-plate inscriptions, these introductory verses contain little more than the genealogy of the grantor, but they furnish some names which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty.

After the words '*oṁ oṁ*, adoration to Śiva,' the inscription opens with a verse in honour of the god Śiva, who is identified here with the supreme Brahma.[18] It then records, in verses 2-4, the origin of the powerful prince Kârtavîrya, the vanquisher of the demon Râvaṇa;[19] and further relates, in verses 5 and 6, that, sprung from Kârtavîrya's family, there were the famous Haihaya princes, the clan of whom was rendered illustrious by the valorous and pious prince Kokkalla.[20]

According to verse 7, the hand of this prince Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharâja, the illustrious Harsha who is described as the sovereign of Chitrakûṭa, and to the king Śaṁkaragaṇa. It does not seem difficult to identify these four contemporaries of Kokkalla. From verse 17 of the Bilhari inscription we know that Kokkalla, having conquered the whole earth, 'set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,'—in the south the well-known Kṛishṇarâja, and in the north Bhojadeva; and, in commenting on that passage,[21] I have already adopted Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa II., who married a daughter of Kokkalla, the king of Chedi, and who reigned from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 911, and the latter Bhojadeva of Kanauj, for whom we have the dates A.D. 862, 876, and 882. Now Kṛishṇa II. also bore the name Kṛishṇa-vallabha,[22] and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and

[17] On Saturday, the 9th January 1142, the full moon *tithi* ended 3*h.* 7*m.* after mean sunrise.

[18] The same verse occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the *Mahârâṇaka* Salakhaṇavarmadeva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228. Compare also the first verse of the Tewar inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva, above, page 19.

[19] See verse 9 of the Bilhari inscription, *ante*. vol. I, page 263.

[20] This name is spelt both *Kokkalla* and *Kokalla*.

[21] See *ante*, vol. I, page 253.

[22] See Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 36. Since the above was written, Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar has published an inscription in which Kṛishṇarâja's father Amoghavarsha is named Śrî-vallabha; and it is just possible that *he* may be the Vallabharâja of this copper-plate inscription.

Vallabharâja of the present inscription are the Bhojadeva and Krishṇarâja of the Bilhari inscription. The proper identification of the illustrious Harsha is suggested both by the circumstance that he is called the sovereign of Chitrakûṭa, and by the fact, to be mentioned below, that Kokkalla's wife was a Chandella princess; for, as Chitrakûṭa is a well-known locality of Bandelkhaṇḍ[23] which was ruled over by the Chandellas, Harsha must be the Chandella Harshadeva, the successor of Râhila and predecessor of Yaśovarman. It is true, we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshadeva, but, since he apparently had dealings with Kshitipâladeva of Kanauj[24] for whom we have the date A.D. 917, and as his grandson Dhaṅgadeva[25] was on the throne in A.D. 954, he undoubtedly must have ruled about A.D. 900, and must certainly have been a contemporary of Krishṇa-vallabha. Lastly, the Śaṁkaragaṇa of our inscription I believe to be Kokkalla's own son (also called Raṇavigraha), whose daughter Lakshmî was married[26] by Krishṇa-vallabha's son Jagattuṅga. One of the Ratnapur inscriptions tells us[27] that the Chedi ruler Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was ruler of Tripurî, while the others became lords of *maṇḍalas*; and it does not seem at all improbable that Kokkalla already during his life-time may have assigned part of his dominions to Śaṁkaragaṇa, one of his younger sons, to be governed by him independently.—With all these coincidences, I can only endorse the conclusion, arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham,[28] that the reign of Kokkalla, who, as we shall see below, was Kokkalla I., 'may be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D.'

Our inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady, named Naṭṭâ or Naṭṭadevî, who was born in the Chandella family (verse 8), and who bore to him a son, named Prasiddhadhavala (verse 10); and that this prince had two sons, who reigned one after another, Bâlaharsha (verse 13), and his younger brother Yuvarâjadeva (verse 15).

According to the Bilhari inscription,[29] Kokkalla was succeeded by his son Mugdhatuṅga, and his son again was Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva, who married Nohalâ a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.

Comparing these two accounts with each other, it is clear that Prasiddhadhavala and Mugdhatuṅga are names of one and the same prince, and that the Yuvarâjadeva of the copper-plate is the Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva of the Bilhari inscription, which omits to mention his elder brother Bâlaharsha. In the copper-plate grant all these princes are eulogized in general terms which mean very little. In the Bilhari inscription the only thing definite recorded of them is, that Mugdhatuṅga (Prasiddhadhavala) conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and took Pâli from the lord of Kosala. Of Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva it is intimated in the same inscription that he was engaged in many successful wars with different nations; but, on the other hand, an inscription of the Chandella Yaśovarman, who probably was a contemporary of Yuvarâjadeva, informs us[30] that that Chandella king defeated the Chedi king, and 'brought distress on the shameful Chedis.'

[23] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 10.
[24] See *ante*, vol. I, page 171.
[25] See *ib.*, page 124.
[26] See Fleet, *Dynasties*, page 36.
[27] See *ante*, vol. I, page 33.
[28] *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 103.
[29] See *ante*, vol. I, pages 264—266.
[30] See *ante*, vol. I, page 132.

The next three princes mentioned in the copper-plate, again without any remark of the slightest value, are Yuvarâjadeva's son Lakshmaṇarâjadeva (verse 17), and his two sons Śaṁkaragaṇadeva (verse 19) and his younger brother Yuvarâjadeva II. (verse 21), who are all described as ruling sovereigns. The Kârîtalâi inscription [31] has preserved the name of Lakshmaṇarâja's wife, Râhaḍâ; and the Bilhari inscription records [32] that Lakshmaṇarâja defeated the lord of Kosala, and undertook, difficult to be obstructed in his progress, an expedition to 'the very pleasant western region,' in the course of which he bathed in the sea and worshipped the god Someśvara in Gujarât. Almost the same story is told of Yuvarâjadeva II. in the Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva.[33] As regards the times of these kings, it may be mentioned that Lakshmaṇarâja's daughter Bonthâdevî was the mother of Tailapa [34] who restored the Western Châlukya dynasty and ascended the throne in A.D. 973-74, and that, according to the Udaypur *praśasti*,[35] Yuvarâja was defeated and his capital Tripurî conquered by Vâkpati-Muñja of Mâlava, for whom we have the dates A.D. 974, 979, and 993.[36]

According to the copper-plate grant, Yuvarâjadeva II. was succeeded by his son Kokkalladeva II. (verse 23), he by his son Gâṅgeyadeva (verse 25), and he again by his son Karṇa (verse 28) who issued the grant; and this agrees with the information furnished by other Chedi inscriptions. Of Kokkalladeva II. we know nothing beyond his name. Gâṅgeyadeva, according to the Jabalpur copper-plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva,[37] also bore the name Vikramâditya; and the same inscription records that, 'fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig-tree of Prayâga, he found salvation there together with his hundred wives.'[38] Other Chedi inscriptions also eulogize both his valour and piety, and even in a Chandella inscription[39] he is styled the conqueror of the universe. Gâṅgeya is mentioned as the ruler of Ḍâhâla (or Chedi) by Alberûnî,[40] in A.D. 1030. We also possess a short inscription of his reign which, according to Sir A. Cunningham,[41] is dated in the (Chedi) year 789 = A.D. 1037-38; and we know him to have been a contemporary of the Chandella Vijayapâla,[39] who had ceased to rule [42] before A.D. 1051. In all probability Gâṅgeyadeva's reign ended about A.D. 1040, not more than a year or two before the date of Karṇa's copper-plate.

Of Karṇadeva, 'the lord of the Kalachuris,' the Jabalpur copper-plate,[43] besides eulogizing his valour, records that he founded the town of Karṇâvatî, and that at Kâśi or Benares he built a splendid temple, called Karṇa's *Meru*. The Bhera-Ghâṭ inscription of Alhaṇadevî [44] represents him as having subdued or held in check the Pâṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Kîras and Hûṇas; and similarly the Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva[45] makes him be waited upon by the Choḍa, Kuṅga, Hûṇa, Gauḍa, Gûrjara and Kîra princes. As we possess an inscription of his son which is dated

[31] See above p. 175.
[32] See *ante*, vol. I, page 268.
[33] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215.
[34] See Fleet's *Dynasties*, page 41.
[35] See *ante*, vol. I, page 237, verse 15.
[36] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, page 403.
[37] See above, page 6.
[38] I believe, Captain Wilford got the 'loathsome dungeon, in which he lets Gâṅgeyadeva die, out of the words [*Svasâ*]-*ga-saṁâvâsita* (*cf* l. 33 of the copper-plate).
[39] See *ante*, vol. I, page 219, and page 222, l. 14.
[40] See Sachau's Translation of Alberûnî's *India*, vol. I, page 202.
[41] See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 113.
[42] The copper-plate of Vijayapâla's successor Devavarmadeva is dated in Vikrama 1107; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 364, No. 178.
[43] See above, page 6.
[44] See above, page 15.
[45] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215.

eighty-one years later than his own copper-plate,[46] it is clear that Karṇa's reign was a long one; and it is certain that he was engaged in many wars and that his power, for a time, was severely felt by his neighbours. According to the Nâgpur *praśasti*[47] Udayâditya of Mâlava, whom we know to have ruled in A.D. 1080, freed the land from the dominion of Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṇâṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean; and the great achievement which the Chandella inscriptions[48] report of Kîrtivarman, and which has even been recorded in a well-known Saṁskṛit play, is, that that prince defeated Karṇa, the favourite of Fortune, and by doing so restored the independence of the Chandella kingdom. The grammarian Hemachandra[49] eulogizes Bhîmadeva I. of Aṇhilvâḍ (A.D. 1021-63) for having conquered Karṇa in battle; and, similarly, the poet Bilhaṇa,[50] who elsewhere describes Karṇa as the god of death to the lord of the Kâlañjara mountain, meaning to the Chandella king, records his defeat by the Western Châlukya Someśvara I. (about A.D. 1042-68).

Here I might well close my account of Karṇadeva's copper-plate grant; but, having given the genealogy of the rulers of Chedi so far, I may perhaps be permitted to give also the names of the remaining known members of the same dynasty, together with the few facts recorded of them in their inscriptions.

Karṇa married the Hûṇa princess Âvalladevî[51] and was succeeded by the son whom she bore to him, Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, whose Jabalpur copper-plate grant must have been issued in A. D. 1122, shortly before the close of his reign. Yaśaḥkarṇadeva's name also occurs[52] in a copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva of Kanauj of the Vikrama year 1177 = A.D. 1120, by which the latter sanctions the transfer of some land which had been originally granted by the former, and which apparently proves that during the reign of Yaśaḥkarṇa part of the Chedi dominions had passed into the possession of the kings of Kanauj. A successful expedition against Tripurî by Lakshmadeva of Mâlava, the son and successor of Udayâditya, which probably took place during Yaśaḥkarṇa's reign, is mentioned in the Nâgpur *praśasti*.[53] The only exploit which Yaśaḥkarṇa's own inscription has to record of him, is, that he 'extirpated with ease' the ruler of Andhra near the river Godâvarî;[54] and the same feat is probably alluded to in the Bhera-Ghâṭ inscription of Alhaṇadevî, where that inscription speaks of the devastation by Yaśaḥkarṇa of Champâraṇya.[55]

Yaśaḥkarṇadeva was succeeded by his son Gayâkarṇadeva, of whose reign we possess an inscription[56] dated in the Chedi year 902 = A.D. 1151, when his son Narasiṁha had already been appointed *Yuvarâja*. Gayâkarṇa (or Gayakarṇa) married[57] Alhaṇadevî,

[46] See above, page 2.

[47] See above, page 192.

[48] See *ante*, vol I, pages 220 and 326. The Deogaḍh rock inscription of Kîrtivarman is dated in Vikrama 1154-A D. 1098; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 36, No. 61.

[49] See Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönchs Hemachandra*, page 69.

[50] See *Vikramâṅkadevacharita*, I, 102-103, and XVIII, 93.

[51] See above, page 2.

[52] See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 124.

[53] See above, page 193, verse 39.

[54] See above, page 7, verse 23.

[55] See above, page 15, verse 14. If the above is correct, Champâraṇya ought to denote a tract of country near the Godâvarî river.

[56] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVIII, page 210.

[57] See above, page 9, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215, and vol. XVI, page 34.

a daughter of the king Vijayasiṁha,—a son of Vairisiṁha, who was a son of Haṁsapâla of the Guhila family of Mewâḍ,—and his wife Śyâmaladevî, a daughter of Udayâditya of Mâlava. And Alhaṇadevî bore to him two sons, Narasiṁhadeva and Jayasiṁhadeva, who succeeded their father one after the other. Of Narasiṁhadeva's reign we possess three inscriptions,[58] dated in the Chedi years 907 and 909 = A.D. 1155 and 1158, and in the Vikrama year 1216 = A.D. 1159; and of Jayasiṁhadeva's reign three inscriptions[59] have been edited, two of which are dated in the Chedi years 926 and 928 = A.D. 1175 and 1177. Jayasiṁhadeva married[60] Gosaladevî, and was succeeded by their son Vijayasiṁhadeva, of whose reign we have two copper-plate inscriptions,[61] of the Chedi year 932 = A.D. 1180, and the Vikrama year 1253 = A.D. 1196, the first of which gives us the name of Vijayasiṁha's son, the prince Ajayasiṁhadeva. Of all these princes the inscriptions mention not a single fact which would be worth noticing here.

According to the preceding account the list of succession of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi or Ḍâhâla, beginning with Kokkalladeva I., would be as follows:—

1. Kokkalladeva I.; contemporary of Bhojadeva of Kanauj (A.D. 862, 876, 882), of the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa II. (Kṛishṇa-vallabha, about A.D. 875-911) who married a daughter of his; of the Chandella Harshadeva; and of (his own son) Śaṁkaragaṇa. He married the Chandella princess Naṭṭâ.
2. His son Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala.
3. His son Bâlaharsha.
4. His younger brother Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva I.; married Nohalâ, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.
5. His son Lakshmaṇarâjadeva; married Râhaḍâ. His daughter Bonthâdevî was the mother of the Western Châlukya Tailapa (A.D. 973-74).
6. His son Śaṁkaragaṇadeva.
7. His younger brother Yuvarâjadeva II.; contemporary of Vâkpati-Muñja of Mâlava (A.D. 974, 979, 993).
8. His son Kokkalladeva II.
9. His son Gâṅgeyadeva-Vikramâditya. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1037-38(?). Contemporary of Alberûnî (A.D. 1030), and of the Chandella Vijayapâla.
10. His son Karṇadeva. His copper-plate grant is dated in A.D. 1042. Contemporary of Bhîmadeva I. of Aṇhilvâḍ (A.D. 1021-63), of the Western Châlukya Someśvara I. (A.D. 1042-68), of Udayâditya of Mâlava (A.D. 1080), and of the Chandella Kîrtivarman (A.D. 1098). He married the Hûṇa princess Âvalladevî.
11. His son Yaśaḥkarṇadeva. A copper-plate grant of his is dated in A.D. 1122.
12. His son Gayâkarṇadeva. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1151. He married Alhaṇadevî, a daughter of Vijayasiṁha of Mewâḍ and grand-daughter of Udayâditya of Mâlava.
13. His son Narasiṁhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1155, 1158 and 1159.

[58] See above, page 10, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, pages 212 and 214.
[59] See above, page 18, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 226, and vol. XVIII, page 216.
[60] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 219.
[61] See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 120, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228, and vol. XIX, page 171, No. 104.

14. His younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1175 and 1177. His wife's name was Gosaladevî.

15. His son Vijayasiṁhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1180 and 1196; one of them mentions his son, the prince Ajayasiṁhadeva.

These fifteen princes, who may be taken to have ruled from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 1200, represent twelve successive generations, which gives to each generation an average of about twenty-seven years.

TEXT.[62]

First Plate.

L. 1. ओं[63] [॥×] ओं नमः सि(शि)वाय ॥
निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारण(णं) ।
भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्(द्)ह्मणे नमः ॥[64]—[1].
यद्देधस्थितमव्य[यं][65] प-
2. रमपि जो(ज्यो)तिसि(श्वि)दंसु(शु)प्रभं ।[66]
सूर्याख्यस्य च [भा]स्वरप्रभृतयो[67] यस्य स्फुरंत्यूर्म्मयः [।×]
सर्व्वज्ञान[म×]यो व(ब)भूव भगवांस्तस्मान्मनुर्म्मानसो
यस्मात्सृष्टिरभूदि[यं] [गु]-
3. णवतो स्त्रीपुन्निमित्ता ततः ।(॥)[68] —[2].
देवः श्रीकार्त्तवीर्यः चितिपतिरभवद्भूषण(णं) भूतधात्र्या
हेलोत्क्षिप्ताद्रिवि(बि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुताश्ले(श्ले)षसन्तोषितेस(श)म् [।×]
दोर्द्दण्डा-
4. काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहापूररेवाप्रवाह-
व्याधौतव्यक्तपूजागुरुजनितरुषं रावणं यो ववन्व[69] ।(॥)[70] —[3].
यस्य भ्रूभ[ङ्ग×]भीता ददति नृपतयः क्लि[ष्ट]-
5. मावे प्रतिपं[71]
आ के(कै)लास(सा)त्सहेलं हरवृषभसमुत्खातसृं(शृं)गाग्रभित्तेः ।
आ चः[72] प्राचः समुद्रात्सुरसरिदतुलस्थूलमुक्तावलीका-
दाम्भोधेर्द्दक्षिणाच्च [स्फु]-
6. रदतुलमणेः सेतुसीमन्तभाजः ।(॥) —[4].
तद्वन्सप्रभवा[73] नरेंद्रपतयः ख्याता[:×] चितौ हैहया-
स्तेषामनृ(न्व)यभूषण(णं) रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः ।
धर्म्मध्यानध-

[62] From an impression, received in 1862 by Sir A. Cunningham from Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, and now given to me by Dr. F. E. Hall.

[63] Expressed by a symbol.

[64] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh). The verse also occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the *Mahârâṇaka* Salakhanavarmadeva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 223

[65] This is what is offered by the rubbing, but, as I do not quite understand the first two lines of the verse, I am not sure that the reading is correct. Perhaps the right reading may be यद्देधा स्थित°.

[66] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[67] The *akshara* in brackets looks in the impression like क्षो.

[68] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[69] Read बबन्ध.—Compare *ante*, vol. I, page 263, verse 9.

[70] Metre of verses 3 and 4: Sragdharâ.

[71] Read दधति नृपतयः क्लिष्टमार्ते प्रतिष्ठाम् (?)

[72] Read च.

[73] Read तद्वंश°.

L. 7. नानु(नु)संधितसुख: सत्वत्स[तां][74] सौच(ख्य)क्त-
त्रेयास(न्म)र्व्वगुणाङ्कितप्रभुतया श्रीमानभूकोक्कल:[75] ।(॥)[76] —[5].
सम्यक्ता(क्त्या)स्त्वविचारणा प्रतिदि[नं] धर्म्माय योगाय च
दृष्टा-
8. पूर्त्तपरोपकारकृतये यस्यार्थसक्तो(क्ता) मति: ॥(।)
आनृन्या(ण्या)धिगमाय दाननिरति: सद्वंस(श)पुष्टेस्तथा
ज्ञानाभ्यासवसाम्नमुच्चपदवीमंते[77] च य: प्राप्तवान् ।(॥) —[6].
भोजे व-
9. [ल्लभ]राजे[78] श्रीहर्ष(र्षे) चित्रकूटभु(भू)पाले ।
स(श)ङ्करगणे च रा[ज×]नि यस्यासीदभयद: पाणि: ।(॥)[79] —[7].
सचिमिवेन्द्र[:×][80] कमलामुपेन्द्रो नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलि: ।
चन्देल्लवसप्रभवा[81]
10. मुसिला नट्टाख्यदेवी स तु पर्ज्जनैषित्[82] ॥[83] —[8].
उद्दामदर्प्पद्विषतो जयन्तं क(कं)दर्प्पमापि(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम् ।
अजीजनत्स स्थितये जनस्य तस्यां महास(श)क्तिध[रं] कु-
11. मारम् ।(॥) —[9]
नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुध(व)नत्रयेपि प्रसिद्धपूर्व्वो(र्व्वो) धवल: स राजा ।
वोढु[84] धुरं यो गुरुहारद्दा योऽन्यानृपेन्द्रान्क[हा]र चकार ॥ —[10].
एकैक(कं) ददता भुजङ्गमनि-
12. सं(शं) स्व(स्वं) जीवित(तं) रच्चता
भच्चार्थ(र्थं) गरुडाय नागपतिना न्यक्कार उन्मीलित: ।
चारित्राय ददो(दौ) जलं सुरपतिर्गच्छन्न[ह×]ल्याम्रतो
वन्द्यास्ना(या) भुवनत्रयेप्ययमभू[दौ]-
13. चित्त(त्य)वृत्ते: पदं ॥[85] —[11].
किम्वापरेग[86] ,
होहिन्ति एत्थ व(वं)से पुरिसा एहद्दयगारवमहग्घा [।×]
इग्न हाविऊण जेणं पालोण परिग(म्ग)हो गहिग्रो ॥[87] —[12].
तत्सु(त्स)नु: स्यात-

[74] Read शश्वत्मता.

[75] Read श्रीमानभूत्को°.—The word कोक्कल: offends against the metre; but the first line of verse 23 shows that the spelling with double *l* is correct.

[76] Metre of verses 5 and 6: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The hiatus between lines 1 and 2 of verse 6 offends against the metre.

[77] Read °वशाम्मुच्चपदवी°.

[78] Originally ल्लराजे was engraved at the commencement of line 9; but afterwards a letter seems to have been inserted between the *aksharas* ल्ल and रा.

[79] Metre: Âryâ.

[80] Read शचीमिवेन्द्र:.

[81] Read °वंशप्रभवां सुशीलां.

[82] Read °देवीं स तु पर्य्यणैषीत्.

[83] Metre of verses 8-10: Upajâti.

[84] I give this line exactly as it is in the impression. वोढु probably should be वोढुं, and the fourth Pâda may be योऽन्यानृपेन्द्रान्करदोचकार; but the proper reading of the whole line I am unable to restore.

[85] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[86] Read किं वापरेण.

[87] Metre: Âryâ. 'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their great dignity; thus considering, he took possession of the regions.' Professor Pischel informs me that पालो is given as a synonym of दिश in Hemachandra's *Deśînâmamâlâ*, VI, 37.

[illegible]

BENARES COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF KARNADEVA.—PLATE II.

From impressions supplied by R. T. H. Griffith, M.A., to Gen. Cunningham.

Scale: 2-3rds of original.

L. 14. कर्म्मा दिगिभकरनिभाजानुवा(बा)हुर्म्महात्मा
भूमिभ(र्भ)र्त्ता व(ब)भूव च्चतरिपुनृपतिर्व्वा(र्ब्बा)लहर्ष: सु[ज×]न्मा ।
यं सहृत्तानुरागानुक्रतक्रतय(यु)गाचारमास्य(श्रि)त्य जात-
स्य-

15. क्रान्योन्योपमर्द्दं स्थिरवसतिरपास्तारिवर्ग्गस्त्रि(स्त्रि)वर्ग्ग: ।(॥)[88] --[13].
धन्योत्र दास(श)रथिरिव रिपुंईसा(शा)स्यो यस्याभवत्क्रिमपरं समरोत्सवाय ।
भ्रूभङ्ग[भ×]ग्नसकलद्विषतो

16. धिमस्मानात्मानमाहवरसादिति य: सुसोच[89] ॥[90] —[14].
सत्यव्रतैकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य तस्यानुय(ज): प्रथितवा(बा)हुव(ब)लो व(ब)भूव ।
दुर्योधनारिव(ब)लवि(वी)रवधैकध-

17. न्वी पार्थोपर: कलियुगे युवराजदेव: ।(॥) —[15].
भु(भू)भारच्चमदृक्ष(क्षु)तिप्र[ण×]यिनीमालम्व(म्ब)मानस्तन(नुं)
कुर्व्वाण: समरेपि नाग(क)पथगानागच्छतो विद्वि[ष×]: ॥(।)
विख्या-

18. तां भुवि भूरिमार्ग्गगमनामुच्चैर्द्दधद्वाहिनीं
य: साच्चात्परमेस्व(श्व)र[:×] समभवत्सम्यक्सि(क्शि)वाराधनात् ॥[91] —[16].
तस्मादभूल्लच्मणराजदेव: पुण्यौ(ण्यै)र्ज्जनाना(नां)

19. जनितव्यवस्थ: ।
आ(अ)वाप्य यं धर्म्ममिव च्चितीसं(शं) चिराय लेभे जनता सुखानि ॥[92] —[17].
य: सत्यस्य निधि: स्रि(श्रि)यां च शरणि: साम्ना च धाम्ना [च×] यो
यो दाता च दयालु-

20. रेव च पदं कीर्त्तेम्च(श्च) नीतेस्च(श्च) य: ।
तस्यासीत्परमेष दूषणकण[:×] कारुन्य(ण्य)पुण्यात्मन:
पात्रापात्रविवेचनं न यदभूत्सव्वस्वदानेष्वपि ॥[93]—[18].
श्रीस(श)ङ्करगणदेव-

21. स्ततोभवत्सकलभुवनतलतिलक: ।
सा(शा)सति वसधां यस्मिन्पलायित(तं) क्वापि कलिनाग्नि ॥[94] —[19].
असौ निस्तृंसता[95]यत्र वक्रत्वं पलितागमे [।×]
रथचक्रेषु चारि-[96]

22. त्वं वायो[यौ] स्वच्छन्दचारिता [॥×][97] —[20].
तस्यानुयो(जो)भु(भू)द्युवराजदेव: पति: च्चिते: च्च[त्र]कुलप्रसु(सू)ति: ।
यस्यासिधाराजलधौतमु(मू)र्त्तेस्चि(षि)रं स्थिरासि(सी)च(च्च)पलापि लच्मि[98][॥×][99]—[21].
अर्थि-

[88] Metre : Sragdharâ.

[89] Read शुशोच.

[90] Metre of verses 14 and 15 : Vasantatilakâ.

[91] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[92] Metre : Upajâti.

[93] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[94] Metre : Âryâ.

[95] Read निस्त्रिंशता.

[96] *Aritva*, derived from either *arin* 'a wheel,' or *ari* 'an enemy.'

[97] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[98] Read लच्मी:.

[99] Metre : Upajâti.

L. 23. सा[र्था]वधिस्त्याग: सेसं सूरजयावधि:[100] ,
यस(श्च)सा(सां) धर्म्मरासे(शे)स्व(श्व) जावधिर्यस्य भूपते: ।(॥) [1]—[22].
स्रीसास्ततोयायत[2] यातकीर्तु: काकल्लदेवो वस्वधिकनाथ: ।
ज(य)न्मण्ड-
24. लाग्रो रिपुमण्डलानि पुरो दधातीति यथार्थस(श्च)व्द(ब्द): ।(॥)[3] —[23].
नम्र[4] कामुकवत् क्रत नियमित तूणीरवत्पृष्ठत: ।
काष्ठासु च्रणमाव[द]स्वविहित: [भ्रा]न्तरादादण्डवत् [।×]
25. क्रत्वा सा[व्र]परिच्छदेन रहित सम्यक्र[रे] स्थापित
सत्वणामखिल कुल नरपति[यिर्थभ] येनासिवत् ।(॥)[5]—[24].
काक्कलनृपादवास्तसकल[क्रा]णो[व]पद[6]
च्री-
26. रच्चालितह्वारगो(गौ)रगुणभूर्गांगवदेवाभत्[7] ।
यस्याजायत केवलं रणमुखे कौर्क्य(च्चे)यकोग्रेसर: ।[8]
स्तवेव प्रतिविवि[थ] पुनरभूदालाव[रं] स[न्मुखं?] [॥×][9]—[25].
27. भगुनेज्ञोजलोलेति[10] च्चातं यदिह दुर्ज्जस: ।
लक्ष्म्या तदधुना धौ[तं] दिव्यमादाय तद्वपु: ॥[11] —[26].
ख्यात[:×] सत्यतया स धर्म्मतनय:[12] त्यागेन वि(वै)रोच-
28. नि:
सोयेनेंद्रसुर[13] न चैतदसवत्स[त्यं] गता[चे]तसि ।
एकस्मिंस्त्रितयं कलौ[14] समनिक गांगेयदेवे नृपे
[दृ]स्ता रिस्वित[मि]व तेर-[15]

[100] Read शौर्यं शूरजयावधि.

[1] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[2] Read श्रीमांस्ततोजायत जातकीर्ति: कोक्कल्लदेवो वसुधैकनाथ:.

[3] Metre : Upajâti.

[4] I am not, perhaps, able to restore the exact reading of this verse, but would suggest the following :—

नम्रं कार्मुकवत्कृतं नियमितं तूणीरवत्पृष्ठत:
काष्ठासु चणमावदृष्टविहितभ्रान्तं च दीर्दण्डवत् ।
कृत्वा साधु परिच्छदेन रहितं सम्यक्करे स्थापितं
भवूणामखिलं कुलं नरपतिश्रेष्ठेन येनासिवत् ॥

[5] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[6] For the commencement of this line I would suggest कोक्कल्लाख्यनृपादपास्तसकलचोणीविपद° ; the end of the line I an unable to restore.

[7] Read °र्गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत्.

[8] Read °सरस्तवेव प्रतिबिम्बितं पुनरभूद° ; for the end of the verse I cannot suggest a suitable reading.

[9] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[10] Read चम्बुधितोयचोलेति ख्यातं यदिह दुर्यश: ।.

[11] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[12] Read °तनयस्त्यागेन.

[13] I would suggest here शौर्येणेन्द्रसुतो न चैतदभवत्सत्यं मतं श्रीदृभि:, but am not sure about the last word of the line.

[14] Read कलौ समधिकं.

[15] I would suggest reading this line दृष्टा निश्चितमेव तैरवितथ पूर्वं यथोक्ता नृपा:. I take the meaning of the verse to be that, while formerly people did not believe in the truthfulness of Yudhishṭhira, etc., they now no longer entertain any such doubts, since they have seen that, even in this Kali age, Gâṅgeyadeva possesses all the virtues ascribed to those ancient kings, in a higher degree even than they did

Second Plate.

I 29. वितथं पूर्व्वे येथोक्ता भूपा: ॥[16]—[27].

तस्यात्मज: कर्ण्ण इवावतीर्ण्ण: कर्ण्ण: पृथिव्या(व्यां) प्रथे(थि)तप्र(प्र)भाव: ।

यस्याभिसे(षे)कस्र(श्र)वणा[द्वि]ष-

30. द्भिर्नष्टं प्रहृष्टं द्विजमित्रवर्ग्गै: ॥[17]—[28].

यत्कीर्त्तिलतया दूरं प्रसरन्त्या दिने दिने ॥(।)

ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपाभोग: स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥[18]—[29].

स्वयं समु-

31. त्सृजन्नर्थानर्थिसार्थेष्वचिन्तितान् ।

कोपे(प्ये)ष भूषण(णं) भूमेर्जङ्गम: कल्म(ल्प)पादप: ॥ —[30].

स(श)क्तित्रमै(यै)कने(नि)लयस्य गुणाकरस्य धर्म्मात्मन:

32. स्तुतिपदं किमिहास्ति कि(किं)चित्

आसा(शा)स्यते परमिदं कृतिभि: सदे(दै)व राजन्वती वसुमती भवते(तै)व भूयात् ॥[19]—[31]

तदे(दे)वं गुणगणालंकृत-

33. स(श)रीर: [स्वसा]ग[20]समावासितश्रीमद्विजयकय[21]त्परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व-(श्व)रश्रीवाम[दे]वपादानुध्यान(त)परमभट्टा-

34. रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रतृ(त्रि)कलिंग्या(गा)धिपतिश्रीमत्कर्ण्ण देव[:×]कुस(श)ली महादेवीं महाराजपु[त्रं][22] महामं-

35. त्रि[णो] महामात्या[23]महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाधर्म्माधिकरणिका महाक्षपटलिका महाकर-णिका स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महासामन्तो

36. महाप्रमातारो महास्व(श्व)साधनिको महा[भा×]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष[24]एतानन्यांस्(श्च) कीर्त्तिताकीर्त्तितास्[25] यथार्हं मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति विदित-

37. म[स्तु] भवता(तां) यथा [इपाथा][26]कासि[भूम्य][26]न्त[र्ग]त[सु]सिग्राम: साम्र(म्र)मधूक: सगर्त्तस्थलजलोषर: सर्व्वाकरख[नि×]प्रभृतिसमुत्प-

38. त्तिसमेतस्(श्च)तुराघ(घा)टसीमापर्यन्त: ।[27]वेसालग्रामविनिर्ग्गताय कोसिकगोत्राय[28]।[27]श्रोद लदेवरात्रविस्वामित्रत्रि-[29]

39. प्रवराय वाजसनेयसा(शा)खाय ।[27] महप्रनप्त्रे वा[म]ननप्त्रे नारायणपुत्राय पण्डितश्रीविस्व-(श्व)रूपाय ।[27] इहैव पितु: श्री-

[16] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[17] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[18] Metre of verses 29 and 30: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[19] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[20] Of the word preceding समावासित only the third *akshara* (ग) is quite clear; the first *akshara* might perhaps be read स्व, and the second सा.

[21] Read °द्विजयकटकात्परम°.

[22] The *akshara* in brackets may have been altered to त्रान्.

[23] What was meant to be engraved here and in the following, was perhaps महामात्य । महासन्धिविग्रहिक ।, etc. Compare, *e.g.*, the Mungir copper-plate grant of Devapâladeva, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 256, line 31.

[24] I suspect that one or more *aksharas* are omitted in this word.

[25] Read °कीर्तितांश्च.

[26] The *aksharas* in these two brackets are very indistinct and doubtful, and I cannot suggest the exact name of the district in which the village of Susi was situated.

[27] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[28] Read कौशिक°.

[29] Read श्रौदलदेवरातवैश्वामित्रत्रि°.

L. 40. मह्राङ्गेयदेवस्य मंवत्मरे[30]स्राडे फाल्गुनव(ब)हुलपत्त्वद्वितीयायां स(श)नेम्नु(श्च)रवासरे वेख्यां स्नात्वा भगवंतं देवं देवं[31]त्रिलोचन-

41. मस(श)नम(मं)भारप्रकल्पितपंचोपच(चा)र[प्र]पंचेन परया भक्त्या समभ्यर्च्यासमस्र(स्र)-इ(ड)या स्रा(श्रा)ड्ं विधायोभयभोगेन[32]मासल्वेन[33] यप्रदत्तः । अतः श्रीमल्क-

42. र्णदेवपादा[:×] मुसोग्रामनिवासिनः समस्तजनपदान्समादिस(शं)ति विदितमस्तु भवता-(तां) यथा ग्रामोयं[34]स्माभिः मा(शा)सनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा

43. भागभोगकरहिरण्यदण्डादायकासोत्पन्ति[35]प्रभृतिसमस्तराजप्रत्यादाय(या)अस्योपनव्या[36]इति तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वार्तनापि न

44. गन्तव्यमिति ॥ अभ्यर्थना ॥[37]
सर्व्वानेताभा(न्भा)विनो राजपुत्राभू(न्भू)यो भूयो याचर्ते रामभद्रः ।
सामान्योय(यं) धर्म्मसेतुनृ(र्नृ)पाणा(णां) काले का-

45. ले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।(॥)[38]—[32].
व(ब)हुभिव(र्व)सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।(॥)[39]—[33].
अस्मिन्वन्से[40]हि[ग्नो?]

46. पि यमा(स्या)न्यो नृपतिर्भवेत् ।
तस्यापि हस्तलग्नोहं सा(शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ —[34].
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयम(श)स्कराणि ।

47. नृमाल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि[41]तानि को न(ना)म साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[42]—[35].
अस्व(श्व)मेव(ध)सहस्रेण राजमु(सू)यसहतेन[43]च [।×]
गवां का(को)टिप्रदानेन भूमिह-

48. र्त्ता न मु(शु)ध्यति ।(॥)[44]—[36].
सुवर्णमेक(कं) गाम[कां] भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुल(लं) ।
हरन्न[रक]माप्नोति यावदाहुतसप्लवं[45]॥—[37].
संवत् ७८३ फाल्गुनवदि ८ सोमे [॥×]

[30] Read संवत्सरश्राडे. [31] Read देवद्देवं.

[32] This is what was originally engraved; but some of the *aksharas*, especially म and य, seem to have been altered, and I believe the intended reading to be °यीदकसर्गेण.

[33] Read शासनत्वेन संप्रदत्तः. [34] Read °यमस्माभिः.

[35] I would suggest reading °दायाकरीत्पत्ति°. [36] Read °नेतव्या.

[37] Compare the Kumbhî copper-plate, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXI, page 120,—अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति यथा.

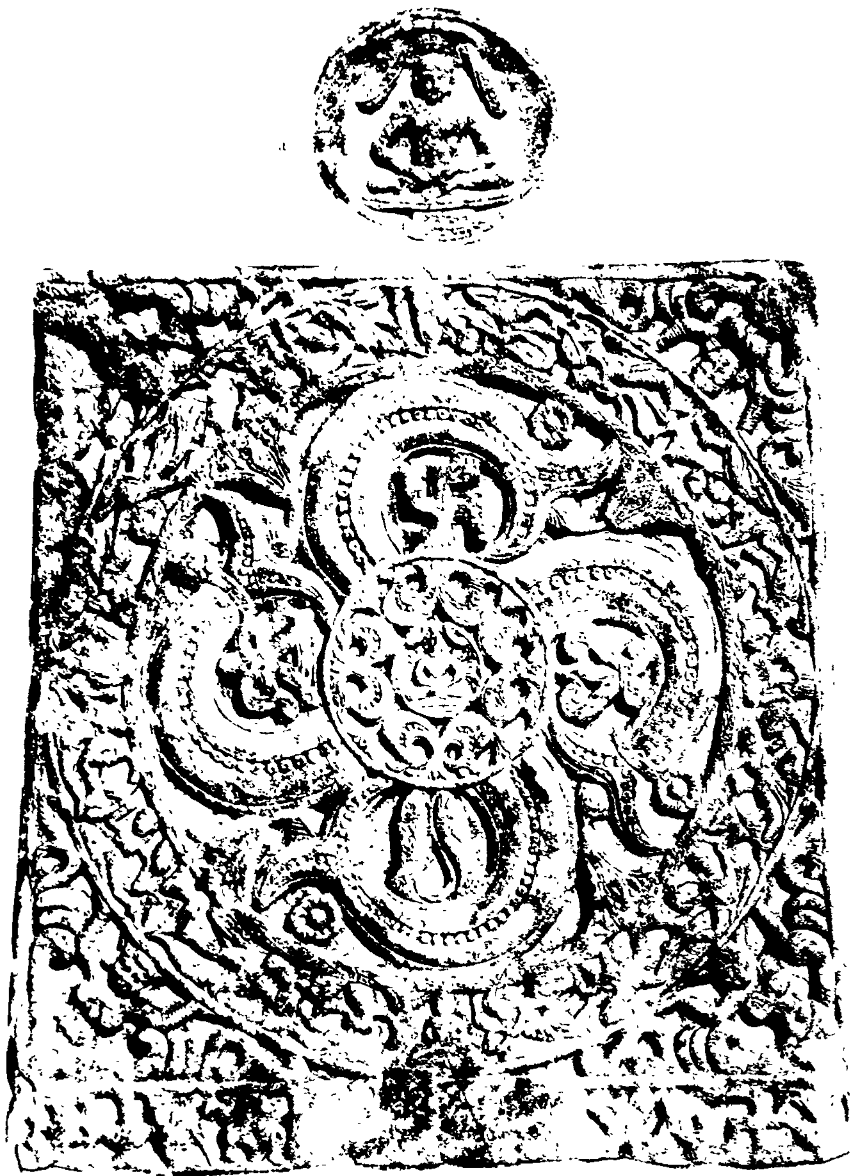
[38] Metre: Śâlinî. [39] Metre of verses 33 and 34: Śloka (Anushṭubh). [40] Read अस्मिन्वंशे द्वितीयो (?).

[41] Read निर्माल्य. [42] Metre: Indravajrâ. [43] Read °यज्ञतेन.

[44] Metre of verses 36 and 37: Śloka (Anushṭubh) [45] Read °हुतसंप्लवम्.

MATHURA SCULPTURES.

Plate I.



AN AYAGAPATA (b) AND CENTRAL FIGURE OF ANOTHER (a).

XXIV.—SPECIMENS OF JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the several articles on Dr. Führer's discoveries in the Kankâlî Tîlâ at Mathurâ (*ante*, vol. I, pp. 371ff., 393ff.; vol. II, pp. 193ff.) it has been stated repeatedly that large numbers of statues, relievos, and other sculptures have been found. As the inscriptions incontestably prove the great age of the temples which are buried under the mound, and as hitherto very little has become known regarding the earlier Indian art except what the Buddhist Stûpas furnish, it seemed to me desirable that some specimens of the sculptures found should be published at once without waiting for the comprehensive work which Dr. Führer eventually intends to give us. On my application Dr. Führer in 1890 kindly forwarded to me ten photographs, taken from the most remarkable and best preserved pieces, a selection from which is given in the four accompanying plates.

The first plate gives under figure *B* a specimen of the most common form of an *Áyágapaṭa*, and under figure *A* the central portion of another sculpture of the same class. The addition of *A* was made advisable by the mutilation of the central figure of *B*. The slab, from which *A* has been taken, is apparently in a state of perfect preservation, and it, moreover, bears an easily legible inscription (No. xxx of the second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions, published, *ante*, vol. II, pp. 195ff.), in which it is clearly stated that the object dedicated is an *Áyágapaṭa*. But the photograph is pitted all over with small white spots,[1] which in parts make it difficult to recognise the details.

The slab, represented under *B*, is oblong and measures 3 feet by 2′ 8″. At the lower end a space (some inches in breadth) has been cut off, the middle of which was intended for a dedicatory inscription, faint traces of which are still visible. On both sides there are sacred symbols, among which a *Svastika* and one or two *Triśûlas* are recognisable. The remaining nearly square portion of the slab is divided by four concentric circles into (1) a central disc, (2) three bands of unequal breadth, and (3) four triangles at the corners, each with a circular basis. The central disc is occupied by a cross-legged seated Jina, with the hands in his lap. The posture is the usual one, in which all seated Jinas are represented even in the present day. Above his head there is a canopy, from which on either side very thick garlands hang down. Their shape is very peculiar and differs somewhat from that used on Buddhist sculptures (see, *e.g.*, Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plates xxiv, 2; xxvi, 1—2). It is found on all the Jaina sculptures from Mathurâ (see, *e.g.*, Dr. Bhagvânlâl's ancient slab,[2] where these sausage-like garlands are visible at the top of the Stûpa), and it may possibly be a characteristic mark of the early Jaina customs. On the side of the Jina appear three or four marks which at first sight look like representations of leaves. On examining the photograph with a magnifying glass, it seems to me that they are intended for snakeheads with expanded hoods. If my interpretation is correct, the Jina is Pârśva, whose mark is Śesha. In an article in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, p. 327, I have

[1] This is due to the nature of the slab, which is of speckled sandstone.—*A. F.*

[2] *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, tome III, 2. p. 142

pointed out that on another slab Śesha's hoods appear behind the head of a Jina. Here the addition of the canopy prevented their being placed in the proper position.

The first circular band is rather narrow and bears representations of four highly ornamental *Triśûlas*, which, no doubt, with the ancient Jainas, just as with the Bauddhas, were considered as emblems of "the three Jewels" which with the Jainas are right faith, right cognition, and right conduct.

They differ somewhat from those found on the Buddhist buildings (see, *e.g.*, Cunningham's *Bharhut Stûpa*, plates vi and vii), as the lotuu, which the Bauddhas usually[3] place below them, is missing and the central point is longer and feathery at the top, being formed by the ends of two semicircles, held together by a band. The latter peculiarity re-appears in a *Triśûla* on a pillar in the Indrasabhâ at Elura, (Burgess, *Arch. Reports West. Ind.*, vol. V, plate xxxviii, 3). The *Triśûla* was, no doubt, in ancient India a symbol, used by all sects for various purposes and with various interpretations. It was also commonly used for personal ornaments and appears in earrings (Cunningham's *Bharhut*, plate xlix), in necklaces (*op. cit.*, plate I), and in women's girdles (Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xi, A). In such ornaments it has frequently the very same shape as on our slab.

The second much broader band of the slab is occupied by four curvilinear ornaments, ending each on the left side in two horns and enclosing in the centre a sacred symbol. Just below the spot where the two horns separate are four bands or garlands, to which rosettes or small lotuses are tied, and from the interstices between the horns issue the stalks of half-opened larger lotuses, which rest with their open faces on the second circle. A comparison of the four large ornaments with the *Triśûlas* in the first circular band leaves no doubt that they represent halves of these sacred symbols. The smaller emblems enclosed by the larger ones are,—(1) at the top, a *Svastika*, which is commonly used as a lucky or sacred mark by all Indian sects, (2) below, two fish, which are likewise considered very generally as marks of good omen, and are found as such over the doors of the great Jaina caves at Junâgaḍh, called Bâwâ Pyârâ's Maṭh (Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.*, vol. II, plate xviii, 3), and on Brahmanical temples, *e.g.*, on those of the ruined city of Ghumlî[4] (Burgess, *op. cit*, plate xliii), (3) on the left, another variety of the *Triśûla*, common on Buddhist monuments, and (4) on the right, a mark which looks like a monogram, formed of the syllables *na* and *vo*, and is not uncommon on Buddhist sculptures, and is also used for ornaments (Fergusson, *op. cit.*, plate iii, fig. 4).

The third circular band, which is again very narrow, shows,—(1) below a seated Jina; (2) above a Stûpa, resting with its base on the fourth or outermost circle, and hence looking as if it were turned topsy-turvy; (3) on the right and on the left two sacred trees, rising out of a square enclosure. The interstices between these four emblems are filled up by pairs of half recumbent male and female figures, probably worshipping deities (*Vidyâdharas*). Each compartment contains two pairs, one facing one way, and the other turning in the opposite direction.

[3] An exception is found in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, plate XXXII, Fig. 4.

[4] Compare also Dr. Bhagvânlâl, *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Or.* tome III, part 2, p. 137. The *Vishnu Smṛiti* XLIII, 33 (Jolly's edition) enumerates the fish among the Maṅgalas, to which Brahmans must pay reverence. In his notes to the passage Nandapaṇḍita most absurdly adds that the rule refers to 'boiled or fried' (*pakva*) fish. On Buddhist sculptures the two fish appear as parts of personal ornaments; (see Fergusson *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate iii, fig. 4).

With respect to the Stûpa, which we shall meet again more than once on the other plates, I repeat that it is a form of the funeral monuments, once used and worshipped by all Indian sects that followed the *Jñâna* and *Bhakti Mârgas*, and I refer for some of the reasons for this theory to my article *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, pp. 328f. I may add, however, that Brahmanical Chaityas are occasionally mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*. Thus we read *Mah.* I, 109, 13—14.

भीष्मेण धर्मतो राजन्सर्वतः परिरक्षिते[तः] ।
बभूव रमणीयश्च चैत्ययूपशताङ्कितः ॥
स देशः . . . .

"That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhîshma in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of *Chaityas* and sacrificial posts."

The juxtaposition of the Chaityas and Yûpas shows that Brahmanical sacred buildings, probably Stûpas, are meant.

The worship of sacred trees by the Jainas has been discussed by Dr. Bhagvânlâl (*op. cit.*, p. 142), and he has given the names of the Bodhi-trees of three Tîrthaṁkaras.[5] The worship of trees in India is older than Jainism and Buddhism. Quite irrespective of its traces, found in the Vedic ritual, all the Brahmanical Sûtras bear witness to its existence, as they mention Chaitya trees, which Brahmans and all Âryans must treat with reverence, and it is common to all the sects following the *Bhakti Mârga*, which assign a sacred tree to each deity. Like a great many other practices, it has been taken over by the Jainas and Bauddhas from the Brahmans, when their prophets became deities, a new meaning being given to the ancient rite.

The four triangles in the corners are each occupied by a female figure holding up her arms and supporting the part of the outer fourth circle just above it. On both sides of the heads of these figures there are small projections, which look like rudimentary horns, but appear to be the ears with ornaments hanging down from them. The lower extremities of the four figures have been turned into spirally rolled snake-tails with split or fin-like ends, which fill the right and left corners of the triangles. Figures, supporting sculptures or statues, are so common in ancient Indian art, that it is unnecessary to cite particular examples.

Among the other *Âyâgapaṭas*, of which Dr. Führer has forwarded photographs, there are two more with Jinas in the central medallion or disc, *viz.*, that a portion of which has been given in fig. *A* of plate i, and another bearing the inscription No. xxxi of my second Series.[6] A third, which bears the archaic inscription No. viii of the same Series, has in the centre a wheel with sixteen spokes, apparently a *Dharmachakra*, regarding the worship of which more will be said in connection with plate iv, and a fourth, which was dedicated by the wife of a dancer (see Inscr. No. v of the second Series) offers the representation of a Stûpa, in front of which two naked women dance on the lower

[5] The fact that each Tîrthaṁkara has his *Chaityavṛiksha* is also stated by Hemachandra, *Abhidhânachintâmaṇi*, verse 62 (Böhtlingk and Rieu). The commentary to the passage is, however, mutilated or corrupt. A complete list of the sacred trees is given in the *Ratnasâra*, vol. II, p. 708ff.

[6] *Ante*, pp. 195f.

rail, exactly in the same indecent posture as those on Dr. Bhagvânlâl's Mathurâ slab. The latter seems therefore to belong likewise to the class of the *Âyâgapaṭas.*[7]

From all these specimens it appears that an *Âyâgapaṭa* is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or of some other object of worship, and the term may be appropriately rendered by "tablet of homage or of worship," since such slabs were put up in temples, as the numerous inscriptions on them say, "for the worship of the Arhats." The *Âyâgapaṭas* seem to be a distinctive feature of the ancient Jaina art, as neither the Buddhists[8] nor the orthodox sects mention them. The Bauddhas have, however, the term *udhapaṭa*, i.e., *ûrdhvapaṭa*, (see, *e.g.*, Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 90f). Even among the Jainas they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to me dated. In the more modern Jaina temples we find instead of them slabs, called *pañchaparameshṭhipaṭṭa* (Satruñjaya inscriptions, Nos. 58, 66, *ante,* pp. 34f.), *chaturviṁsatitîrthaṁkarapaṭṭa* (*ibidem*, Nos. 57, 67), and so forth.

The sculptures of the second plate are the most interesting of the whole collection. Figure *A* bears an inscription, legible even on the photo-lithograph, which I read originally as *bhagavâ Nemiso,* the "divine lord Nemi," as I believed that the sculpture represented some scene from the life of Neminâtha. But a careful investigation of various lives of Neminâtha, in which Professors Jacobi and Leumann have kindly assisted me, failed to bring to light any legend that could be turned to use. Finally, Professor Jacobi suggested to me that it might be possible to read *bhagavâ Nemeso* "divine Nemesa," to refer these words to the figure with a goat's head just above them, and to identify the goat-headed Nemesa with Indra's divine commander of the foot troops Hariṇegamesi, who is represented in mediæval pictures as a man with the head of an antelope.[9] The reading *Nemeso* is no doubt as good as *Nemiso.* The vowel-stroke of the second consonant lies in the proper position of an *e*, though the *i* frequently looks exactly alike on these inscriptions. More difficult was the identification of the two names; but, on looking through the *Neminâthacharita* I found a passage, where *Naigameshin* appears instead of the longer word.

It stands in the beginning of the seventh Sarga, where it is narrated how Kṛishṇa tried to obtain for Satyabhâmâ a son equal to Pradyumna in luck and good qualities. The text[10] runs as follows :—

प्रद्युम्नस्य महाऋद्धया ताम्यन्ती श्लाघयापि च ।
भामा कोपगृहे गत्वा शिश्ये जर्जरमञ्चके ॥ ८ ॥
तथायातश्च कंसारिर्व्याजहार ससंभ्रमम् ।

[7] Possibly the word *âyaga,* which occurs in l. 4 of the inscription, may be meant for *âyâga.* Regarding the performances of dancing girls at Jaina festivals, see below the remarks on plate iii.

[8] A Buddhist *âyâgapaṭa* was excavated by me in January 1892 at the ancient site of Adhichhattrâ (Râmnagar in Rohilkhand) from the ruins of a Buddhist Vihâra. The slab shows a full-blown lotus in the middle surrounded by four highly ornamented Trisûlas. An inscription in archaic characters records its dedication and object.—A.F.

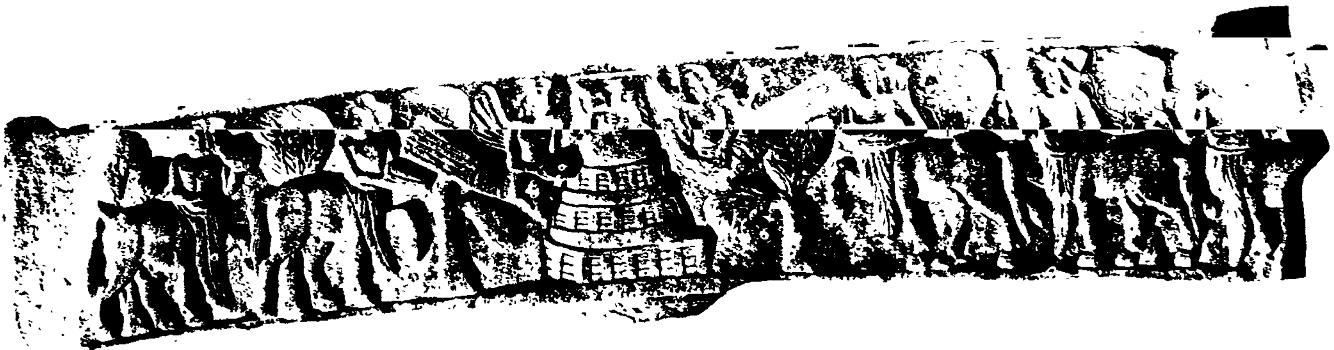
[9] See *Sacred Books of the East,* vol. XXII, page 227, note. Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished me with a sketch of Hariṇegamesî, which is inserted in his ancient illustrated copy of the *Kalpasûtra.*

[10] The MS., from which the subjoined verses have been taken, is No. 250 of the Vienna University Library collection, which was purchased in 1882 from Mr. Bhagvânlâl Kevaldâs' store of MSS., rejected as useless by the Bombay officials in charge of the Search for Sanskrit MSS. (see my paper: *Ueber eine kürzlich fur die Wiener Universitat erworbene Sammlung von Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften, Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften,* vol. XCIX, p. 563ff).

MATHURA SCULPTURES.



a.



b) Obverse of doorstep.



c) Reverse of doorstep.

केनापमानितासि त्वं येनैव[वं] ग्रु[सु]भ्रु ताम्यसि ॥ ८ ॥
भाम्यूचे नास्त्य[प]मानो मे किंतु प्रद्युम्नसंनिभः ।
न चेन्मे भविता सूनुर्मरिष्यामि तदा ध्रु[ध्रु]वम् ॥ १० ॥
कृष्णत[ष्णस्त]दाग्रहं ज्ञात्वा त्रिदि[द]शं नैगमेषिणम् ।
उद्दिश्याष्टमन[भ]क्तेन पौषधं प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ ११ ॥
आविर्भूय नैगमेषी न[त]मूचे किं करोमि ते ।
कृष्णोप्युवाच भामायै देहि प्रद्युम्नवत्सुतम् ॥ १२ ॥
नैगमेष्यवदय[द्य]स्यां पुत्रेच्छा ते भजस्व ताम् ।
त्वममुं हारमामोच्य ततो भावोप्सितः सुतः ॥ १३ ॥
अर्पयित्वा घ्र[ष्ट]तं हारं नैगमेषी तिरोदधे ।
वासुकं वासुदेवोपि सत्यायै मुचि[दि]तो ददौ ॥ १४ ॥

(8) "Annoyed at the great luck of Pradyumna and his fame, Bhâmâ went into her *boudoir* and lay down on a broken cot.

(9) The foe of Kaṁsa visited her there and spoke agitatedly: 'Who has shown disrespect to thee, whereby, O fair-browed one, thou art thus afflicted?'

(10) Bhâmî answered: 'No disrespect has been shown to me; but, if I do not obtain a son equal to Pradyumna, I shall certainly die.'

(11) Knowing her tenacity of purpose, Kṛishṇa undertook a fast in honour of the god Naigameshin, partaking only of every eighth meal.

(12) Naigameshin appeared and spoke to him: 'What can I do for thee? Kṛishṇa answered: 'Give to Bhâmâ a son who resembles Pradyumna.'

(13) Naigameshin replied: 'Make her, whom thou desirest to have a son, put on this necklace, and then have intercourse with her; thereby she will obtain the desired son.'

(14) Handing over the necklace, which he wore, Naigameshin disappeared. But Vâsudeva joyfully gave the precious ornament to Satyâ."

The legend shows that the Jainas worshipped a divine being, called Naigameshin, and considered him to preside over the procreation of children. And Professor Leumann informs me that there are passages in older Jaina works from which the same conclusion may be drawn. Now, Hariṇegamesî, the deer-headed general of Indra, is, according to the *Kalpasûtra*, likewise closely connected with the same delicate matter, since at his master's command he transferred the embryo of Mahâvîra from the body of the Brâhmaṇî Devanandâ to the womb of the Kshatriyâṇî Triśalâ. The last four syllables of his name exactly correspond with the Sanskrit Naigameshin, and the whole compound Hariṇegamesî means in all probability, as the note to the *Kalpasûtra* suggests, "the Negamesî of Hari," *i.e.*, "Negamesî, the servant of Indra."

The close resemblance of the name Negamesî-Naigameshî and of Nemeso, and the fact that both deities are represented with the heads of similar animals, again tempt one to assume that both the names and the personages are identical. The difficulty, caused by the slight difference in the terminations of the names, may be removed by assuming that the word had originally, like many others, two forms, one ending in *a* and one

ending in *in*. And the correctness of this view is proved by the occurrence of the Sanskrit words *Naigamesha* and *Nejamesha*,[11] which in the *Gṛihya Sûtras* and the medical *Saṁhitâs* are the names of a deity with a ram's head,[12] particularly dangerous to children. Our word *Nemeso* corresponds exactly with *Naigamesha* according to the analogy of the Pali *emeva* for *evameva*, *ajjhena* for *adhyayana*, *leṇa* for *layana*, and so forth (see E Müller's *Simplified Grammar*, pp. 41, 43), the intermediate form being *Neyameso*.

There can be no doubt that the Naigamesha or Nejamesha of the Brahmans, who seizes children and sorely afflicts them with disease [13] and the son-granting and embryo-exchanging Naigamesha-Naigameshin of the Jainas are in reality identical. They represent two different aspects of the same deity, which was conceived both as beneficent and as hurtful or destructive. Their identity comes out still more fully, if one takes into account another Brahmanical deity, Naigameya, whose name, as the larger Petersburg Dictionary points out *sub voce*, is certainly only a variant of Naigamesha. This Naigameya is declared to be another form, or a son and companion, of the war-god Skanda, which latter likewise is represented as dangerous to children. A passage of the *Mahâbhârata*, quoted in the Dictionary, sub voce *naigamesha*, asserts that he is *chhâgavaktra* or 'goat-faced,' just like the Nemeso of our sculpture. The goat's head excellently suits a deity, who has to do with the procreation of children, as the strong sexual instincts of the goat did not escape the notice of the ancient Hindus.[14] Hence, it may be inferred that the goat's head was the original attribute of Naigamesha-Naigameshin, the Brahmans substituting later a ram's head on account of the seeming connection of the name with *mesha*, 'a ram,' [15] and the Jainas a deer's head on account of the compound Hariṇegamesî, seemingly connected with *hariṇa*, 'a gazelle.' I may add that Naigameshin's position as Indra's general offers another point of contact with Naigameya, who is either considered as identical or as closely connected with Skanda, the field marshal of the gods

If we now return to our sculpture, Nemesa-Naigameshin's divine rank is indicated—(1) by his ornaments, bracelets on the upper arm and a very broad necklace (see above the story of Krishṇa), (2) by the elaborately carved throne on which he sits, (3) by the female attendant to his proper left, who apparently fans him with a Chaurî, and (4) by the fragment of a canopy or *chhattra*, which, I think, is visible above his head. Nemesa's face is turned to the right, and he lifts his hand apparently addressing somebody who was represented on the lost right half of the slab. At his left knee stands a small naked male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic,[16] and with uplifted right hand. Below this figure is a fragment of an inscription, showing on Dr. Führer's rubbings very plainly the syllables *bhaga*. The first word was therefore *bhaga-*

[11] See the two Petersburg *Dictionaries* under these words. The identity of *Harinegamesi* with *Naigamesha* has already been hinted by Böhtlingk, sub voce *Harinaigameshin*. The latter word is a faulty form, given by Mr. Colebrooke in his *Essay on the Jainas*, probably in accordance with a bad MS. of one of the commentaries of the *Kalpasûtra*.

[12] For a representation of Naigamesha, as represented in the Elura sculptures, see *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 326, 1st plate —J. B.

[13] See, in addition to the passages quoted in the Dictionaries from the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*, and the *Ashṭâṅgahṛidaya*, *Uttarasthâna*, ii, 63, and iii, 12-14.

[14] Âpastamba, *Dh. Sû.* II, 14, 13, quotes a Vedic passage to this effect: "Therefore, a he-goat and a learned Brâhmana evince the strongest sexual desires."

[15] I am not able to offer any etymology for *naigamesha* and *naigameya*.

[16] Compare the figures of monks on Dr. Bhâgvânlâl's slab from Mathurâ

vá "divine," and a proper name no doubt followed. This epithet makes it probable that the ascetic is meant for a Tîrthaṁkara, because, as far as my observation goes, *bhagavá* is not applied in the inscriptions to ordinary monks. Next, on the left comes the female fan-bearer already mentioned. To the left of her stands another female, who raises her right arm in astonishment and looks apparently at the ascetic. She wears ear-rings, a necklace, armlets, anklets and the usual dress of married ladies, while a scarf, or *sârî*, hangs over her shoulders. At some little distance further to the left, apparently in a separate section of the slab, which is indicated by remnants of architectural ornaments, is found the upper half of a mutilated female figure, who wears the usual ornaments. She likewise raises her right arm and supports with her left on a dish or cushion the body of a motionless infant with the hands folded on its breast.

A Jaina sculpture representing Naigamesha, a small Tirthaṁkara and a female with a small infant can only be taken to refer to the most famous legend, in which the deity plays a part, *viz.*, the exchange of the embryos of Devanandâ and Triśalâ. And it seems to me that the various figures on our slab may be explained on this supposition. The story, as related in the *Kalpasûtra*,[17] is briefly this,—" When Indra became aware that Mahâvîra had taken the form of an embryo in the Brâhmaṇî Devanandâ's body, he paid his reverence to the Arhat that was to be born. It then occurred to him that an Arhat ought not to be born in a low Brahmanical family, but only in a noble royal race, and that it was and always had been the duty of the reigning Indra to transfer the embryo, in case through the influence of his Karman an Arhat had descended into the body of a female of the Brahman caste. In order to fulfil this duty, Indra directed Hariṇegamesî, the divine commander of infantry, to transfer Mahâvîra from the body of Devanandâ to Triśalâ, a lady of the Jñâtṛi family of Kshatriyas who was also with child. Hariṇegamesî then repaired first to the Brahmanical quarter of Kuṇḍagrâma, took Mahâvîra from Devanandâ, cleansing him from all impurity, and carried him carefully in his folded hands to the Kshatriya quarter of the same town. There he took Triśalâ's embryo from her, likewise duly cleansing it, and put Mahâvîra in its place. Next, he returned to Devanandâ and placed Triśalâ's child in her body. During these operations the two ladies and their attendants lay in a deep magic sleep. Finally, the deity returned to Indra's abode and reported to him that his orders had been carried out."

As our slab represents Naigameshî-Nemeso, seated in state on his throne, the scene must be laid in Indra's heaven, and it can only refer either to the moment when Indra gave his orders, or to the period when Nemeso had returned from his journey and made his report. The position of the deity, who is apparently speaking to somebody,—probably Indra,— who was represented on the lost right half of the slab, speaks in favour of the second alternative. The small ascetic at Nemesa's left knee, called in the inscription "divine" . . . ., is no doubt meant for Mahâvîra, who is introduced by the artist with the attributes of a monk, in order to show the subject to which the conversation refers, and he is represented so small, because in reality he is not yet born and has not yet reached the position of an Arhat. The female, with the small motionless infant in the separate section, is probably Triśalâ, represented in an apartment of her palace, having just received her new precious burden.

17 *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, p. 223 ff.

In confirmation of this interpretation, I may point to four mutilated statues now in the Museum at Mathurâ, lithographed by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. XX, plate iv, 2-5. Two of them represent seated females. "Each of them has," as Sir A. Cunningham says, *op. cit.*, p. 36, "a small child lying in a dish on her lap. The left hand supports the dish, but the right is raised up to the shoulder. Both females appear to be naked." The other two figures are males with the heads of animals. "Both," to use Sir A. Cunningham's words, "are represented in the same action. The larger figure carries a pair of children, male and female, in his left hand, each being grasped by one arm at full stretch. The right hand of the figure is raised to the shoulder in the same position as the right hands of the females. On each shoulder a small child is seated facing the head of the figure. The smaller figure is exactly the same as the larger one, excepting that it carries only one child by its outstretched arm." Sir A. Cunningham then goes on to say that he has been unable to find a clue to these curious 'ox-headed' figures, and that he abandoned his first idea that they might be Yakshas and Yakshiṇîs of gigantic size preparing to eat the children, because the small figures, seated on the shoulders of the two males, seemed to point to a more friendly connection between the two parties.

With respect to Sir A. Cunningham's description I must state that I differ from him in one important particular. In my opinion the two males are not 'ox-headed,' but 'goat-headed;' for, between the much mutilated bodies of the children and the likewise somewhat disfigured heads, pendent goats' ears are recognisable, especially in the smaller figure. This granted, it is evident that both males are representations of Ṇaigamesha. With this identification the other details admit of explanation. The motionless infants, represented in connection with the males, are the two embryos, which Naigamesha had to exchange. If the artist represented the larger Naigamesha with two children on his shoulders and two in his hands, and the smaller one with two on his shoulders and one in his hand, he probably meant to indicate two different steps in the transaction, *viz.*, that the deity first took the children out of their mother's bodies and 'cleansed them of all impurity,' as the *Kalpasûtra* says, and later conveyed them to their new destination on his shoulders. The two female figures are, of course, No. 2 Triśalâ and No. 3 Devanandâ, who are represented, the former with a male child on her lap and the other with a female one, in order to show what each received. And it must be noted that the higher rank of Triśalâ seems to be indicated by the more costly necklace which she wears. The story, which the sculptures tell according to this explanation, may have differed in one detail from that of the *Kalpasûtra*, where Negamesî is said to have taken Mahâvîra in his joined palms, not on his shoulder. But it is also possible that the change is an invention of the sculptor, who wished to represent the deity as carrying the two infants, for both of which there would not have been any room in his hands.

If one compares these figures with our slab, the very close resemblance of the position of the infant, and of the attitude of the female holding it, is at once apparent. And this point, taken together with the unmistakable figure of Naigamesha-Nemeso, irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the legend referred to must be the same in both sculptures.

The other two relievos on plate II, *B* and *C*, are found on a fragment of the doorstep

from one of the two temples, buried under the Kaṅkâlî mound. Though they bear no inscription, they cannot be later than the first century B.C.; for one of the two temples existed on the evidence of the very ancient No. I of my second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions already in the middle of the second century B.C., while the likewise archaic inscription No. IV of the same Series which records the erection of the second temple, cannot be later than about the middle of the first century. The obverse, *A*, represents the worship of a Stûpa by two Suparṇas, half birds and half men, and by five centaurs or Kiṁnaras. One of the former offers a garland and the other, as well as three of the centaurs, two on the right and one on the left, bring jars or boxes filled with flower-bunches (?). The last two centaurs on the left seem to carry brooms or fans, made of branches. On both sides of the Stûpa stand trees, and the two Suparṇas seem to be seated on, or hovering above, the bending branches of those nearest to the Stûpa. All the five figures wear turbans, such as many of the males of rank represented on Buddhist sculptures wear.

A somewhat similar scene, where Suparṇas worship a Stûpa, occurs on a relievo at Sanchi (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate XXVIII, fig. 1).[18] But it must be noted that the Sanchi figures are much more like Greek harpies, while those on our slab are done in a more conventional manner like the winged figures on the Assyrian and Persian sculptures. Among Brahmanical representations, those of Garuḍa, the king of the Suparṇas, on the Gupta seals[19] are worthy of comparison. Centaurs have been discovered on the Buddhist monuments in Gayâ and elsewhere, and, in all probability, they go back to Greek models. What is particularly remarkable in those on our slab is the branch which hides the place where the human body is united with the rump of the horse. As far as I have been able to ascertain from my colleagues, versed in classical archæology, there are no Greek sculptures showing this particular.

The reverse of our doorstep contains a fragment of a procession, apparently about to visit some sacred place. On the extreme right we have two horsemen, each preceded by a '*syce,*' or groom. Next follows a covered cart, drawn by two enormous bullocks, as big as those of the Pâlanpur breed, and filled with males and females. The cart closely resembles a modern shighram, and the driver, who lifts his goad, is seated, as is still the custom, on the pole. The tails of the animals are tied to strings connected with the yoke, just as is the case with those of the horses on the Sanchi relievos.[21] Behind the cart comes again a horseman and finally an elephant with two riders. The elephant is very badly done. The trappings of the several animals are exactly like those represented on the Sanchi sculptures. But similar carts are not traceable on the latter, where very Greek-looking chariots drawn by horses appear instead.

The two sculptures on plate III are found on the two sides of a fragment of a *Toraṇa*, and the scenes represented on them correspond to each other very closely. On both we have triangular pieces in the upper corners and three rows with figures, separated by semi-circular rails, or *Vedikâs*, with flowers, each row of figures ending with an

[18] Compare also *ibidem*, plates XXIV, 2; XXV, 1; XXVI, 1; XXVII, 1, where Suparṇas are represented as worshipping the Bodhi tree.

[19] See Fleet, *Corpus. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, plate XXXVII, and Dr. Hœrnle's new Gupta Seal in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LVIII, Pt. I, p. 86ff.

[21] Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1, etc.

open-mouthed *Makara*, which—in five cases—a man teazes by taking hold of its tongue and upper jaw. The *Makara*, filling the corner of a row of figures, is common also on all Buddhist monuments.[22] In the cornerpiece on the obverse (*A*) the chief group is placed on the left side and consists of a male with a peaked ornament on his head (a crest-jewel ?), holding a garland and four females in the attitude of worship; just below them appears a portion of an empty covered carriage. Further to the right stand five other smaller males (?), four in the attitude of worship, and carrying a large tray with offerings, the nature of which is not distinguishable. The extreme left is filled by five vessels of various shapes and sizes, from one of which rise the leaves of a plant. In the corresponding portion of the reverse (*B*) there is again in the back-ground a group consisting of one male with the peaked head-ornament and three or four females, one of whom holds a garland, further in front also a servant with offerings and a small male figure in the attitude of worship. Below the group appears likewise a portion of a carriage. The place, which on the other side is occupied by jars, is here filled up by a Stûpa and by two platforms of stone (*pîṭhikâ*), which in the centre seem to have borne representations of sacred marks (Pâdukâs ?), and at the upper ends are decorated, each with two lotuses. Two of the semi-circular rows of figures on the obverse, the first and the third, contain each two covered carts (shighram) very similar to that on plate *II*, C., which are apparently each occupied by several passengers and attended by servants. In front of the cart in the first row walk three dancing girls, who may be easily recognised by the manner in which they expose their persons. It is possible, but not certain, that two of them support with their left hands trays or dishes with offerings. In the third row we have in the place of the dancing girls portions of a clothed male figure seated on a throne and attended by a female fan-bearer. The second row of the obverse shows running male figures with flying upper garments, holding bunches of flowers (lotuses ?) in their hands.

On the reverse only the second, or central, row contains the representation of an uncovered bullock or horse-cart, preceded by dancing girls. Behind this cart comes a male figure riding on a marine monster, and in front there is a mutilated male figure on a throne. The riders on sea-lions and *Makaras* reappear in the two other rows. In the first there is also a mutilated male figure on a throne, attended by a female fan-bearer, at whose dress a *Haṁsa* nibbles. The back-ground behind the Haṁsa is occupied by a monument, possibly a temple, enclosed by a wall. In the third row two male figures with upturned faces and uplifted hands are visible in front of the riders, as well as a piece of the garment of a third.

The general character of the scenes represented is, of course, not doubtful. They refer to the worship of one or several Jaina sanctuaries and to processions or pilgrimages undertaken for this purpose. Many of the details must be likewise familiar to every student of Indian archæology, and they agree in part at least with the descriptions of such scenes occurring in Jaina works. The jars of various shapes, even those with plants, appear frequently on the Buddhist Stûpas, and the Jaina descriptions of the pilgrimage of the deity Suriyâbha to the Ambasâlavaṇa Chaitya mention them

[22] On the Amarâvatî Stûpa, Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South India*, vol. I, plate xxviii, 6, there is a similar scene in which a female takes hold of a Makara's tongue.

MATHURA SCULPTURES.

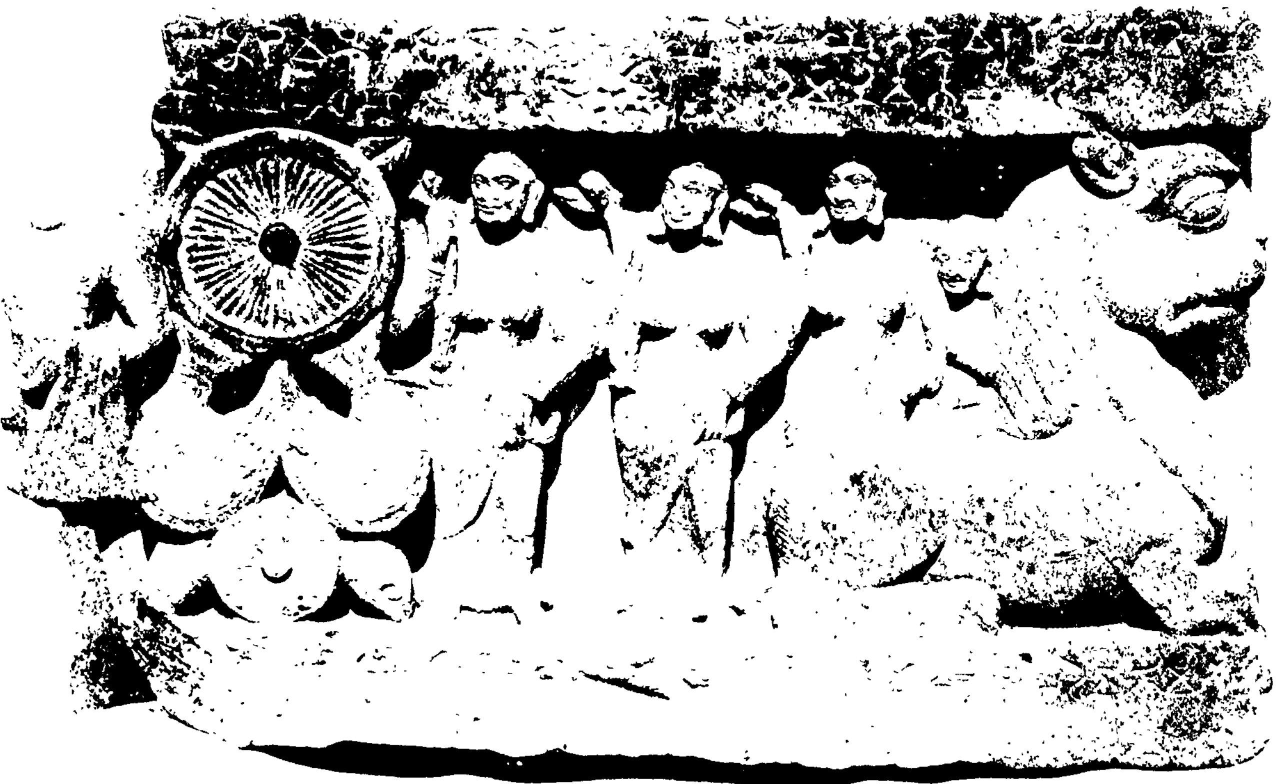


b) Reverse of Toraṇa.



a) Obverse of Toraṇa.

MATHURA JAINA SCULPTURES



distinctly as requisites of worship.[23] Again, the stone platforms, with lotuses and other sacred marks, occur on the Bharhut sculptures.[24] Nor are the riders on monsters and the running figures with flying garments unknown on the Buddhist Stûpas,[25] where the latter are easily recognisable as Vidyâdharas, moving through the air. Similarly, the dancing girls, who, even in modern times, are engaged to perform in honour of the Tîrthaṁkaras, are frequently represented on the Buddhist monuments as exhibiting their art at festivals. But other points, like the introduction of the half visible clothed males, seated on thrones, and the representations of carts along with the riders on marine monsters and Vidyâdharas, are puzzling, and it is difficult to decide whether the artist intended to lay his scene in heaven or on earth, and whether all the figures on each of the two sides of the Toraṇa must be taken as a whole or if each row represents a scene complete in itself. The most probable view is perhaps that the artist did not intend to give two compositions only, based on particular texts or illustrating particular legends, but merely wished to show how gods and men are eager to pay homage to the Tîrthaṁkaras, to their Stûpas and temples.

Plate IV reproduces the mutilated slab, which bears No. xxi of my second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions :[26]—

"The year 79, fourth month of the rainy season, day 20,—on that (*date, specified as* above, Aya-Vṛidhahasti, a preacher in the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* and the Vairâ *śákhâ* gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandiâvarta (*Ara*) . . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dinâ (*Dattâ*), wife of . . . . . was set up at the Vodva Stûpa, built by the gods."

The central piece on the slab is a *Dharmachakra* supported by a *Triśúla*, which itself rests on a lotus.

It belongs to the class of the *Chakras*, made conventionally and with a great number of spokes, which are not uncommon on the Amarâvatî Stûpa (see Burgess, *op. cit.*, plates xxvi, 6, xxxiii, 2), and may be a later development of the carefully done wheels.

It differs from those on the Buddhist and other Jaina sculptures by the two ear-like projections at the top, as well as by the addition of two *Śaṅkhas*,[27] which lean against the basis. On the right of the *Dharmachakra* there is the mutilated figure of a naked ascetic, who, as usual, has a piece of cloth hanging over his right arm. This is probably the Arhat mentioned in the inscription. To the left of the *Chakra* stand four clothed females, wearing the usual ornaments of married women and holding garlands in their hands with which they evidently intend to worship the sacred symbol. The faces of these females look like portraits. Three of them seem to be matrons of mature years; the fourth is smaller and apparently much younger. The last two are half hidden by the figure of a large crouching lion, facing the left.

The most noticeable point is the *Dharmachakra*, which, as the Mathurâ sculptures prove, was used and worshipped as much by the Jainas as by the Bauddhas. The fact is not very astonishing, as the wheel is the emblem of rule and government with all

[23] See Professor E. Leumann's translations from the *Râyapaseṇijja Sutta*, *Acte du Vième Cong. Int. Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 500 and *passim*.

[24] See Cunningham, *Bharhut*, plates xxxi, 2-4, xxx, 3, etc.

[25] *Arch. Reports South India*, vol. I, plates xxxiii, 2, xxxiv, 1, xxxvi, 2, and *Cave Temples*, plate[1], Fig. 1-2.

[26] *Ante*, vol. II, pp. 195f.

[27] The Śaṅkhas have probably been added *maṅgalârtham*.

Hindus, and the Sanskrit *Koshas* give *râshṭra* as one of the meanings of *chakra*. The epithet *apratihatachakra*, 'he whose wheel, *i.e.*, rule, is unopposed,' is commonly given to kings in the inscriptions, and there are hundreds of passages in epic and classical poetry in which the *chakra* of kings is mentioned. Nor are the compound *dharmachakra*, 'the rule of the sacred law,' and the familiar phrase *dharmachakraṁ pravartayati*, 'he sets in motion the wheel of the law,' *i.e.*, 'he causes the rule of the law to spread,' wanting in Brahmanical literature. The larger St. Petersburg Dictionary quotes several passages from the *Mahâbhârata* where they occur. It is said of Bhîshma, *Mah.* I., 109, 14:—

भीष्मेण विहितं राष्ट्रे धर्मचक्रमवर्तत ।

"The rule of the law continued, which Bhîshma had established in the kingdom;" and *Mah.* XII, 356, 2:—

यत्र पूर्वाभिसर्गे वै धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितम् ।
नैमिषे गोमतीतीरे तत्र नागाह्वयं पुरम् ॥

"A town, called Nâga, lies on the bank of the Gomatî in the Naimisha *forest*, where in a former creation the rule of the law was caused to spread."

Considering that the metaphorical meaning of *chakra* is very common with the Brahmanical poets and easily intelligible as an outgrowth of the idea that the unopposed progress of a king's chariot shows the wide extent of his power, it may be safely assumed that the application of the expression to the triumphant progress of the sacred law is likewise of Brahmanical origin, as the passages from the *Mahâbhârata* indicate. And it naturally follows that the Jainas and Buddhists, who both worship the *Dharmachakra* as the emblem of the rule of their respective creeds, borrowed it from the Brahmans, and that the commonly prevalent idea is erroneous, according to which the *Dharmachakra* is a distinctive mark of the Buddhists and their particular invention.

These new sculptures from the Kaṅkâli Ṭîla teach the same lesson as Dr. Bhagvânlâl's Mathurâ slab published in the *Transactions of the Leyden Congress*, and prove that the ancient art of the Jainas did not differ materially from that of the Buddhists. Both sects used the same ornaments, the same artistic *motives* and the same sacred symbols, differences occurring chiefly in minor points only. The cause of this agreement is in all probability, not that the adherents of one sect imitated those of the other, but that both drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists. Full proof of this assumption, which modifies the statements in some standard works on Indian archæology regarding the development of ancient Indian art, can only be obtained by the excavation of really old Brahmanical temples. And it is to this task that the Archæological Survey in India ought to direct its attention, as a thorough exploration even of a few Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples, which date from the second or first century before our era, will do more for our knowledge of the history of the Indian religions than the excavation of a hundred Stûpas or Vihâras.

But even at present various pieces of collateral evidence are available which support the view that all the several Indian sectarians took their sacred symbols and the ornaments of their temples from one common storehouse. Chief among these is the now generally acknowledged fact that the Brahmanists, the Jainas and the Buddhists, all and at the same time, contributed to the development of the cave temple architecture

which formerly was considered to be a speciality of the Buddhists. It is now conceded that the oldest known caves at Barâbar and Nâgârjunî belonged to the Vaishṇava Âjîvikas, and those near Katak to the Jaina worshippers of the Arhats. The undoubtedly Buddhist Leṇas date from somewhat later times. It is, therefore, not in the least doubtful that all the old Indian sects used rock-excavations for sheltering their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and sometimes also their idols, and it is highly probable that this usage goes back to times antecedent to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. In the face of such facts one can only say that it would be surprising if the worship of Stûpas, of sacred trees, of the Wheel of the Law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representation in sculptures, were due to one sect alone instead of being heirlooms handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India.

XXV.—THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined ten inscriptions, which were discovered by Mr. A. Rea in the Bhaṭṭiproḷu Stûpa, are published here in full according to impressions, and in the case of No. X, also according to a photograph furnished to the editor by Mr. Rea.[1]

Nos. I—IX are incised on three relic caskets, partly on the circular tops and partly on the rims of the lower stones. Their preservation is good except in parts of No. III and in No. IV, which latter is effaced. No. X is scratched on a small hexagonal piece of crystal and difficult to read on account of the shallowness of the strokes. The great interest and value of the first nine documents lie in their characters, which mostly resemble those of Aśoka's inscriptions, but show also peculiarities met with nowhere else. The details are as follows:—

(1) Twenty-three letters, *viz.*, the initial vowels *á*, *â*, *u*, *o* and the consonants, *k*, *kh*, *chh*, *ñ*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ṇ*, *t*, *th*, *dh*, *n*, *p*, *ph*, *b*, *y*, *r*, *v*, *s* and *h* agree exactly with those of the Southern Maurya alphabet.

(2) The letter *g* has both the usual angular Maurya form and that with the rounded top, which occurs occasionally in Aśoka's Edicts, *e.g.*, in *magesu* Pillar Edicts, VII. 2, 2, and is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The first palatal, *ch*, has a tail caused by a prolongation of the vertical. The third lingual, *ḍ*, shows slanting strokes instead of straight ones, which peculiarity is also repeatedly observable in the word *pásaṁḍa* (Kâlsî version of the Rock Edict XII., 1, ll. 33—34) and in *aṁbâvaḍiká*, Allahabad, Queen's Edict, l. 3. The dental media, *d*, exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round like the Andhra *da* and that of the modern Devanâgarî. The same remarks apply to the fourth labial, *bh*.

(3) Five letters are entirely abnormal, *viz.*:—

(*a*) *gh*, which is expressed by the sign for *g* with a curve to the right denoting the aspiration (compare the Maurya *chha*, *ḍha* and *pha*, which have been formed in a

[1] See the plates. Preliminary notices, treating chiefly of the palæographic peculiarities of the first nine, have been printed in the *Academy*, 1892, p. 521, and in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. VI. p. 148.

similar manner out of the signs for *cha*, *da* and *pa*). It occurs in the names ***Vaghavá***, i.e., *Vyághrapád* (II. 2), *Satugho*, i.e., *Śatrughna* (II. 8), *Chaghaña*, i.e., *Jaghanya* (VII), *Chagho*, i.e., *Changa* (? VIII. 2), *Akhagho*, i.e., *Akshaghna* or *Rikshaghna* (VIII. 5).

(*b*) *j* has the angular form, which is rare in Aśoka's inscriptions, (but see, e.g., *rájá*, Girnár Rock Edict, IX. 1) and the usual one in later documents, *minus* the central horizontal bar. It occurs repeatedly (*e.g.*, I, A, B) in the word *majusa* or *majúsa*, i.e., *mañjúshá*.

(*c*) *m* is turned topsy-turvy. It is found in the last-mentioned word and frequently in well-known names like *Samaṇa* (III. 5), i.e., *Śramaṇa*, *Máho* (VIII. 5), i.e., *Mágha*, etc.

(*d*) *l* shows instead of the short horizontal bar on the left a long slanting line attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It occurs only in names, e.g., *Pigalako* (III. 9), i.e., *Piṅgalaka*, *Oḍalo* (III. 11), i.e., *Oḍála* or *Audâra*, *Gilâṇo* (VII. 13), i.e., *Gláno*, *Gosálakánaṁ* (III. 16), i.e., *Gośálakánám*, and so forth.

(*e*) The lingual sibilant looks almost exactly like the *kra* of the later inscriptions, and seems to be developed from the *sha* of the Kâlsî version of the Rock Edicts by turning the latter sign completely round and converting its upper curve into a crossbar. It occurs regularly for *sa* in the termination of the genitive of vowel-stems, e.g., *Kurasha* (I, A, B,), in the genitive plural *teshaṁ* (VI), i.e., *teshám*, in the word *shamuga* (I, A), i.e., *samudga* and in many proper names.

(4) There is further the lingual *ḷ*, which does not occur in Aśoka's Edicts. It looks like a *pa* with a short horizontal bar, attached to the right of the vertical stroke; it is more archaic than the corresponding Andhra letter and very similar to the *ḷa* of a Sanchî inscription. It occurs in the word *pháḷiga*° (I, A,), i.e., *sphâṭika* and in various proper names.

(5) The notation of the medial and final vowels shows two very remarkable peculiarities:—

(*a*) The short *a* is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant, which denotes long *á* in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvâra follows. The latter limitation is probably due to the circumstance that the Anusvâra was considered equivalent to *aṁ*, in which form it is invariably given in the native lists of *mátṛikás*, or the alphabets.

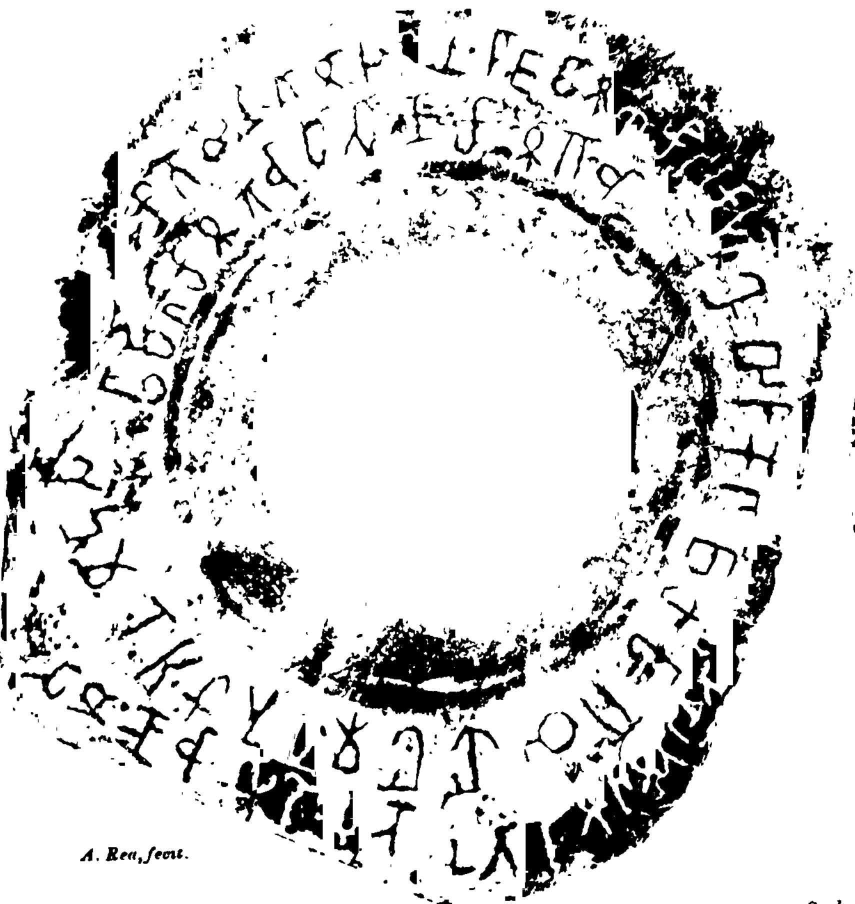
(*b*) The long *á* is usually marked by a horizontal stroke and a vertical hanging down from its end. In *negamá*, VIII, 1, a cursive form, consisting of a long notched horizontal stroke, appears instead.

(6) In other respects the notation of the medial vowels mainly agrees with that used in Aśoka's inscriptions. The diphthong *o* is however more commonly expressed by a bar projecting to the right and to the left of the consonant than by two separate strokes. The former *o*, though rare in the Edicts, does occur occasionally, see, e.g., *nigohâni*, Pillar Edict, VII, 2, 2. Finally, in the syllables *ṇi* and *ṇí* the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke of *ṇ*, according to the analogy of *ṇa* and *ṇá*.

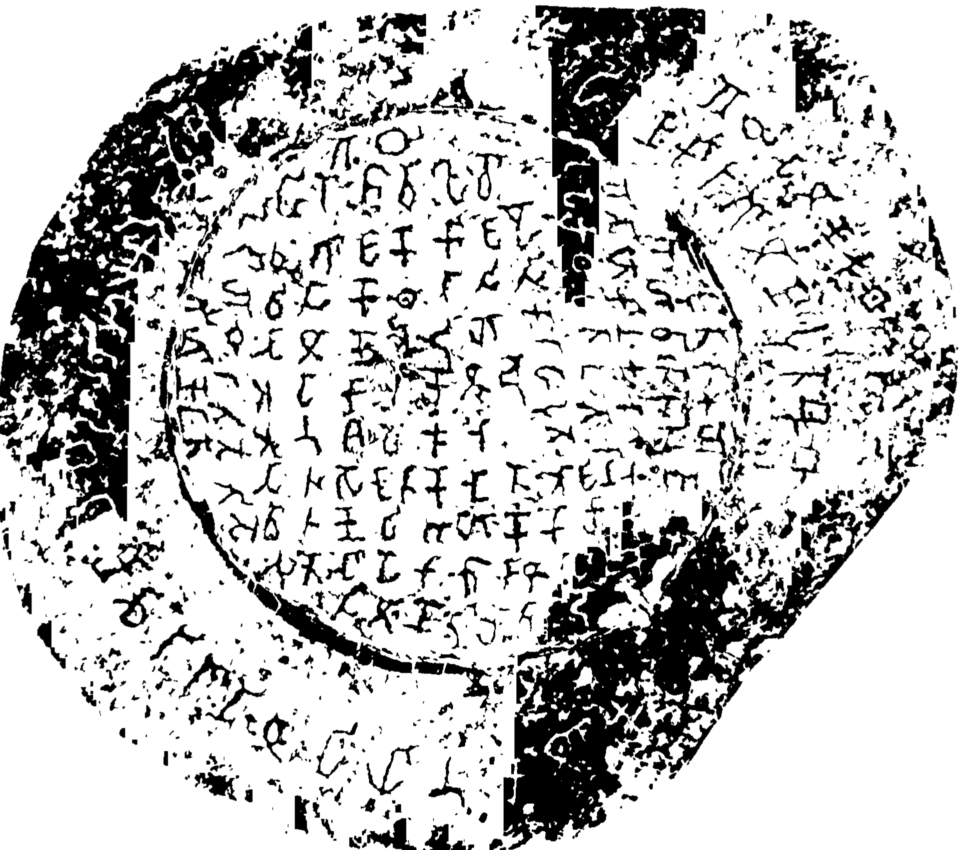
(7) The initial vowels *i*, *í*, *ú*, *e* and the consonants *jh* and *ḍh* do not occur, and there are at least no certain traces of the palatal sibilant *ś*, though there is a sign somewhat like it in a difficult name towards the end of III, 10.

BHAṬṬIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX OF THE SECOND CASKET.



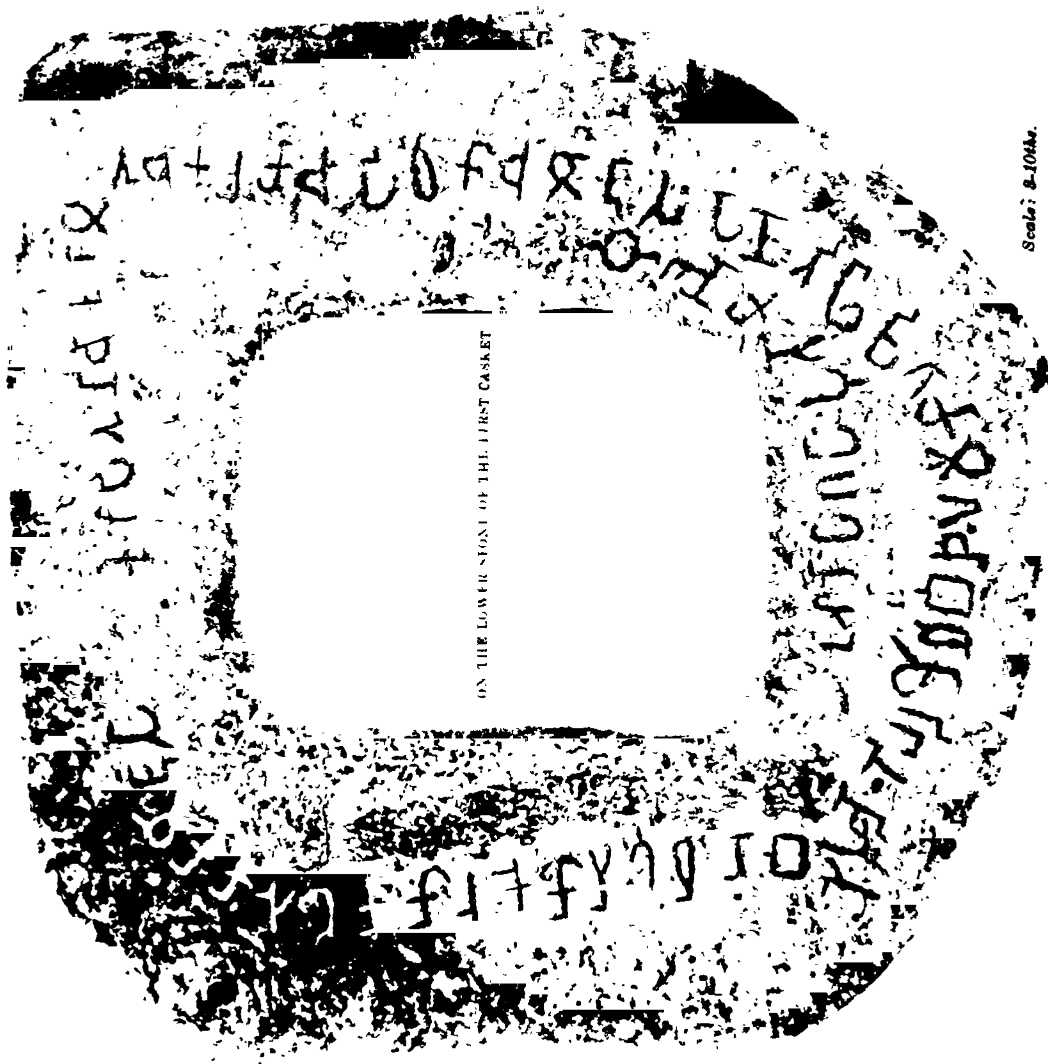
ON THE LID OF THE SECOND CASKET.



A. Rea, fecit.

Scale: 3-10ths.

BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS



ON THE LOWER STONE OF THE FIRST CASKET

Scale: 8-10ths.

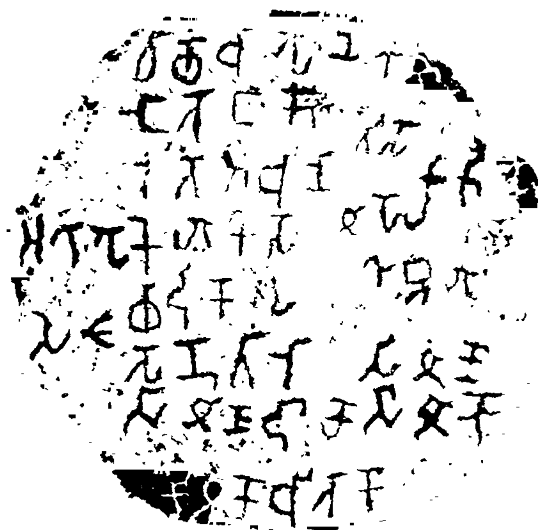
ON THE CRYSTAL.

Full size.

A. Rea, fecit.

BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE LID OF THE THIRD CASKET.





ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX
OF THE LOWER OR THIRD CASKET.

A. Rea, fecit.

Scale: 8-10ths.

ALPHABET OF THE BHAṬṬIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE CRYSTAL.

J. Burgess, fecit.

The inscription, No. X, which is incised on the piece of crystal, shares only two of the peculiarities, just described. Its *cha* (l. 2) has a tail and its *da* in °*deśânaṁ* (l. 3) and in *dânaṁ* (l. 6) opens towards the left. In other respects its letters, as well as its vowel notation, fully agree with those of Aśoka's Edicts. It may be noted that it twice offers in *Śamaṇudeśânaṁ* (l. 2) with the palatal sibilant exactly in the places where it would stand in Sanskrit. This agreement of its characters with those of the Maurya inscriptions leads to the supposition that it belongs to the same time as the latter.

But the first nine inscriptions are also probably only a few decades later than Aśoka's Edicts. They unfortunately contain no historical statements which might be used to absolutely prove the correctness of this estimate. They mention, it is true, the names of a king *Kubirako* or *Khubirako*, i.e., *Kuberaka*, of various families, of *goṭhîs* or committees and Buddhist saints. But none of them is traceable in any other historical source. Under these circumstances, all that remains is to fall back on arguments deduced from a comparison of other datable inscriptions, which, of course, may be deceptive. If one does this and places on the one side the alphabet of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nânâghâṭ, Hathigumphâ and Bharahut-Toraṇa inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, *may* mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be somewhat earlier.

If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Aśoka's Edicts) that during the 3rd century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed; for they contain a system which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a longer history. The importance of this result lies therein, that it removes one of the arguments of those scholars who believe the introduction of writing to have happened during the rule of the Maurya dynasty. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts proving the Aśoka Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions, incised at places which lie at distances from each other of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation, and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that Aśoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pâṭaliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces and to induce them to imitate as much as possible the shape of the letters used at head-quarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing, which in some respects is radically different and which may be reasonably supposed to have arisen in Aśoka's times or even earlier, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for many centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pâṭaliputra.

This is, as far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the history of the Southern Maurya characters and regarding the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among them which, I think, may be considered for

good reasons as more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the *m*, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Northern *m* that I should not wonder if the two little strokes below the circle had really stood originally below the circle or semicircle and the letter had been turned topsy-turvy only later. Further, it is possible that the *gh* of the Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabet, which, as stated already, has been formed by the extension of a principle underlying the formation of *chha*, *ḍha* and *pha*, proves the Semitic prototype of the Southern Maurya characters to have been destitute of a sign for the guttural *media aspirata*. Though the common Southern *gha* looks like an independent character, it may have been formed out of a *ga* with a round top by the addition of a curve to the upper right corner and by then turning the whole letter round. If this view is correct, the Bhaṭṭiprolu *gh* probably dates from very ancient times and is quite as old as the sign of Aśoka's Edicts. On the other hand, two other letters, the *j* with two bars and the lingual sibilant *sh* are in all probability younger than the corresponding Maurya characters. With respect to *sh* this is self-evident. As regards the *j*, the central bar probably has to be regarded as an essential part of the letter on account of the shape of *jha*, which has been fashioned out of a *ja*, consisting of a vertical and a short horizontal stroke by the addition of a small upward stroke on the right. Nor is it possible to assume that the more elaborate system of vowel-notation in the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions is more ancient than the simpler one, found in all other Indian alphabets; for the Semitic original of the Southern alphabet in all probability had no vowel-marks. Hence, a system of notation, requiring eight instead of seven signs for the purpose must be regarded *a priori* as the later one. With respect to the remaining anomalies, I am not able to say anything definite. But I would point out that, with the exception of the position of the letter *da*, not one of the peculiarities of the Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabet has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets.

The language of the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions is of the type of the Pali, from which it differs only by the occurrence of the lingual sibilant in Nos. I—IX, and of the palatal one in No. X. Though the two signs differ, I believe that the sound for which they served was the same. There is, as far as I am aware, neither any modern nor ancient Prakrit dialect, which has or had more than two sibilants, the dental one and that which comes near to, but is a little thicker than, the Sanskrit palatal *śa*.

With regard to the contents of the inscriptions, I may confine myself to the remark that two of the caskets are said (see Nos. I and V) to be intended for relics of Buddha. This point, I think, speaks too in favour of the antiquity of the inscriptions.

TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

I.[2]

(A.) Kurapituno cha Kuramâ[t]u cha Kurasha Siva[sha][3] majusaṁ-panati phâligashamugaṁ[4] cha Budhasarirânaṁ nikhetu [||].

(B.) Banavaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [||].

[2] Nos. I and II are incised on the rim of the lower stone of the first casket.

[3] Looks like *Sivaka* as the lower curve of the *sha* has not been formed properly.

[4] Possibly *phâligaṁ snamugaṁ*.

TRANSLATION.

"By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (*himself*) and Siva (*Śiva*), (*has been ordered*) the preparation of a casket and (*has been given*) a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Budha (*Buddha*[5])

"By Kura, the son of Banava, associated with his father (*has been given*), the casket.

II.

Utaro Pigahaputo kâṇîṭho[6] [‖]

TRANSLATION.

"Utara (*Uttara*), the youngest son of Pigaha (*Vigraha*[7]).

III.

L. 1 Goṭhi
2 Hirañavaghavâ
3 V[u]gâḷako K[â]ḷaho
4 Visako Thorasisi
5 Samaṇo Odalo
6 Apaka . Shamudo
7 Anuga[h]o Kuro
8 Satugho Potako [P]oto Âḷinakâ
9 V[a]ruṇo Piga[la]ko Koshako
10 Suto Pàpo Kabherakh[o] [Gâḷe]ko
11 Samaṇa[d]àsho Bharado
12 Oḍalo Thoratiso Tiso
13 Gilâṇo Jaṃbho
14 Puḍara (?) [B]ûbo
15 Gâlavata . . . (?) Janako
16 Gosâlakânaṁ Kùro
17 Uposhathaputo Utaro
18 Kârahaputo [‖]

TRANSLATION.

"The Committee (*consists of*) :—

Hirañavaghavâ (*Hiraṇyavyâghrapâd*) Vugâlaka (*Udgâraka*), Kâḷaha, Visaka (*Viśvaka*), Thorasisi (*Sthaulaśirshi*), Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Odala, Apaka, Shamuda (*Samudra*), Anugaha (*Anugraha*), Kura, Satugha (*Śatrughna*), Potaka, Pota, Âḷinaka (*Âlînaka*?), Varuṇa, Pigalaka (*Piṅgalaka*), Koshaka (Kauśika?), Suta, Pâpa, (Kabherakha ?) (*Kuberaka* ?), Gàleka (?), Samaṇa[d]âsha (*Śramaṇadâsa*), Bharada (Bharata) (L. 12), Oḍala (*Audâra*?) Thoratisa (*Sthaulatishya*), Tisa (*Tishya*), Gilâṇa (*Glâna*), Jaṁbha, ... Bûba . . . Janaka, of the Gosâlakas (*Gośâlaka*), Kûra, the son of Uposhatha, (*Uposatha*), Utara (*Uttara*), the son of Kâraha.

[5] The genitive *sarîrânaṁ* has to be taken as *genitivus partitivus*.

[6] This seems to be meant for *kaniṭṭho*.

[7] For the change of *va* to *pa*, compare words like Pali *pajâpati*, Sanskrit *prajâvati* and the inscriptional *bhagaputo* for *bhagavato*, *pijite* for *vijite*, and the like. Probably Uttara was the stone-cutter who made the casket.

[8] Nos. III-V are incised on the top stone of the second casket, and No. III in a central disc, lines 1-11 running lengthwise, lines 12-13 breadthwise on the left, and lines 14-18 breadthwise on the right.

IV.[9]

Sama[ṇadâ]sha[to hita] . a . . Budhasha sarirâni mahiyânukammâ . . . .

Remark.

Nothing can be said regarding the contents of this inscription, except that it mentions relics of Buddha.

V.[10]

L. 1 Goṭhisamaṇo Kubo [I]
2 Hiraṇakâragâmaṇîputo Bûbo [II]

TRANSLATION.

"Kuba (*Kumbha*), the ascetic of the Committee (?)."
"Bûba, the son of the village-headman Hiraṇakâra (*Hiraṇyakâra*)."

VI.[11]

Shaga[ṭh]inigamaputânaṁ râjapâmukhâ[12][I] Sha . i[sha] puto Khubirako râjâ Shihagoṭhiyâ pâmukho [I] tesham amnaṁ maj [û-]s[aṁ] phâligashamugo cha pâsâṇashamugo cha [II].

TRANSLATION.

"By the sons of the Shâgaṭhi *nigama* (*guild or town*), chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka (*Kuberaka*), the son of Sha.-i, is the chief of the Shîha (*Siṁha*) Committee—by these (*has been given*) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone."

VII.[13]

Samaṇo Chagha[ña]puto Utaro Âramutara . . [II]

TRANSLATION.

"Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), the son of Chaghaña (? *Jaghanya* ?). Utara (*Uttara*) . . . . ."

VIII[14]

L. 1 Negamâ
2 Vachho Chagho
3 Jeto Jambho Tiso
4 Reto Achino Shabhiko
5 Akhagho Kelo Keso Mâho
6 Seṭo Chhadiko Okhabûlo
7 Soṇutaro Samaṇo
8 Samaṇadâsho Sâmako
9 Kâmuko Chitako [II]

[9] Incised on the rim to the left and below the inscription on the central disc.
[10] Incised on the outer rim, to the right of the inscripton on the central disc. Possibly *Kûbo* is to be read.
[11] Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket.
[12] Read °*pâmukhânaṁ*.
[13] Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket, outside the No. VI, the letters being turned the other way.
[14] Incised on the upper stone of the third casket.

TRANSLATION.

"The members of the guild (*are*):—

Vachha (*Vatsa*), Chagha (Chaṅga ?), Jeta (*Jayanta*), Jaṁbha, Tisa (*Tishya*), Reta (*Raivata*) Achina (*Achirṇa* ?), Shabhika (*Sabhika*), Akhagha (*Akshaghna*), Kela, Kesa (*Keśa*), Mâha (*Mâgha*), Seṭa (*Śvaitra* ?), Chhadika (Chhandika ?), Okhabûla, Soṇutara (*Suvarṇottara*), Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Samaṇadâsha (*Śramaṇadâsa*), Sâmaka (*Śyâmaka*), Kâmuka, Chîtaka (*Chitraka*).

IX.[15]

Arahadinânaṁ goṭhiyâ majûsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [|] tena kama yena Kubirako râjâ aṁ[k]i [||]

TRANSLATION.

"By the Committee of the venerable Arahadina (*Arhaddatta, was given*) a casket and a box. The work (*is*) by him, by whom King Kubiraka (*Kuberaka*) caused the carving to be done."

X.[16]

L. 1 Mâtugâmasa [Nam]dapurâhi[17]
2 Suvaṇamâhâ
3 Śamaṇudeśânaṁ cha[18]
4 Gilâṇakerasa[19] ayasaka
5 [Sa]ṭhiya[20]
6 gohiyâ a-ga dânaṁ[21] [||]

TRANSLATION.

"An *A-ga*,—gift by the women from Nandapura (?) and by the Śrâmaneras from Suvaṇamâha, in the *Ayasakasaṭhi gohi* of *Gilânakera* (?)."

The arrangement of the lines of this inscription seems to be fixed, first by the *cha* after *Śamaṇudeśânaṁ* and secondly by *dânaṁ*. The latter word in all probability concludes the inscription and the former shows, that line 3 is preceded by something else. Nevertheless the exact meaning remains obscure, as the word immediately preceding *dânaṁ* is mutilated and those from *gilâṇakerasa* down to *gohiyâ*, though plain enough, are for me at least, inexplicable with any certainty.

15 Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the third casket.

16 Incised on the sides of a hexagonal piece of crystal, found inside one of the boxes.

17 The first syllable is abnormal and the reading uncertain. The last syllable is visible only on the tracings, not on the photograph.

18 The *cha* has a tail, like in the other nine inscriptions.

19 There is also a short stroke to the left of the top of *ra*, and it is possible to read °*keresa*, which however would be perfectly inexplicable.

20 The left limb of *sa* is abnormal.

21 There is on the photograph a letter between *a* and *ga*, which I am not able to make out. Possibly the word may have been *âyâga*. The *da* of *dânaṁ* opens to the right, just as in the other nine inscriptions.

XXVI.—GOVINDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE POET GANGADHARA.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

About five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me a rubbing, received by him from Sir A. Cunningham in October 1883, of an inscription, described as being on a slab of stone in Narsingh Mâlî's house at Govindpur, in the Nawâdâ sub-division of the Gayâ district of the Province of Bengal. And some time afterwards I received another rubbing of the same inscription from Dr. Burgess, to whom it had been made over by Mr. Beglar.[1] Both rubbings are very faint, and I know that, with a good impression, the wording of the text of this inscription which I now publish may be improved upon; but I feel confident that everything of importance has been made out correctly, and that a renewed examination of the original inscription will not add materially to what I now have to report regarding the contents of it.

The inscription contains thirty-five lines of writing which cover a space of about 1′ 8½″ broad by 1′ 3½″ high. At the upper proper left corner a small piece of the inscribed surface is broken away, causing the complete loss of altogether a dozen *aksharas* at the end of lines 1-6. Of the rest of the inscription nothing is actually lost, but, to judge from the rubbings, the proper right half of the writing, from about line 11 to 24, has suffered either from exposure to the weather or from careless treatment; and a few *aksharas* are more or less illegible on the left side. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$″ and $\frac{7}{16}$″. The characters are the peculiar kind of Nâgarî which was used in parts of Eastern India during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., and the most characteristic feature of which is, that *r*, preceding another consonant, is written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akshara* of which *r* forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign. Essentially the same alphabet is used, *e.g.*, in the Dinâjpur plate of Mahîpâla and in the Âmgâchhi plate of Vigrahapâla III., and the closest possible resemblance to the writing of the present inscription is shown by the writing of the Cambridge palm-leaf MS. Add., 1693,[2] which was written in A.D. 1165, and by that of the Hodgson[3] palm-leaf MS. 1 of the Royal Asiatic Society, written in the fourth year of the reign of Govindapâla.[4] In the inscription here edited the sign for *r*, described above, is so small and so shallow that often it can hardly be recognized in the rubbings; and this, as well as the fact that the sign of *anusvâra* and the superscript strokes which turn *e* and *o* into *ai* and *au* are equally faint, and the close resemblance of the signs for *p* and *y*, *t* and *bh*, *m* and *s*,

[1] I saw at once that the inscription, of which these two rubbings had thus been sent to me, was of some value, but have long hesitated to attempt a full decipherment of the text, because the imperfect state of my rubbings suggested the advisability of waiting for a proper impression. To secure one, I applied in April 1892 to Mr. Grierson, and he again, having then left the Gayâ District, kindly communicated my request to Mr. D. J. Macpherson, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Macpherson most readily at once sent two of his men to Narsingh Mâlî's house at Govindpur, but they were told there that two or three years ago a Sahib had come and examined the stone which contains the inscription, and that next day the same Sahib had returned on a camel, and taken the stone away. If this story is really true, I need hardly say that even now I should be grateful to the present owner of the stone for an impression.

[2] See Pendall's *Catalogue*, plate ii, 2.

[3] See Cowell and Eggeling's *Catalogue* in the *Journal Royal As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. VIII, plate i, 2.

[4] For Govindapâla we have the date Vikrama 1232 = A.D. 1175; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 358

v and *dh*, and of the subscript *u* and *r*, have caused me no slight difficulty. The inscription never employs the signs of the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya*, and the sign of the *avagraha* is used only once, in *Gaṅgâdharo 'bhût* in line 24.

The language of the inscription is Saṁskṛit, and, with the exception of the introductory *oṁ oṁ namaḥ Sarasvatyai* and the date *Śâka 1059* at the end, the whole is in verse. The writer and engraver have done their work with great care, so that, in respect of orthography, my remarks may be brief. As was to be expected, the letter *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*. The dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in *Kasyapâd*, line 6, and *prasrayaiḥ*, line 7; and the palatal instead of the dental in *śûribhir*, line 29. Instead of *anusvâra* we find the guttural nasal in the word *vaṅśa*, in lines 2 and 5 (but not in line 4), and the dental nasal in *avatansa*, line 4. Before *r*, *t* has been doubled in *mittra*, lines 7 and 24, *amittra*, line 21, *maittrî*, line 27, and *âtapattra*, line 31; and *bh* is similarly doubled in *avbhriyaṁ* (for *abbhriyaṁ*), line 30. As regards the rules of euphony, *t* is left unchanged before *ś* in *śrîmatśaṅkara*, line 17; and *m* before *y* and *v* in *samyattau*, line 18, *samvâsâya*, line 9, and *sarvasvam-vitatâra*, line 11; and the dental sibilant is wrongly employed instead of the lingual in *nisprabhârdhaṁ* (assuming this to be the right reading) in line 13, and *duskare* (for *dushkaro*) in line 30. Of words which according to von Böhtlingk's Dictionary have been hitherto found only in lexicographical works our inscription offers *girâ* 'speech, song,' in line 5, *mahallaka* 'eunuch,' in line 10, and *âtman* in the sense of 'the sun,' in line 13. Besides we find *śivirî* for the neuter *śivira*, in line 9, and the word *rama* ('husband and wife') apparently employed in the sense of 'parents,' in line 19. To a few other points, having reference to the grammar and to the construction of some of the verses, attention will be drawn below.

The inscription is dated, in lines 34-35, both in words and in figures, in the Śaka year 1059, corresponding to A.D. 1137-38. It was engraved by the artisan Śûlapâṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa (verse 39). And its immediate object is, to record that a man named Gaṅgâdhara, who has himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank near which the inscription must have been put up (verses 34-38). But what is of more importance is, that the author has furnished a *praśasti*,[5] or eulogistic account, of himself and his family which enables us to fix the time of no less than six men who were known to us as poets from other sources, and some of whose verses have been preserved; and that he has given us the names of the rulers of Magadha, hitherto unknown, under whom he and some of his relatives lived and whose patronage they enjoyed. It may also be a matter of some interest to learn that the author's family belonged to the clan of the Maga or Śâkadvîpîya Brâhmans.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Viśvambhara (Vishṇu), the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies both Aruṇa (*i.e.* the dawn personified as the charioteer of the sun) 'whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śâkadvîpa where the Brâhmans are named Magas,' and the Magas themselves who here, as elsewhere,[6] are said to have sprung from the sun's own body and to have been brought to India by

[5] According to verse 37 of the text Gaṅgâdhara composed two *praśastis* which both must have been engraved and put up close to each other.

[6] See Professor Weber's most interesting essay on the *Magavyakti* of Kṛishṇadâsa.

Śâmba (the son of Kṛishṇa and Jâmbavatî). According to our author the first of these Maga Brâhmans was Bhâradvâja (verse 3), whose family had a hundred branches (verse 4). In one of these was born, as a son of a certain Dâmodara, Chakrapâṇi, who, compared as he is to Vâlmîki, must have been considered a poet of some eminence (verse 5). He had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (verse 7), who were induced to come to the court of the ruler of Magadha (verse 15), the prince Varṇamâna of the Mâna family (verse 10), where one of them was appointed to the office of *pratihâra*, while the other was made superintendent of the eunuchs (verse 11). Daśaratha again had two sons, Harihara and Purushottama (verse 22). Of Manoratha, to the praise of whose liberality,[7] piety, shrewdness, learning, etc., our author has devoted no less than six verses (12-17) and who is spoken of as a modern Kâlidâsa (verse 15), we learn that he married a daughter of Devaśarman, a counsellor of the prince of the [Ghauḍî[8]] country (verse 18); and that she bore to him also two sons, Gaṅgâdhara, the author of the inscription, and Mahîdhara (verses 21-22). All these six men, Manoratha and Daśaratha and their four sons, are especially eulogized for their learning and proficiency in vedic studies (verse 23). The rest of the inscription treats of Gaṅgâdhara himself. Here it will be sufficient to say that he represents himself to have been a counsellor and friend of the Mâna prince, the king Rudramâna (verse 24); that he married Pâsaladevî, a daughter of Jayapâṇi, an official of the king of Gauḍa, and his wife Subhagâ (verse 29), and finally, that, according to his own account, he was the author of a poem entitled *Advaitaśata* and had shown his skill as a poet also in the composition of other poems (verse 33)

The princes of the Mâna family, mentioned in the above, have not, so far as I am aware, become known yet from other inscriptions, and it may therefore suffice here to state that Varṇamâna and Rudramâna must have ruled over Magadha (or part of it) towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

As regards Gaṅgâdhara and his relatives, the inscription tells us distinctly that, like Gaṅgâdhara himself, Chakrapâṇi and Manoratha were poets, and it may reasonably be assumed that some of the other members of the family, learned men as they were, also were in the habit of writing poetry. Now it happens that the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita*,[9] an anthology compiled by Śrîdharadâsa in A.D. 1205, contains verses of six poets bearing the same names as six of the Maga Brâhmans mentioned in this inscription, and, considering that these Brâhmans lived in Eastern India and that the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita* also was compiled there,[10] I have little doubt indeed as to the identity of the six poets mentioned by Śrîdharadâsa with Gaṅgâdhara, the author of this inscription, and five of his relatives, *viz.* his great-grandfather Dâmodara, his grandfather Chakrapâṇi, his father's brother Daśaratha, his own brother Mahîdhara, and his cousin Purushottama.

Of Gaṅgâdhara himself the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita* has two verses which were first published by Professor Aufrecht in *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 511,

[7] See verse 12, according to which Manoratha on the occasion of a lunar eclipse went to the sacred place *Purushottama*, which was situated near the sea.

[8] The reading of this name is doubtful; see below.

[9] See Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra's *Notices*, vol. III, p. 134.

[10] Professor Aufrecht states the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita* to be an anthology, culled chiefly from Bengal poets The compiler's father, Baṭudâsa, lived under Lakshmaṇasena.

and have afterwards been reprinted by Professor Peterson in his edition of Vallabhadeva's ***Subhâshitâvali*****, Introduction, p. 32. Of Dâmodara the** ***Saduktikarṇâmṛita*** **contains two verses,**[11] of Chakrapâṇi four, of Daśaratha also four, and of Mahîdhara one verse. As regards Gaṅgâdhara's cousin, the author of the anthology assigns six verses to Srîmat-Purushottamadeva, one verse to Purushottamapâdâḥ, and one to Purushottama and it seems probable that only the last is the Purushottama of our inscription. All these verses have been kindly copied out for me by Professor Aufrecht and will be published elsewhere. The inscription being dated in Śaka 1059, the six poets may be assumed to have composed their verses—

Dâmodara between about A.D. 1050 and 1075;
Chakrapâṇi between about A.D. 1075 and 1100;
Daśaratha between about A.D. 1100 and 1125;
Gaṅgâdhara, Mahîdhara and Purushottama between about A.D. 1125 and 1150.

TEXT.[12]

L. 1. ओं[13][॥×] ओं नमः सरस्वत्यै ॥
एकत्रोन्नतगात्रगौरवभरात् प्राप्ते तथा नम्रता-
मन्यत्र श्रियमुद्वहत्यतिलघुं तुङ्गे भुजङ्गेश्वरे ।
वक्षःसम्मुखसम्भृतस्तनतटीसङ्गोपसर्प्पत्सुखं
निद्रा[णो] ⏑–[14]
2. द[यां] दधातु दयितामाश्लिष्य विश्वम्भरः ॥[15]—[1].
देवो जीयात्त्रिलोकीमणिरयमरुणो यन्निवासेन पुण्यः
शाकद्वीपस्स दुग्धाम्बु(म्बु)निधिवलयितो यत्र विप्रे मगाख्या ।
वङ्गस्तत्र[16]द्विजानां भ्रमिलिखिततनोर्भा(र्भा)स्वतः स्वाङ्ग – –[17]
3. शाम्बो[18]यानानिनाय स्वयमिह महितास्ते जगत्यां जयन्ति ॥[19]—[2].
तेषां स प्रथमः समस्तनिगमज्ञानात्मविद्यापदं
वु(बु)द्धा व्यापृत एव नित्ययजनव्यापारपारीणया ।
भारद्वाजमुनिर्व(र्ब)भूव भुवनोद्वाराभिपाती[20]तपः
– –
4. यस्य मुखे मगद्विजमहावंशावतन्सोपमः[21] ॥[22]—[3].
गोत्रस्य तस्य शतशाखमभूदभूतपूर्वैस्तपोभिरथ सुप्रसरैर्यशोभिः ।
यत्रापरे प[र]मतत्त्वविदोनवद्यविद्यावदातमतयः पतयो द्विजानां ॥[23]—[4].
कालिना ⏑ ⏑ –

[11] The first words of these verses and of those mentioned below are: *Kailâśa re paśupati; Sîlaṁ śâtayati; Tasyâ nâma mayâ; Yat kâṇḍaṁ gaganadrumasya; Ârûḍhântarayauvanasya; Agre vitatya charaṇau; Âchchhidya Lakshmîm; Iyaṁ sâ Kâlindî; Naikaṁ janma tavaiva; Vandyosau vidhir eva, Lîlottânaśayopi*, and *Kântâreshu karâvalambi.*

[12] From Sir A. Cunningham's pencil-rubbings.

[13] Expressed by a symbol.

[14] The *akshara*, here broken away, was probably व.

[15] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[16] Read वंशस्तत्र.

[17] The *aksharas*, here broken away, were probably सुताः.

[18] Read शाम्बो for साम्बो.

[19] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[20] This is what was originally engraved; but the vowel of the *akshara* भि is clearly struck out, and I believe the intended reading to be °रावपाती.

[21] Read °तंसोपमः.

[22] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[23] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

L. 5. विलुप्तविलसद्दिद्याधने धन्विनां
वीराणां धुरि चक्रपाणिरभवद्दामोदरस्यात्मज: ।
यो वाल्मीकिरिवावतारितगिराधार: स विश्वस्थि[ति]-
[24]व्वङ्गस्था ◡ ◡ — चतुर्मुख इव ख्यातो गुणिग्रामणी: ॥[25]—[5].
अतिस्थिरा पृथु . . . -[26]
6. त्कीर्त्तिर्म्मरि[मास्य]दं ।
दिक्चक्रं यदि नारूढा तद्भ्रमत्यन्यथा कथं ॥[27]—[6].
जातौ वासवकेशवाविव सुतौ तस्मात्प्रसन्नामरौ
मारीचादिव कस्य(श्य)पादुपचितां धर्त्तुं कुले सत्क्रियां ।
ज्यायांस्तत्र मनोरथो दशरथस्तस्यानुजन्मा [ययो]-
7. र्विद्या[चा]रशुचित्वशीलविलसत्कीर्त्या पवित्रं जगत् ॥[28]—[7]
मुख्यत्वेन सतां यशोभिरखिलोद्गीतै: स्वकर्णस्पृतै:
सम्बिन्नोपगमेन तैरतिभृतैर्भोगैरयत्नोप[गै:] ।
भ्रात्रोरत्र ययोर्नरेन्द्रनिहितै: सप्रेमभि: प्रस्र(श्र)ये-
8.
श्यामानि द्विषदाननानि विदधे शुभ्रोप्यदभ्रो गुण: ॥ —[8].
तौ भ्रातरावतितरां सहजोदितेन प्रेम्णा परस्परमनोहरणाभिरामौ ।
सौहार्द्दहृद्यचरितेषु ययोरधीर: कालोपि न स्खलितमाप कलि: कदाचित् ॥[29]—[9].
9. आनीतौ निजराज्यमुज्ज्वलयितुं यत्नात् प्रतीतात्मना
सम्वासाय[30]नरेश्वरेण शिविरो[31]ग्रीवगर्ग्गमानेन तौ ।
तस्याज्ञामवलम्व्य(म्ब्य)तत्कुलमिदं ताभ्यामपि प्रापितं
काञ्चित् कोटिमनुत्तरां गुणभुव: कीर्त्तिविभूतेरपि ॥[32]—[10].
आ
10. सि[न्धोर्ग्ग]णनीयगौरवगणैनैकेन [मे]ध्येनयो-
स्तस्मिन्मानपतेर्म्महीयसि गृहे प्रापि प्रतीहारता ।
अन्येनापि पुनर्म्महा[स]कधुरा[33]व्यस्तेति[34]विस्तारिणा-
वेतौ सत्वनयैर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूवतुरिह प्रत्नैकविज्ञानिकौ ॥ —[11].
गत्वा श्री-
11. पुरुषोत्तमं [भग]वयोद्दय: प्रतिष्ठापदं
पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।
सर्वस्वन्विततार[35]तर्पितपितृस्तोम: करोल्लासितै-
स्तोयैर्य: पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधो: साहाय्यमाप क्षणं ॥ —[12].
मात[त्या]-

[24] Read °व्वंशस्था. The next three *aksharas* are quite blurred in the rubbings, and it is impossible to say confidently what they were.

[25] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[26] The *aksharas*, here broken away, were probably तरा य-

[27] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[28] Metre of verses 7 and 8 : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[29] Metre : Vasantatilakâ.

[30] Read संवासाय.

[31] One would have expected the neuter शिविरं.

[32] Metre of verses 10--12 : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[33] The *akshara* in brackets is doubtful, and looks rather like स.

[34] This is clearly engraved, but I believe the intended reading to be °धुरावाप्तेति.

[35] Read सर्वस्वं विततार.

L. 12. चित्यक्रत्या[इ]तिभिरपचितौ चन्द्रमौलेस्त्रिकालं
न्यस्ताभियस्य शैवागममहितमहामन्त्रपूतान्तरस्य ।
एन: स्वेनोज्जगार त्रिजगति विदितादाश्रया[न्ध]त्वदोषा-
दिद्धं धूमच्छलेनोज्ज्वलरुचिरचिराज्जिह्रुतं हो-

13. मवह्नि: ॥[36]—[13].
श्वेतार्द्धं तं श्रयति [पितृभी]त्यात्मनो [निस्पृ(ष्पृ)भार्धं][37]
धत्तेनन्तप्रमि[तिरमि]तां शक्तिमुन्मुक्ततर्कम् ।
यस्यैश्वर्यं प्रथयति विभो: कर्तुरित्यद्भुतश्री-
र्भ्रान्तिं लोकस्थितिषु भजते भूयसोन्धर्म्मकीर्त्ति: ॥[38]—[14].
यस्य श्रीमग-

14. धेश्वरो [नयवशा]न्नीतिप्रयोगाखि[ख]ल-
प्राग्भा[रा]नुभवैरचुम्बि(म्ब)तमतिर्व्यासाभिधानं व्यधात् ।
राजास्थानसर:सरोरुहमिति स्वैरं पुर: क्ष्माभृतां
गीतो नूतनकालिदास इति य: कालेषु वैतालिकै: ॥[39]—[15].
य: सन्मन्त्रिषु चा-

15. तुरीपार[च]यैर्व्वाचस्पति: प्रस्तुत-
प्रज्ञासर्ग्गविरिञ्चिरुच्चचरि[तै]रौचित्यचिन्तामणि: ।
सद्भावप्रभवो गभीरिमगृहं र[त्न]त्रयीताम्बिको[40]
भाषासु प्रतिभाप्रभु: कविकलासन्दर्भगर्व्भेश्वर:[41] ॥—[16].
स्मेरापारपरोपका-[42]

16 रपरम: प्रेमोपचारोत्तर-
व्याहारैर्ज्जनतानुराग[र]चनाचातुर्यचर्यागुरु: ।
धौरेय: सुधियां सुधानिधिकलामौलि: सदाराधन-
ध्याने जन्म निजं निनाय सुजन: स्वान्तेन शान्तेन य: ॥ —[17].
पत्नी तस्य मनोरथस्य कृ-

17. तिनश्चारित्रमु[द्रा]पदं
[घौ]डीदेशनरेशशुद्धसचिवश्रीदेवशर्मात्मजा[43] ।
मू[र्त्ता] स[त्य]मरुन्धतीव जग[तां] वन्द्या सतीनां धुरि[44]
श्रीमत्शङ्कर[45][श्रा?]वि[र]कुर[यि]तुं सत्पुत्त्रबीजा[न्य]भूत् ॥ —[18].
[ना]पत्यं चिरमापतुर्यदुचितं तेनैव तौ दं-

[35] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[37] This whole line and part of the following line are extremely indistinct in the rubbing.

[38] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

[39] Metre of verses 15—19: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[40] The *akshara* in brackets, in the original, is त्न rather than न.

[41] Read °न्दर्भगर्भे°.

[42] The reading is clear here, but I would alter it to °रोपा°

[43] The first *akshara* of this line, according to the rubbing, can only be either घी or घौ. Originally सचव was engraved, but it has been altered to सचिव.

[44] I am not satisfied with the text of this line and of the next, which are quite blurred in the rubbings; but, with the exception of the bracketed letters the above seems to me to be the reading offered by the rubbings. In the place of the *akshara* श्रा another letter was originally engraved, but it has been altered subsequently.

[45] Read श्रीमच्छ°.

L. 18. पती
सम्यत्तावपि[46]नूनमन्वभवतां सन्तापमन्तस्ततः ।
मामाराधयतन्मृधयमरतिर्भावी सुतस्तेन वां
गत्वेति स्वयमादिदेश गिरिशः स्वप्ने समीपं ययोः ॥ —[19].
सुप्रीतयोर्व्भ(र्ब्भ)गवतो मम नामधेयमाधेयमस्य पुन-
19. रित्यनुशासनेन ।
स्वाराधितस्मरहरस्वरमानुरूपो रूपानुमेयसुनयस्तनयोजनिष्ट ॥[47]—[20]
गङ्गाधराख्यः स ततो जितात्मा यः शैशवाद्विश्वजनीनवृत्तः ।
विवर्द्धमानः परलोकभीत्या सदात्मनीनं नयमातता-
20. न ॥[48]—[21].
अभवदनुजो महीधर इति पुत्रौ श्रीमनोरथादुदितौ ।
आशीर्वराभिनन्द्यौ हरिहरपुरुषोत्तमौ दशरथात्तु ॥[49]—[22].
सत्कल्पप्रवणाः श्रुतिप्रणयि[नः] शिक्षाभिरुल्लासिताः
सज्ज्योतिर्गतयो निरुक्तविशदाश्छन्दोवि-
21. धौ साधवः ।
[ख्या]ता व्याकरणक्रमेण विदुषाम[त्युच्च]धीशील[ना]-[50]
द्वेदाङ्गप्रतिमाः षडेव भुवने ते वि(बि)भ्रति भ्रातरः ॥[51]—[23].
तदन्तरं माननरेन्द्रचन्द्रमाः स रुद्रमानोजनि येन भूभुजा ।
स्वमेदिनीमण्डलमादिकोलवद्व(द्ब)लादमित्रा-
22. म्बु(म्बु)निधेः समुद्धृतं ॥[52]—[24].
पाणि[र्दानचणः प्रभौघ]लह[री] वक्त्रञ्च यस्य स्वयं
मर्यादास्थितिमान्स एव जगतां जीवातवश्चेत्कृताः ।
तत्किं कल्पलतायहीन्द्रकमठौ सा चित्रभानुद्वयी
पर्यन्द्र[53]निधयोम्भसामिति विधेर्डिक् प्रक्रि-
23. यागौरवं ॥[54]—[25].
सूत्रं दिक्करिदन्तकोटिमटितुं क्रा[न्तौ ?] गि[री]णां ल[घु]
व्याप्तुं व्योम पृथुस्थिताविह दिशि प्रोतं वशि भ्रान्तिषु ।
चीराब्धी[न्दु]सुधादिषु[55]प्रभवति व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डगर्भा(र्ब्भा)द्व[हि]-
र्न्निर्यात्यस्ति यथेत्थ[मी]श्वरगुणैरित्यद्भुतं[56]यद्यश-
24. : ॥ —[26].
युद्धे व(ब)द्धोत्सवरिपुभटश्रेणि[सिद्ध]: सदा यो
व(ब)न्धुः शुद्धो विपदि विसरत्कार्यनिर्यासमीमा ।
श्रेयान् सभ्यः सदसि विशदे विश्वविश्वासपात्रं
पातुं मित्रं हृदयमितरत्तस्य गङ्गाधरोऽभूत् ॥[57]—[27].
आचाराभ-

[46] Read संयत्तावपि.
[47] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.
[48] Metre: Upajâti.
[49] Metre: Gîti.
[50] Originally षि was engraved, instead of धी.
[51] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[52] Metre: Vaṁśastha.
[53] Read पयोन्द्री.
[54] Metre of verses 25 and 26: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[55] Read चीराब्धी°.
[56] Read यदंच्च°(?).
[57] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

L. 25. रक्षः सुभाषितचणः सन्नीतिरत्नापणः
प्रागल्भीरमणः प्रशान्तकरणः कारुण्यपारायणः ।
यः सौजन्यनिधिः स्थितावनुपधिः सख्यस्य मुख्यो विधि-
र्धीरत्वेनवधिर्व्विधूतवितथव्याधिर्द्धियां सेवधिः ॥[58]—[28].

26. गौ-
डराजसुहृदो जयपाणेराधिकारिकपदोपपदस्य ।
आत्मजामुदवहत्सुभगायाः पेशलां स किल पासलदेवीम् ॥[59]—[29].
आक्रान्तो न वृषः कदापि गतये यस्मिन्न हीनाङ्गना
रौद्री नाद्रियते स्थितिर्न्न गणितास्ता

27. गोत्रभित्सङ्कथाः ।
अन्योन्यास्यविलासवञ्चितदृशोरेकं वपुर्व्वि(र्ब्बि)भ्रतो-
स्तत्प्रायः शिवयोरपीदमनयोर्द्दाम्पत्यमत्यादृतम् ॥[60]—[30].
सन्तोषार्ज्जवधैर्यसंयमदमानुक्रोशशान्तिक्षमा-
मैत्रीसत्यसमाधिमग्नमन-

28. सो नारायणैकात्मनः ।
दम्भद्रोहविमोहलोभममतामात्सर्यमायामद-
द्वेषेर्ष्यादिनिसूदनस्य चरिते यस्यात्र साक्षी जनः ॥ —[31].
तेनात्र दुःशकमसीम सहस्नकृत्वः कृत्यं स्वभर्त्तुरुचितोन्नतये समाप्य ।

29. आवा(बा)[ल्य]यौवन[मसु]प्रतिरोधि व(ब)न्धुलोकस्य चेतसि चमत्कृतिराचितैव ॥[61]—[32]
[य]स्याद्वैतशते[62]स्वयंविरचिते किञ्चित्कवित्वश्रमः
स व्र(ब्र)ह्मोपनिषत्कथास्वधिगमः शुद्धो विरुद्धोथवा ।
भाव्यः शू(सू)रिभिरेव[63]चित्रकवि-

30. तायास स्तुतौ दुस्करे[64]
भारत्याः कुरुतपरान्निजगुणप्रस्तावनां केन सः ॥[65]—[33]
धा[त्वा ?]वर्त्तवशाद्विसृत्वरतरुप्रासादसद्मादिक-[66]
व्यक्ताकारकदम्व(म्ब)मम्व(म्ब)रमनु स्वेनोद्भवत्यभ्भि(द्भि)यं ।
स्थित्वा तत्क्षणतो विपन्नमपुनर्भ्भा(र्भा)वा-

31. यथेदं तथा
मत्वैव त्रिजगन्ति येन जनितः सत्कर्म्मधर्म्मादरः ॥ —[34]
पुत्त्रोत्पत्तिनिमित्तमत्र निजयोः पित्रोः पवित्रात्मना
कीर्त्त्या तेन तयोश्चिरं रचयता शुभ्रातपत्त्रं जगत् ।
कासारीयमकारि पारदर-

[58] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[59] Metre: Svâgatâ.

[60] Metre of verses 30 and 31: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. At the beginning of verse 30 I would suggest reading आक्रान्तेन इव

[61] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[62] Originally तस्यां° was engraved, but the initial त may have been altered to य.

[63] Originally सूर° was engraved, but the sign for *i* has been added afterwards.

[64] Read दुष्करे.

[65] Metre of verses 33-35: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[66] The second *akshara* of this line originally was clearly ता, but it seems to have been altered to त्वा.

L. 32. सच्छायाभृतामम्भसां
यस्मिन्नर्म्मिमिषाद्यशस्तदमलं मूर्त्तन्नरीनृत्यते ॥ —[35].
स्वकीर्त्या सरसस्तस्य प्रतिष्ठासमयोत्सवे ।
शुभ्राम्व(म्ब)रपरीधानं जगत्तेनात्र कारितं ॥[67]—[36].
आकाशः पवनः कृशानुरुदकं धात्रीति लोकत्र-
33. यी-
मूर्त्या ब्र(ब्र)ह्म विवर्त्तमानमयते यावद्विचित्राकृतिम ।
नेत्रश्रोत्रमनःप्रसादसदने तावत् सतामादरा-
दुन्निद्रां मुदमान्तरेषु[68] °कुरुतां कीर्त्तिप्रशस्ती इमे ॥[69]—[37]
क्व शक्तिव्युत्पत्तिव्यतिकरविरोधेन सुलभाः
कवी-
34. नां पन्थानस्तदिह ननु केषामनुगमः ।
स्वपूर्त्तं त्वेतस्मिन् सुजनजनितोनुग्रहगुणः
प्रशस्तौ प्राशस्त्यं वितरति स गङ्गाधरगिराम् ॥ ॥[70]—[38].
नन्देन्द्रियाभेन्दुसमे शकाव्दे(ब्दे) रुद्रात्मजश्चोद्धरणस्य नप्ता ।
इमां शि-
35. लाशिल्पिवरः प्रशस्तिं स शूलपाणिः स्वयमुत्त्वखान ॥[71]—[39].
शाक १०५८ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Sarasvati !

(*Verse* 1.) May the supporter[72] of the universe bestow [on us] his compassion !—who, embracing his beloved and thrilled with delight by the close contact of his breast with her bosom, is sleeping on the lord of serpents, on one side bent low by the weight of the god's lofty body, while on the other he remains upright under the very light burden of the goddess of fortune !

(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine **Aruṇa**,[73] whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled **Śâkadvîpa** where the Brâhmans are named **Magas**! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the sun's own body, grazed by the lathe,[74] whom **Sâmba** himself brought hither. Glorious are they, honoured in the world !

(3.) The first of them was an abode of all vedic lore and of the knowledge of the supreme soul, and wholly occupied in thoughts[75] familiar with every sacrificial rite, that

[67] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[68] Read °न्तरेषु.
[69] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[70] Metre : Śikhariṇî.
[71] Metre : Upajâti.
[72] *i.e.*, Vishnu.
[73] *i.e.*, the dawn, personified as the charioteer of the sun.
[74] The story told in the *Purâṇas* is, that, to diminish the sun's intensity, Viśvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (*Vishṇu-purâṇa* III, 2); and the above verse appears to intimate that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the sun's body, which were taken away by this process of grinding it.
[75] In connection with *vyâpṛita* one would have expected the Loc., not the Instr. case.

sage **Bhâradvâja** whose penance could both deliver and destroy the world, and in whose face there was . . . . like a garland of the great race of the **Maga** twice-born.

(*V.* 4.) His family had a hundred branches, distinguished for unprecedented penances and endowed with far-spreading fame; and in it there were other lords of the twice-born, conversant with the highest truth, whose minds were purified by faultless knowledge.

(5.) In the course of time the heroes who lift their bows to conquer the brilliant treasure of knowledge, robbed by . . . . , were headed by **Chakrapâṇi**, the son of **Dâmodara**. Like Vâlmîki in having made the streams of song to descend, he, a leader of the virtuous, became famous . . . . of his family, as Brahman is of the continuance of the universe.

(6.) If his everlasting, widely spread and weighty renown had not mounted the wheel of the quarters,[76] how would that wheel turn round now?

(7.) As Indra and Vishṇu have sprung from Kaśyapa, the descendant of Marîchi so to **Chakrapâṇi** were born, to sustain the homage heaped upon their family, two sons favoured by the immortals, an elder son named **Manoratha** and his younger brother **Daśaratha**, the bright renown of whose learning, purity of conduct and good disposition has purified the world.

(8.) Because these two brothers were the foremost of the good and had their fame sung by all people within their hearing, and by the facts that they made excellent friends and that plentiful enjoyment came to them unsought, and because princes treated them with loving kindness, their abundant bright excellence (*which caused all this*) rendered their enemies' faces dark (*with envy*).

(9.) These brothers gave extreme delight by captivating one another's hearts with their innate love; and even this capricious Kali age never saw anything to blame in their dealings (*with one another*) that were pleasing on account of their affection.

(10.) In order that they might render his reign illustrious, the wise prince **Varṇamâna** besought them both to come to his royal residence, to dwell with him; and they, abiding by his commands, raised this family of his to the highest pitch of excellence and renown and prosperity.

(11.) In that magnificent home of the **Mâna** lord, which they then served, one of them, whose respectability was an object of esteem as far as the sea, received the office of *pratihâra*,[77] while the other was appointed superintendent of the eunuchs; and in these positions these learned and intelligent men became widely known for both their goodness and good management.

(12.) Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, **Manoratha**[78] went to the sacred **Purushottama**, and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon; (*and*) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon,[79] eclipsed at full-moon time.

(13.) The sacrificial fire of this man whose mind was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine, in consequence of the oblations duly thrown into it three

[76] The meaning of the verse is simply, that Chakrapâni's fame filled all the quarters of the compass.

[77] Literally 'door-keeper.'

[78] The verses 12-17 refer to Manoratha; see verse 18.

[79] The exact meaning of this is not clear to me. Altogether the construction is objectionable, because the two verbs *vitatâra* and *âpa* are in no way connected with each other.

times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god, perpetually threw up of its own accord, under the guise of smoke, the sin kindled from the blindness of the organs which is the bane of the three worlds; but quickly hid it again with its bright lustre.

(*V.* 14.) In the bright fortnight the lustreless half of the sun resorts to him from fear of the manes. He, without doubt, possessed of infinite true knowledge, has unmeasured power. The fame of his piety, wonderfully glorious because it proclaims the might of the omnipresent creator, spreads far and wide in the abodes of men.[80]

(15.) To him the illustrious ruler of Magadha gave the name of Vyâsa, because in consequence of his prudent management his own mind had not to attend to any matters whatever relating to the proper conduct of affairs. He also, even in the presence of princes, was at the appointed seasons freely sung of by the bards as the lotus in the lake of the king's audience hall, and as a modern Kâlidâsa.

(16.) He was a Vâchaspati among good ministers on account of his familiarity with shrewd schemes, a very Brahman in creating due knowledge for whatever was propounded, in consequence of his noble conduct a gem fulfilling all desires in regard to propriety, a source of goodness, and a home of depth. He possessed the true knowledge of the jewel-triad,[81] was quick in languages, and a master by birth of all the arts of poetry.

(17.) With a smiling face intent on doing endless good to others, most proficient in winning the affection of mankind by loving and civil speeches, and a leader of the wise, this excellent man with a mind free from passion always spent his life in worshipping and meditating on the god whose crest is the digit of the moon.

(18.) This fortunate Manoratha married the daughter of Devasarman, the stainless counsellor of the prince of the [Ghaudî] country, a lady on whom propriety of conduct had set its seal. Considering that she verily was Arundhatî in mortal frame, to be revered by the worlds as the foremost of good wives, the holy Śaṁkara manifested himself to cause the seeds of piety to sprout.

(19.) As for a long time they did not obtain the desired-for offspring, both husband and wife, though not to blame, were naturally distressed in mind. Then Śiva himself came to them in a dream, and told them that their anxiety was groundless; they should worship him, and then they would have a son.

(20.) To them, well pleased by this and by the god's further command that they should give his own name to their son, a son was born who was like his parents[82] who had well worshipped the destroyer[83] of Smara, and whose good conduct was proportionate to his beauty.

(21.) Him then they called Gaṅgâdhara; and he, self-subdued, from childhood pleased every one by his behaviour, and growing up he always, from fear of the world to come, gave ample proof of his wisdom.

[80] Here again, assuming my reading of the text to be correct, the construction is unsatisfactory. In the first line of the verse we should have expected *yum* instead of *taṁ*, and in the second line we miss the relative *yaḥ*. The meaning of the first line of the verse, the reading of which is more or less conjectural, appears to me to be this that, when the moon is waxing, the sun at night resorts to Manoratha to share in his lustre, because it is afraid of being invaded by the manes whom it supposes to be anxious to get away from the bright moon.

[81] I am not certain what *ratnatrayî* the author is referring to. With Buddhists the term would denote *buddha*, *dharma* and *saṁgha*, with Jainas *samyagdarśana*, *samyagjñâna* and *samyakchâritra*.

[82] The original has *rama*, which should mean 'husband and wife,' not 'parents.'

[83] *i e*, Śiva, the destroyer of the god of love.

(*V.* 22.) After him came another son, named Mahîdhara. These were the two sons of Manoratha. To Daśaratha, on the other hand, were born Harihara and Purushottama, blessing and fulfilment of desire.

(23.) Fond of the Vedas, devoted to the proper ceremonial, illustrious for their knowledge of the *Śikshâs*, well acquainted with the *Jyotisha*, accurately understanding the *Nirukta*, proficient in the rules of metrics, famous for their progress in grammar, these six brothers, deeply engaged in the lofty course of study of the learned, well represent the *Vedâṅgas* in the world.

(24.) Meanwhile there was born that moon of the Mâna princes, the king Rudramâna, who, like the primeval boar, powerfully recovered his realm from the sea of adversaries.

(25.) As his hand is famed for its liberality and his face a wave of the flood of light, and since he keeps himself within the bounds of propriety, and provides means of subsistence for the people,[84] of what account are the creeping-plant of paradise, the great serpent and the tortoise, those two bright luminaries yonder, and the lord of elephants and the seas? Fie on such cumbrous insignia of high rank of the Creator!

(26.) Marvellous indeed is his fame, because it shares the properties of the supreme lord. So subtle as to pervade the edges of the teeth of the elephants of the quarters, so light as to reach the heavens in its ascent of the mountains, it extends everywhere here in the broad regions and roams freely about at will; it predominates in the sea of milk as well as in the white splendour of the moon, and it goes out of the mundane egg, and stays in it as it pleases.

(27.) Of this (*king*) Gaṅgâdhara was (*as it were*) a second heart to protect friends, (*Gaṅgâdhara*), who always was in battle a magician (*in scattering*) the lines of exulting hostile warriors, in misfortune an honest friend, a check when affairs were getting beyond control, an excellent associate in a spotless assembly, and worthy to be trusted in everything.

(28.) (*Gaṅgâdhara*), who was embellished by good behaviour, famed for his cleverness of speech, a market of the gems of prudent counsel, a lover of resoluteness, tranquil-minded, full of compassion, a store-house of benevolence, fraudless in obligations, a prime promoter of friendship, boundless in steadfastness, free from the failing of untruth, and a treasure of intelligence.

(29.) He married the charming Pâsaladevî, a daughter of Jayapâṇi who bore the title of *ádhikárika*,[85] a friend of the king of Gauḍa, and of (*his wife*) Subhagâ.

(30.) And their matrimonial union was universally esteemed even as that of Siva and his consort, who are prevented from seeing the charm of each other's faces, because they have only one body; a union where the wife is never left behind when (*the husband*) mounts the bull to go abroad, and where (*the wife*) never notices the (*husband's*) fearful form, nor minds being addressed with the name of a rival.

(31.) The people here have witnessed the conduct of (*Gaṅgâdhara*) whose mind is brimful of contentment, honesty, firmness, forbearance, self-restraint, tenderness, calmness, patience, friendship, truth and contemplation, whose only thought is Nârâyaṇa,

[84] Here, again, the two first lines of the original verse do not admit of a proper construction.
[85] *i.e.*, 'a superintendent of affairs.'

and who destroys deceit, malice, folly, covetousness, selfishness, envy, fraud, infatuation, hatred, jealousy and other evil qualities.

(*V.* 32.) Having accomplished here a thousand times, ever since he was a boy and a youth, and even to the endangerment of his life, most difficult deeds without end for the due advancement of his master, he has indeed filled the minds of his kinsmen with wonder.

(33.) A man who in his *Advaitaśata* has striven to prove that he has some poetic gift, whose knowledge, be it faultless or perhaps otherwise, of the treatises on the supreme soul is well known, and whose attempts in the way of artificial poetry, hard even for the goddess of eloquence and to be ventured on by scholars only, have met with applause, need he say more in praise of his merits?

(34.) The revolution of elementary matter gives rise to the diffused mass of trees, palaces, houses, and the rest of visible objects; the rain-cloud forms in the sky of its own accord; all this stays for a moment only and vanishes again, never to return.[86] Considering such too to be the case with the three worlds, (*Gaṅgâdhara*) has devoted himself to virtuous and pious deeds.

(35.) To secure for his parents religious merit, that pure-minded man has founded here,—covering the world for ever with their fame as with a radiant umbrella,—this tank of water shining like quick-silver, in which their spotless renown in the guise of the waves dances about in visible form.

(36.) And at the festive inauguration of this lake he has made his own fame here envelop the world like a radiant garment.

(37.) As long as the supreme spirit in the shape of the three worlds, as ether, air, fire, water and earth, passing through a succession of existences, pursues its varied course, so long may these two eulogies of fame, pleasing the eyes and ears and the mind, vigorously cause lively joy in the hearts of the good!

(38.) How can the ways of poets be easily found in the absence of innate ability as well as of culture? And, accordingly, is it likely that the author of this should have discovered them? Yet, as this treats of himself, the favour shown to him by good men will find in this eulogy also something to applaud in Gaṅgâdhara's words.[87]

(39.) In the Śaka year equal to the Nandas (9), the organs of sense (5), the sky (0) and the moon (1), the excellent stone-mason Śûlapâṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharana, himself engraved this eulogy.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

[86] Instead of the Abl. case *apunarbhâvât* I should have expected the Dat. case.

[87] Literally 'will bestow on this eulogy also the excellence of Gaṅgâdhara's words.'

XXVII.—DUDHPANI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF UDAYAMANA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The preceding inscription induces me to publish here, also from a rubbing of Sir A. Cunningham's, the text of another inscription which on the back of the rubbing is described as 'Rock inscription from Dudhpani Ghat near Dumduma,' with the note that 'Dudhpani' is 'in the Hazâribâgh district' (of Chutiâ Nâgpur in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, south of the districts of Gayâ and Monghyr).

This inscription contains thirteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6′ broad by 1′ 2½″ high. With the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas* which are broken away, but can be easily supplied, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is about ¾″. The characters are essentially the same as, but somewhat more modern than, those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasena,[1] and may be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. In describing the writing of the Aphsaḍ inscription,[2] Dr. Fleet has stated that in that inscription *r*, in combination wit a following consonant, is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it, and that 'in the *ry* of *śaurya*, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before' (the seventh century). In the present inscription the conjunct *ry* occurs three times (in *parâkkramair=yaḥ*, line 1, *uparyantam*, line 3, and *śauryeṇa*, line 4), and is each time written exactly as in the Aphsaḍ inscription. In combination with other (following) consonants *r* occurs thirty-five times and is 21 times written on, and 14 times above the line. The sign of the *upadhmânîya* (which however is really like the sign for *sh*) is employed seven times, but is not used in four cases where it might also have been employed; and the sign of the *jihvâmûlîya* seems to be used once, before the word *khaṇḍita* in line 11. At the end of the writing there is a good engraving of a flower; and altogether the letters throughout have been drawn and engraved very well indeed, and it is much to be regretted that the rubbing is not suitable for photographing.

The language of the inscription is Saṁskṛit, and the whole is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is written by the sign for *v*; instead of *anusvâra* the guttural nasal is used in *siṅha*, lines 1, 6 and 8, *aṅśuka*, line 5, and *nistriṅśa*, line 6, and the dental nasal in *kasminśchit*, line 2, °*bhânsi* and *yaśânsi*, line 5, and even in °*prîtin=surendrâ*°, line 10; and the consonants *k* and *t* are everywhere doubled before *r* (*e.g.*, in °*parâk-kramakkramapadâkkrântattrilokî*,° in line 5). Besides, attention may be drawn to the hiatus in *śrî Âdisiṅha*, in lines 1 and 8, and to the fact that a final *m* before a word beginning with a consonant is generally changed, not to *anusvâra*, but to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs.—Wrong grammatical forms which the inscription contains are *dadata* for *datta*, in line 7, and *chakhanuḥ* for *chakhnuḥ*, in line 12; and the causal is improperly employed instead of the primitive verb in *achîkarat*, in line 11. Wrong constructions we find in verses 15, 16 and 24; and the rules of metrics are violated in verses 1, 14, 21 and 23. Words not found in the dictionaries, or employed in unusual significations, are *prârabdhi*, in line 6, *avalagaka* and *avalagana*, in

[1] See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate XXVIII.
[2] See *ib.*, p. 202.

line 7, *vyutthânika* (derived from *vyutthâna* as *vijñânika* is from *vijñâna*), in line 12, and *rechaka* (unless this is an error for *mechaka*) in the same line.

The inscription is not dated, but, as intimated above, it may, on palæographical grounds, be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of the goddess of fortune, it tells us (in verses 2 and 3) that in former days there was a king of Magadha, named Âdisiṁha, to whose dominions belonged the three villages (*palli*) of which the inscription treats and near one of which it must have been engraved,—Bhramaraśâlmali, Chhiṅgalâ, and Nabhûtîshaṇḍaka.[3] Now, once upon a time three brothers—Udayamâna, Śrîdhautamâna, and Ajitamâna[4]—merchants, went on business from Ayodhyâ to Tâmalipti; and having made plenty of money and being on their way home, they for some reason or other tarried at one of the three villages, apparently Bhramaraśâlmali (verses 4—5). While[5] they were there, the king Âdisiṁha came to the forest near the villages on a hunting expedition,[6] and ordered the inhabitants to give him an *avalagaka* (or *avalagana*). The villagers, on receipt of the king's orders, went to the eldest brother, Udayamâna, and entreated him to do the king's behest. He thereupon did send an *avalagana* and quickly became a favourite of the king, who not only bestowed a diadem (*śripaṭṭa*[7]) on him, but also, at Udayamâna's solicitation, assured the people of Bhramaraśâlmali of his royal favour (verses 12—16). When Udayamâna returned to the village, the inhabitants in their delight, and with the king's approval, requested him to become their *râjâ*, and he complied with the request and long ruled the village happily and vigorously (verses 17-19). He also, at the request of the inhabitants of the two other villages, sent his brothers Śrîdhautamâna and Ajitamâna to rule, subordinately to himself, over Nabhûtishaṇḍaka and Chhiṅgalâ (verses 20—23). Verse 24 (if I understand it rightly) adds that people of former days had this eulogy engraved[8] to record that the family (ruling at Bhramaraśâlmali) had been founded and owed its greatness to Udayamâna, and to warn (the chiefs of) the two other villages not to act in opposition to, or to separate themselves from, the (main branch of the) family; and the inscription ends with a prayer for the uninterrupted continuance of the family of the prince Udayamânadeva.

I am not at present able to state whether any or what historical importance should be attached to this inscription;[9] nor can I identify the three villages of which the inscription treats. The place Tâmalipti (Tâmralipti), to which the three brothers are said to have gone from Ayodhyâ, is the modern Tamlûk, the head-quarters of the sub-division

[3] So the name is given in verse 3. In verses 21 and 23 originally *Bhûtishaṇḍaka* was engraved, but both times this appears to have been altered to *Nabhûtishaṇḍaka*.

[4] These names are given below.

[5] The verses 6-11 only glorify the wealth, liberality, valour, etc., of the three brothers in the customary manner.

[6] This appears to be the general sense of the original text, but I am unable to give the exact meaning of the word *prârabdhi-khelana*, and of the following words *avalagaka* and *avalagana*. According to the dictionaries *prârabdhi* is 'the post to which an elephant is fastened,' which would suggest that the king was out elephant-hunting. For *avalagana* (as a neuter noun) von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* only gives the meaning 'the winning of somebody;' and *avalagaka* I find in Professor Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabâhu's *Kalpasûtra*, p. 107, note 61, employed in the explanation of the word *kauṭumbika* where also its meaning seems to be uncertain

[7] See Varâhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, Chapter XLIX. In the note on the *Kalpasûtra*, quoted above, the word *śreshṭhin* is explained by *Śrîdevatâdhyâsita-sauvarṇapaṭṭa-bhûshitottamâṅgaḥ*; what the king gave to Udayamâna was apparently such a *śrîpaṭṭa*.

[8] Accordingly, the present inscription is recording events which had happened generations before this inscription was engraved.

[9] The names of *Udayamâna* and his brothers will of course remind the reader of the occurrence of the names *Varnamâna* and *Rudramâna* in the preceding inscription.

of the same name of the Midnapur district of Bengal, on the Rûpnârâyan river, a town which is well known from Buddhist records, and is even now one of the principal seats of commerce in the district.[10]

TEXT.[11]

L. 1. [ओं[12]]

श्रीरात्मदेहप्रतिमासहस्रमालोक्य भोगी[न्द्रफ]णामणिस्थं[13]।

ई[र्ष्याकु]ला कर[तले]न हरेऽप्रहा[र]मुल्ला[सय]न्ती भवतु [श्रि]ये वः ॥[14]—[1].

व(ब)भूव पूर्व्वम्मगधाधिराजः श्रीआदिसिंहोरिगजे[क]सिंहः[15]।

पराक्रमैर्यऽप्रथितोद्वितीयः

2. श्रीमज्ज[रास]न्ध इव द्वितीयः ॥[16]—[2].

अस्याभ[म*]रशालमल्याञ्छिङ्गलाय[न्त]थैव च ।

नभूतोष[ण्ड]के चापि व(ब)भूवाधिपतिऽपुरा ॥[17]—[3].

अथ कस्मिन्श्चि[त्स]मये[18] वणिजो भ्रातरस्त्रयः ।

तामलिप्ति[म]योध्याया ययुः पूर्व्वम्वणिज्यया[19] ॥ —[4].

भूयः प्रतिनिवृत्तास्ते स्वमावासं यियासवः ॥(।)

3. प्रयोजनेन केनापि चिरञ्चक्रुरिह स्थितिं ॥ —[5].

सुवर्ण्णमणिमाणिक्यमुक्ताप्रभृति यैर्द्धनं ।

वित्तपस्पर्द्धयेवासीदपर्यन्तमुपार्ज्जितं ॥ —[6].

सर्व्वभूताश्रयात्मत्यदयादाक्षिण्यशालिनः ।

स्रष्टा(ष्टा)र इव लोकस्य त्रयः क्षितिमुपागताः ॥ —[7].

कैलासः कठिनः कलङ्क-

4. मलिनश्चन्द्रस्तुषाराचलः

प्रायस्तीक्ष्णकरप्रहारविवशो नित्यङ्गलत्येव हि ।

तारल्यञ्च समाश्रिता गुणवतो हारा इति प्रायशो

येषामत्र व(ब)भूव निर्म्मलगुणैः शीलस्य नैवोपमा ॥[20]—[8]

दातृत्वेन समो व(ब)भूव न पुरा कर्ण्णोपि येषामसौ

शौर्य्येणापि जगज्जिगीषुरगमत्[21]

5. नैवार्ज्जुनस्तुल्यतां

ये चासह्यपराक्रमक्रमपदाक्रान्तत्रिलोकीतला

वीरानाहवमूर्द्धसु प्रव(ब)लिनऽपङ्क्तिनिवोच्चिक्षिपुः ॥ —[9].

दिक्काम(मि)नीतनुविलेपनचन्दनानि [रा]ज्यश्रिय स्तनतटीविकटाङ्कुकानि[22]।

अद्यापि चन्द्रकरहारतुषारभान्सि[23] सर्व्वा दिशो धवलयन्ति यशा[न्सि] येषां ॥[24]—[10].

विद्यासमुन्नतगुणा

[10] See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XIII, p. 171.

[11] From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing.

[12] Expressed by a symbol.

[13] The two *aksharas* in brackets are almost entirely broken away.

[14] Metre Indravajrâ; but the third Pâda of the verse is as if the metre were Vasantatilakâ.—Compare Vallabhadeva's *Subhâshitâvali*, verse 41.

[15] Observe the hiatus in श्रीआदि°; and read °सिंहो and °सिंहः.

[16] Metre: Upajâti.

[17] Metre of verses 3-7 : Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[18] Read कस्मिंश्चि°.

[19] Read पूर्व्वं व°.

[20] Metre of verses 8 and 9 : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[21] Read °गमन्नैवा°.

[22] Read °विकटांशुकानि.

[23] Read °भांसि and यशांसि.

[24] Metre of verses 10 and 11 : Vasantatilakâ.

L. 6. अपि न [छायान्धा] नम्रा: सुदूरमथ चोन्नतिमूर्त्तिभाज:[25]।
निस्त्रिंशनिष्ठुरकरा:[26] [कृ]पयाकुलाश्च ये चार्थिकल्पतरव: शिवश्रीरिभक्ता: ॥ —[11].
स श्रीमानादिसिङ्होथ[27] कदाचिदटवीमिमां ।
प्रारब्धी(ब्धो)खेलनोद्युक्तऽप्रविवेशावनीश्वर: ॥[28]—[12].
आदिदेश

7. समाहूय स पल्लीोचितयाज्जनं ।
यूयमद्यावलगकमस्मभ्यं[29] ददताश्विति ॥ —[13].
अत्रत्यस्तन्समाकर्ण्य[30] [तूर्ण]म्ब(म्ब)लपरिग्रह:[31] ॥(।)
वणिजां भ्रातरं ज्येष्ठमुदयमानमुपागमत् ॥ —[14].
राज्ञोवलगनार्थाय तमभ्यर्थ्य प्रयत्नत: ।
प्रेषयामास तन्सोपि[32] वल्लभोभून्महीपते: ॥ —[15].

8. अल्पैरहोभिरनुभूय नृपप्रसादं श्रीपट्टव(ब)न्धमधिगम्य तत: क्रमेण ।
श्रीआदिसिङ्हनृपतिम्परिवो(बो)ध्य[33][ते]न [स]आनितो[34]भ्रमरशाल्मलिपल्लिलोक:॥[35][16].
तुष्टास्ततो भ्रमरशाल्मलिवासिनस्ते भूयस्तमागतमुपेत्य जनाऽप्रणम्य ।
राजा भव त्वमिह पालय पल्लिमेतामित्या-

9. दि तत्परधियोभिदधुस्तमुच्चै: ॥ —[17].
एवन्नाम भवत्विति प्रतिवचस्तस्मात्समाकर्ण्य ते
तस्मै राज्यपदन्ददु: चितिभृताप्याज्ञापि[ता]स्तत्कृते ।
सोस्मिन्विक्रमखण्डितारिसुभटश्रेणि: श्रुतार्थश्चिरं
राज्यन्विर्ज्जितसर्व्वपल्लिरकरोन्नाम्नोदयाख्यो नृप: ॥[36] —[18].
यस्य त्यागनयान्वयोन्नतिगुणग्रामाधिपत्यार्ज्जितां

10. कीर्त्तिञ्चन्द्रकरावदातसुभगामद्यापि सोत्कण्ठिता: ।
गेहासीनसुराङ्गनाजनकृतप्रीतिम्सुरेन्द्रालय-[37]
प्रान्तप्रोत्थितकल्पपादपतले गायन्ति सिद्धस्त्रिय: ॥ —[19].
आगत्योदयमानस्तु तैरेवाभ्यर्थितस्तदा ।
पल्लीद्वयेपि राज्यार्थं भ्रातरौ विससर्ज्ज स: ॥[38]—[20].
श्रीमान्छ्रीधीतमानाख्य:[39] प्रख्यातो [न]भूति-[40]

[25] Read चोन्नतम्°.

[26] Read निस्त्रिंश°.

[27] Read °सिंहोथ.

[28] Metre of verses 12-15; Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[29] Originally °स्मभ्यो was engraved, but it has been altered to °स्मभ्यं.

[30] Read °तत्समा°.

[31] Of the *aksharas* in brackets the upper portion is broken away.

[32] Read तं सोपि or तस्योपि.

[33] Observe again the hiatus in श्रीआदि°; and read °सिंह°.

[34] Read संमानितो.

[35] Metre of verses 16 and 17 : Vasantatilakâ.

[36] Metre of verses 18 and 19 : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[37] Read °प्रीतिं सुरे°.

[38] Metre of verses 20-23 : Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[39] Read श्रीमाञ्छ्री°.

[40] The *akshara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

L. 11. षण्डके ।

वष्यात्मोदयमानस्य चिरं राज्यमचीकरत् ॥ —[21].

प्रचण्डसुभटाटोपखण्डितामित्रमण्डल: ।

अभूदजितमानोपि च्छिङ्गलायां मह्हीपति: ॥ —[22].

पत्युर्म्मरग्रालमल्याश्छिङ्गला[न?]भूतिषण्डकौ[41] ।

वश्यौ व(ब)भूवतु: पूर्व्वमेवमेतौ यथाक्रमं ॥ —[23].

आरभ्योदयमानमादिपुरुषं गोत्र-

12. क्रमोयम्महा-

नस्माकम्परिवर्द्धमानमहिमेत्यालोक्य ते पूर्व्वजा: ।

अस्मद्गोत्रभवात्कदाचिदनाद्युत्थानिकं[42] स्यादिदं

सत्पत्नोदयमित्यवेत्य चखनुर्प्राशस्त्यवर्णानिमान् ॥[43]—[24].

यावत्प्रान्तमरीचिरेचकचयव्यासत्रिलोकोच्छ्रयं[44]

चक्रं चक्रधरो वि(ब)भर्त्ति गिरिशो यावद्भवानीपति: ।

13. यावल्लोकसिसृक्षयाकुलमिलच्चिन्तालसश्चात्मभू-

र्म्मौत्रस्योदयमानदेवनृपतेस्तावत्स्थितिर्दृश्यताम् ॥ —[25].

XXVIII.—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA, KING OF KÂMARÛPA.

By Arthur Venis, M.A., Principal, Sanskrit College, Benares.

Twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions were found in October 1892 in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barnâ and the Ganges at Benares. The story at the time was that a villager while ploughing a field had turned up one of the plates with his plough and so discovered the others; but I do not know whether this simple and (in India) not unusual story has been subsequently confirmed by official inquiry into the locality and circumstances of the find. Mr. R. H. Brereton, Magistrate of Benares, sent me the plates, which are the subject of this and the next paper, *viz.* the grant of Vaidyadeva and two grants of Govindachandra of Kanauj, for immediate examination and report. On receiving from me a few rough notes as to their general contents and approximate dates, he kindly permitted a more careful and leisurely revision of these grants.[1]

The Vaidyadeva grant is engraved on three plates. A spoon-like arrangement loosely holds the plates together, its narrower, hooked end being passed through a hole in the middle of their right-hand margins. The broader, hollow end of the spoon contains a figure of Gaṇeśa. The plates measure $9\frac{3}{4}''$ broad by $7''$ high, and weigh together

[41] Here again the *akshara* in brackets seems to be engraved above the line.

[42] This was originally engraved, but appears to have been altered to °चिद्न व्यु°; and I believe the intended reading to be °चिदपि न व्यु°.

[43] Metre of verses 24 and 25, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[44] I am not sure whether the word रेचक of this line should be altered to मेचक.°

[1] All the plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow in July 1893.

2lbs. 13oz.; their margins are slightly thickened outwards. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only. Each side contains sixteen lines, except the outer side of the third plate, on which there are nine lines only. The height of the letters is about a quarter inch. On the whole, the writing is well preserved, being nowhere completely obliterated. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (*ante*, vol. I, p. 305), but approach more closely to the modern Bengali character. They may also be compared, in some respects, with the character of the Krishnadvârikâ Temple inscription at Gayâ (*Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. III, plate xxxvii), which Dr. Kielhorn describes as "a kind of Devanâgarî which appears to have been current in the 12th century A.D." (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVI, p. 63.)

Peculiarities, epigraphical and orthographical, are always better seen than described; but the purpose of this notice will have been sufficiently served, it is hoped, by the corrigenda in the foot-notes to the printed text. Lines 6-13 of plate iii, A, have not been corrected, because they are mostly filled with names of villages, tanks, their exact boundaries, etc., in Prakrit forms. It may be remarked in passing that the engraver of the plates (or his prompter) has fallen an easy victim to the shibboleth of श, ष, स. The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse.

The inscription records the grant of two villages named Śântipâṭaka and Mandarâ situated in the *vishaya* of Bâḍâ, in the *bhukti* of Prâgjyotisha, in the *maṇḍala* of Kâmarûpa. The donee is a Brahman named Śrîdhara, the son of Yudhishṭhira and Pâî his wife, and the grandson of Bharata, who was born of the *gotra* of Viśvâmitra, in the village of Bhâva in Vârendrî. Vaidyadeva, the donor, is the son of Bodhideva and Pratâpadevî his wife, and the grandson of Yogadeva. His caste is not mentioned; but there can be little doubt that he was a Brahman. He was a devotee of both Śiva and Vishṇu. His father and grandfather, in their time, had been the ministers of Râmapâla and Vigrahapâla, who were the father and grandfather respectively of Kumârapâla. The royal and the ministerial lines stand thus:—

Sûryavaṁśî Pâlas.	*Mantrins.*
I. Vigrahapâla.	1. Yogadeva.
II. Râmapâla (son of I).	2. Bodhideva (son of 1).
III. Kumârapâla (son of II).	3. Vaidyadeva (son of 2).

From the inscription we directly learn but little more about the Pâlas than is given in the above table. Vigrahapâla is dismissed in a single verse as "perfect in every accomplishment"—a brief but appropriate intimation, perhaps, that his reign was brief. Râmapâla, a warrior, is compared to his great namesake. If the dark conceit of verse 4 has not escaped me, it means in bald prose that Râmapâla conquered (or regained?) Mithilâ, and killed a certain raja Bhîma, whom I am unable to identify. Kumârapâla is styled Lord of Gauḍa. He loved Vaidyadeva "dearer even than life," to whose generalship he entrusted the fortunes of the empire. Vaidyadeva was a stern minister and a victorious general. If verse 11 and verses 13—17 do not refer to the same event, he won two glorious victories for his master; the one in the southern part of Vaṅga (but see note 81); the other "in the East," when he killed a rebellious vassal whose name I read hesitatingly as Timgyadeva.

In the kingdom "in the East" was included Kâmarûpa; for it was here that the two villages conveyed by Vaidyadeva as Mahârâjâdhirâja, etc., were situated. He dates the charter from his victorious camp at Haṁsâkoñchî, which again I cannot identify. His younger brother (? nephew), Budhadeva, is introduced without any apparent reason, unless indeed it be to mark him as the heir. The *praśasti* was written by Manoratha, the son of the *rájaguru* Murâri and Padmâ his wife. The *śásana* was delivered by Gonandana, Vaidyadeva's *dharmádhikárin*. It was engraved by Karṇabhadra.

The date of the Vaidyadeva grant remains to be discussed. I have failed to work it out directly from the text. The statement in plate iii, A, l. 5, appears to be only a prose repetition of the statement in verse 28, with the addition of the word *Sam* and the numerical sign 4. The syllable *ni*, with which it concludes, I take as a contraction of *nibaddham* (to qualify *śâsanaṁ*). Verse 28 will be considered below. The other statement in ll. 3, 4 of plate iii, A, baffles me. The last word *Gugguli* is very doubtful. Read thus, it may be explained as an *upanáman* of Śrîdhara, the donee, in reference to the story of the *Guggulu* in verse 26. But the forms of conjunct *ggu* are entirely different in the two words. I am still inclined to think that the letters read *Gugguli* are somehow connected with the date indication.

Failing to fix Vaidyadeva's date from the inscription itself, I have been forced to enter on the much debated chronology of the Pâla and Sena dynasties. Now, in regard to the Pâla dynasty, the reign of Mahîpàla from 1006 to 1060 A.D., and the accession of Govindapâla in 1161 A.D., are practically the only dates unanimously accepted by the latest modern authorities. The intervening names, the order of their succession, and their dates are still disputed. Dr. Kielhorn's list of Pâla kings from Gopâla I. to Vigrahapâla III., based on the Âmgâchhî plate (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XXI, p. 99), is, in part at least, confirmed and extended by the statements of the Vaidyadeva plates: for, assuming the historical accuracy of the Âmgâchhî and Vaidyadeva grants (which indeed there seems to be no reason for doubting), we see from the latter grant that the kings Vigrahapâla, Râmapâla and Kumârapâla must be placed together in this unbroken order; and from the former grant that no place in the Pâla line can be found for this trio previous to Mahîpâla. Further, the dates discussed in the next paragraph make it almost certain that Vigrahapâla of the Vaidyadeva grant is identical with Vigrahapâla III. of Dr. Kielhorn's list.[1] Nayapâla's position is not so easy to decide. Dr. Hoernle identifies him with Devapâla, 956—991 A.D., (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV, p. 164). Of course there may have been two or more of his name in the Pâla dynasty. But I may observe that the exact position of Nayapâla is not material to the present inquiry.

I return to verse 28, and premising the succession given by Dr. Kielhorn, I would thus state the problem widely:—Between the years 1060 and 1161 A.D., to find the year in which the *Meshasaṁkránti* fell (1) on *ekádaśi* and (2) on *dvádaśi* in Vaiśâkha (*kṛishṇa-paksha*)? The following years result:—(1) on *ekádaśi* 1077, 1096, 1123, 1142, 1161 A.D.; (2) on *dvádaśi* 1115, 1134 A.D. Now, the years 1077, 1096, 1115 and 1123 may at once be rejected as altogether too early for Kumârapâla, by whom Vaidyadeva was made a king. The year 1134 may also be rejected; for, since we do not know

[1] Dr Kielhorn confines himself to proving that the Âmgâchhî plate of Vigrahapâla III. was issued after 1053 A.D.

whether Kumârapâla was the immediate predecessor of Govindapâla or not, we are not a liberty to count the years of Kumârapâla backwards directly from 1161 A.D. Then, turning to the other end of the line, even if Nayapâla's name be omitted from that part of the royal succession which is now under review, it is safer to place Kumârapâla nearer the end than the beginning of the period 1060—1161 A.D. Thus 1142 and 1161 remain. And of the two 1142 A.D. seems the more probable date for the grant of Vaidyadeva. The 4th year mentioned in Plate III, A., ll. 3, 4, 5 may be the regnal year of Vaidyadeva, whose rule in Assam would then date from 1138 A.D.

Next, as to the history of the Sena dynasty, it is generally acknowledged that some time during the second half of the 11th century A.D. the Pâlas lost Eastern and Northern Bengal (including Assam) to the Senas under Vijayasena. "Vijayasena's reign (Dr. Kielhorn writes, *ante*, vol. I, 307) may therefore be reasonably supposed to have begun about the beginning of the last quarter of the 11th century." I have no wish to indulge in further speculation. Briefly, this is what I suppose the drift of events to have been. At first, *i.e.* roughly from 1060—1130 A.D. the Pâlas were driven westwards by the Senas. Then the Senas began to lose ground rapidly and were driven back by the Pâlas into a small corner of Bengal, where they were finally demolished by the Muhamadans at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Thus, the conquest of Janakabhûmi (Mithilâ) by Râmapâla, recounted in verse 4 of the Vaidyadeva grant, may have been an historical fact, marking the return of power to the Pâla line. And thus, too, the Pâla culmination under Kumârapâla about 1142 A.D. would synchronise with the Sena decadence under Keśavasena or his successor.

To recapitulate: Vaidyadeva's grant furnishes some new historical material, *viz.* a trio of the royal line of Pâlas arranged in order of descent; it throws some more light on the relations existing between the rival Pâla and Sena dynasties in Bengal during the 12th century A.D.; and its data, as confirmed by the history of the period, seem to point to 1142 A.D. as its probable date.

TEXT.

Plate I. (Inner side only.)

Line [1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ अम्बरमानस्तम्भ: कुम्भ: संसारबीजरक्षाया: । ह-
रिदन्तर-

[2.] मितमूर्त्ति: क्रीडापोत्री हरिज्जयति[3] ॥[4] (Verse 1) एतस्य दक्षिणदशो वंशे मिहिरस्य
जातवान पूर्व्वं[5] । विग्रहपा-

[3.] लो नृपति: सर्व्वाकारशिसंसिद्ध:[6] ॥ (2) यस्य वंशक्रमेणाभूत्सचिव: शास्त्रवित्तम: । योग-
देव इति ख्यात:

[4.] स्फुरद्दोर्द्दण्डविक्रम: ॥[7] (3). तस्योज्ज्वलपौरुषस्य[8] नृपते: श्रीरामपालोऽभवत्पुत्र: पालकुला-
ब्धिशी-

[5.] तकिरण: साम्राज्यविख्यातिभाक । तेने येन जगत्त्रये जनकभूलाभाद्यथावद्यश: क्षोणीना-
यकभीम-

[3] Read °मूर्त्ति: and हरिर्ज्जयति

[4] Metre of verses 1 and 2: Pathyâryâ.

[5] Read जातवान् पूर्व्वम्.

[6] Read सर्व्वाकारशिं°

[7] Metre: Śloka. (Pathyâvaktra.)

[8] Read तस्योर्ज्जस्व°

L. [6.] रावणवधाद्युद्दार्ण्णवोल्लंघनात्[9] ॥[10] (4) यस्य शुद्धसचिव: पुराभवद्योधिदेव इति तत्वबोधभू:। विश्वगेव वि-

[7.] दितोऽद्भुतैर्ग्गुणैरुज्झितात्मसदृश: च्चितावयं[11] ॥[12] (5). अस्य प्रतापदेवी पत्नी धर्म्मह्विकीत्तिवि-श्रान्ति:

[8.] विश्रान्ति:[13] । आसीदसीमकान्ति: सन्तोषस्याकृति: पत्यु: ॥[14] (6). अभूदमुष्यान्तनयोऽस्य विश्रुत: श्रीवे-

[9.] श्रीवैद्यदेव:[15] परया श्रिया युत: । यदुच्छलत्कीर्त्तिशरीवरोद[16] पद्माङ्कुराभ: शिवभूधरो-

[10.] भवत् ॥[17] (7). दैवज्ञेषु च तर्क्कुकेषु च जनुद्दिष्टस्य दिष्टिश्रुतेरन्नस्वप्रधृतीर्झ्टित्यरिभटैरुन्मु-

[11.] च्य संमूर्च्छितं । किञ्चैतन्निजबन्धुवृन्दनयनप्रोज्झतहर्षाम्बुभि: पारक्यप्रसरप्रतापदहनस्याभू-द्विनि-

[12.] र्व्वापणं[18] ॥[19] (8). सोऽयं रामनरेन्द्रजस्य सचिव: साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीजुष: प्रख्यातस्य कुमारपाल-नृपते-

[13.] श्चित्तानुरूपोऽभवत् । यस्यारातिकिरीटहाटककृतप्रासादकण्ठीरवग्रासत्रासवशादपैष्यति

[14.] विधोर्ब्बिम्बाङ्करूपी[20] मृग:॥ (9). सचिवसमाजशरोजतिग्मभानु:[21] प्रसरयशोऽम्बुधिरेष वैद्य-देव: । स-

[15.] हजवदान्यतयैव चम्पकेश: सुजनमन:कुमुदेषु शीतरश्मि:[22] ॥[23] (10). यस्यानुत्तरवङ्गमङ्गरजये नौवाट-

[16.] हीहीरवत्रस्तैद्दिक्करिभिश्व[24] यन्न चलितं चेन्नास्ति तन्नम्यभू: । किञ्चोत्पातुककेनिपातपत-नप्रोत्सर्पितै:

Plate II, A.

[17.] शीकरैराकाशे स्थिरता कृता यदि भवेत्यान्निष्कलङ्क: शशी ॥[25] (11). गौडेशस्य कुमारपाल-नृपते-

[18.] र्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्यतेजस्पते:[26] त्रैलोक्योदरपूरिभूरियशस: प्रज्ञानवाचस्पते: । सप्ताङ्गक्षितिपाधिपत्व-मभित:

[19.] संचिन्तयन्नुशधी: प्राणेभ्योप्यतिबन्धुरस्य सचिव: सोऽभूद्गुणिग्रामणी: ॥ (12). एतादृशे[27] हरि-हरिङ्गवि स-

[20.] रक्तस्य श्रीतिमग्यदेव[28] नृपतेर्व्विकृतिं निशम्य। गौडेश्वरेण भुवि तस्य नरेश्वरत्वे श्रीवैद्यदेव उरुकीर्त्ति-

[21.] रयं नियुक्त: ॥[29] (13). स्रजमिव शिरस्यादायाज्ञां प्रभोरुरतेजस: । कतिपयदिनैद्दत्वा[30] जिष्णु: प्रयाणमसौ

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[9] Read °भाक्. °ल्लङ्घनात्

[10] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[11] Read तस्य° विश्वगेव °तावयम्

[12] Metre: Rathoddhatâ.

[13] Read धर्म्मर्द्दिकीर्त्तिविश्रान्ति:.

[14] Metre: Pathyâryâ.

[15] Read श्रीवैद्यदेव:

[16] Read °सरीवरोदरे. The रे is supplied from a *truṭi*, which is found at the bottom of the plate and is prefixed by the numeral sign for 9.

[17] Metre: Upajâti of Vaṃśastha and Indravaṃśa.

[18] Read जनुर्द्दिष्टस्य, *i.e.* "of the birth time (of Vaidyadeva)" संमूर्च्छितम् °निर्व्वापणम्

[19] Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[20] Read विधोर्ब्बिम्बा°

[21] Read °सरोज°

[22] Read शीतरश्मि:

[23] Metre: ?

[24] Read °वस्तैर्द्दि°

[25] Metre of verses 11 and 12: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[26] Read °नृपतेर्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्य°

[27] Read एतादृशी.

[28] This might be read तिङ्ग्य.

[29] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[30] Read °दिनैर्द्दत्वा and द्रुतम्. One would expect प्रयाणं कृत्वा

L. [22.] द्रुतं । तमवनिपतिं जित्वा युद्धे बभूव मह्हीपतिन्निजभुजपरिष्पन्दः[31] साचाद्दिवस्पतिवि-
क्रमः ॥(14).[32] ए-

[23.] तस्य प्रवरप्रयाणसमये पांशूत्करैः स्थण्डिलप्राये व्योमतले कृंससिकगणै-

[24.] र्लब्धोऽङ्घ्रियानश्रमः । किञ्चाचिद्वयगोपनेन करयोरन्यक्रियास्वक्षमः सुत्रामा नय-

[25.] नानिमीलनकरं कर्म्म स्वकं निन्दति ॥[33] (15) दोद्दण्डारणिजे[34] हविर्भुजि भटव्रातेन्धनैरेधिते

[26.] संग्रामाध्वरपूजिते रिपुशिरःश्रेणीलसत्श्रीफलैः ।[35] कृत्वा होमविधिं परश्चितिभु-

[27.] जा दत्वाथ[36] पूर्णाहुतिं लब्धोदग्रयशो[37] महत्फलमसौ श्रीवैद्यदेवो बभौ ॥ (16). यदुरुसमर-
मध्यात[38] खड्गघातो-

[28.] त्पतद्भिः परसुभटशिरोभिर्व्योम कीर्ण्णं निरीक्ष्य । झटिति विसरराहुव्यग्रधीबिभ्यदर्कः स्व-

[29.] कचमपि रजोभिः प्रोच्छयन्[39] स्वं जुगोप ॥[40] (17). चन्द्रस्योद्भवभूर्महोभ्रसरणं सत्वप्रधानाश्रयः
पा-

[30.] त्रश्रीमहितः स्फुरद्रसमयः सोयं गभीरः परः । रत्नानां निलयः श्रियः कुलगृहं स्वान्तस्थित-

[31.] श्रीपतिः स्यादेवं सदृशोऽम्बुधेर्य्यदि जलाधारोऽथवा लंघितः[41]॥[42] (18). ज्ञानैर्गीष्पतिरूजितै-
र्द्दिनपतिः

[32.] सत्पौरुषैः श्रीपतिर्द्वैर्य्यैरम्बुपतिर्द्धनैर्द्धनपतिर्द्दानैः[43] स चम्पापतिः । किञ्चैतेपि गिरोपमान-
विषयाः

Plate II, B.

[33.] प्रायः प्रसिद्धेर्ब्बलाद् ब्रुम किन्तु वयं स्वयं स्वसदृशः सर्व्वैर्गुणानां[44] गणैः ॥0॥ (19) यस्य श्रीबुध-
देव इत्यनुजभूः

[34.] श्रीरामभद्रानुजप्रायस्ततदसीमनिर्म्मलगुणैर्द्धर्म्मद्विशीलद्विभूः[45] । दानैः शोभनपल्लवैर्द्विज[46]-

[35.] कुलप्रीतिप्रदानैरपि । ख्यातः कल्पमरूहप्रतिकृतिर्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्यजृम्भायसाः[47] ॥ (20). अथाभ-

[36.] वत कौषिकसञ्ज्ञको मुनिमुनीन्द्रमुख्यो[48] निजगोत्रपूरुषः । पयोजजन्मास्यचयभ्रमश्रमात्

[37.] यदास्यपद्मेतु सुखं गिरा स्थितं[49] ॥[50] (21). एतद्वंसे महति भरतः प्रादुरासीतद्विजाति-
र्भावग्रामे

[38.] प्रविसरयसाः शासनोघे वरेन्द्र्यां अस्तामन्यद्गुणगणसमाख्यानमाख्यानमात्राद्यस्याक्षोऽ-

[39.] पि स्फुटति निखिलः किल्ब्बिषाणां प्रपञ्चः[51] ॥[52] (22). अस्य विप्रतिलको युधिष्ठिरः पुत्र इ-

[40.] त्यभवत्सुधीश्वरः[53] । शास्त्रवेदपरिशुद्धबोधभूः श्रोत्रियत्वविलसद्यशोनिधिः ।[54] (23). पार्ह-

[41.] ति धर्म्मपत्नी धीरवरस्यास्य चित्तविश्रान्तिः । असीदसीमकान्तिः शीलौदार्यश्रीयां[55]

[31] Read मह्हीपतिर्न्निज°.

[32] Metre : Hariṇî.

[33] Metre of verses 15 and 16 : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[34] Read दोर्द्दण्डा°.

[35] Read °लसच्छ्रीफलैः

[36] Read दत्वाथ

[37] Read लब्धोदग्रयशा.

[38] Read °मध्यात्

[39] Read °शिरोभिर्व्योम °प्रोच्छयन्

[40] Metre : Mâlinî.

[41] Read महोभ्रसरणं सत्त्व° लङ्घितः

[42] Metre of verses 18, 19, and 20 : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[43] Read °रूर्जितैर्द्दिन° श्रीपतिर्द्धैर्य्यै रम्बुपतिर्द्धनैर्द्धनपतिर्द्दानैः.

[44] Read ब्रूमः and सर्व्वैर्गु°.

[45] Read °स्ततदसीम° °धर्म्मद्विशीलद्विभूः°

[46] The var. lect. सत्फलपल्लवैः (with the numerical sign 2 affixed) is given in the upper margin of the plate; and शोभन° is cut out in the text.

[47] Read कल्पमहीरुहप्रतिकृतिर्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्यचञ्चद्यशाः । जृम्भा° is cut out in the body of the plate, and चञ्चद्य (with the sign 3 affixed) is supplied in the lower margin.

[48] Read °भवत् कौशिक° °मुनिर्मु°

[49] Read °भ्रमश्रमात् and स्थितम्.

[50] Metre : Vaṃśastha.

[51] Read एतद्वंशे . . प्रादुरासीद् . . प्रविसरयशाः . . . वरेन्द्र्याम् । आस्तामन्य°. किल्बिषाणां.

[52] Metre : Mandâkrântâ.

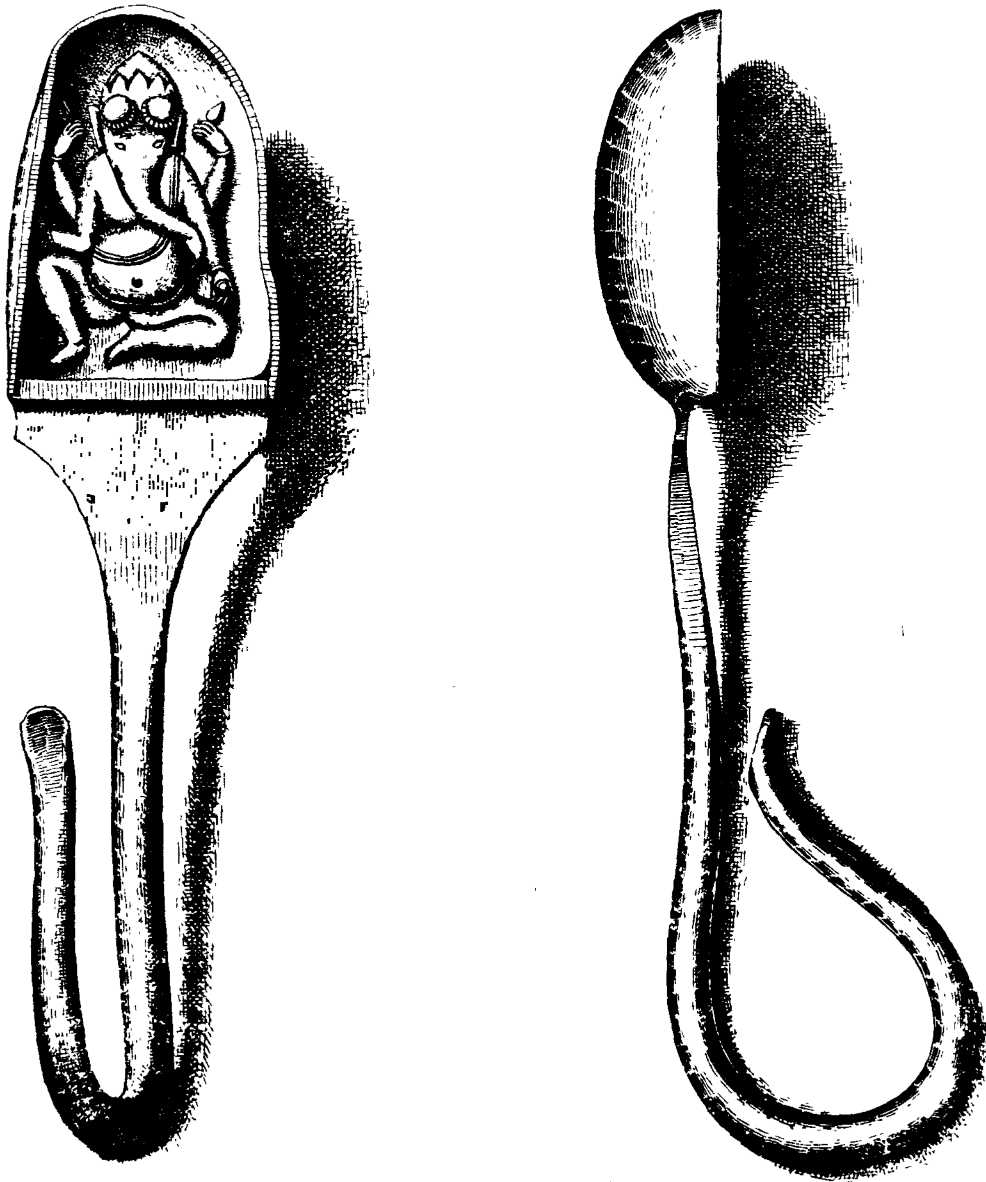
[53] °भवत्सुधीश्वरः is faulty metre.

[54] Metre : Rathoddhatâ.

[55] Read आसीद° . . . शीलौदार्यश्रियां.

GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA OF KAMARUPA.

THE SEAL.



Scale: 3-4ths of original.

COPPERPLATE GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA OF KAMARUPA.

PLATE I.

L. [42.] वसति: ॥[56] (24). पूव्वपूव्वजनुज्जन्मकर्म्मपाकदभूत्सुतस्तस्यैतस्यां द्विजाधीसपूज्य:[57] श्रीश्रीध-

[43.] र: पर: ॥[58] (25). तीर्थेषु भ्रमणात् श्रुताध्ययनतो दानात्तथाध्यापनाप्ययज्ञानां[59] करणाद्व्रतै-
कचरणात् सव्वो-

[44.] त्तर: श्रोत्रिय: ॥ प्रातश्चन्नमयाचितोपवसनैर्य्येन स्वयं गुग्गुलोराकर्षाहरद: कृतोत्र हि कलौ
श्री-

[45.] सोमनाथ:[60] प्रभु: ॥[61] (26). कर्म्मब्रह्मविदां मुख्य: सर्व्वांकारतपोनिधि: श्रौतस्मात्तरहस्येषु[62]
वागीश इव वि-

[46.] श्रुत: ॥[63] (27). एतस्मै शासनं प्रादाद्वैद्यदेवक्षीतीश्वर: । वैशाखे विषुत्याञ्च[64] स्वर्गार्थं हरि-
वासरे ॥0॥ (28).

[47.] स्वस्ति हंसाकोञ्चीसमावासितश्रीमज्जयकन्धावारात[65] । परममाहेश्वर: परमवैष्णव: महा-
राजाधि-

[48.] राज: । परमेश्वर: परमभट्टारक: । श्रीमान[66] वैद्यदेवदेव: कुशली । श्रीप्राग्ज्योतिषभुक्तौ।
कामरू-

Plate III, A.

[49.] पमण्डले । वाडाविसये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तक । शान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीय । यथाप्रधानप्रति-
वासि । चट्टभट्टविस-

[50.] यिन्नकादिजनपदान कर्षकाश्च यथात्याग मानयति। बोधयति समादिशति व: मतमस्तु
भवतां । एतत इयं

[51.] चतु:शीमावच्छिन्नं । परिबोधशुद्धं अचट्टभट्टप्रवेसं सजलस्थलं । भूच्छिद्रश्च अकिञ्चितकर-
ग्राह्यं[67] । चतुर्थाब्द

[52.] सं वैशाखप्रथमादिना गुग्गुली श्रीमृधरशर्म्मणे[68] चतु:शतिकं शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तमस्माभि:
तदेतस्मिन[69]

[53.] विधेया भव्रेतेति । सं ४ सूर्य्यगत्या वैशाखदिने १ नि ॥0॥ सन्तिवडामन्दराग्रामयोरे-
कीभूय अष्टसीमा-

[54.] विनयकृत: ॥ पूर्व्वदिशस्तावत दिग्शाण्डिधर्म्मादाय यावत पश्चिमकूलशीमा ॥ ऐशा-
नदिश: शिङ्गिश्राध-

[55.] रशीमालिङ्गवडाभोग्ये कंसपलभू १ ॥ उत्तरदिश: कोण्टुवाडोङ्गीनडजोलीनवधराशीमा ॥

[56.] शिरवडाशिलगुडिभोग्यं किञ्चिदतिक्रम्य अयरातिपोला उत्तैपोलाविरामादाय वाय-

[57.] व्यदिस पिपामुण्डा अश्वत्थशीमा अभ्भडाचौवोल । वुढिपोखिरिपूर्व्वधरकुलाचापडि अ-

[58.] छ्वलपुराश्वधर्म्मालि पश्चिमायावत पश्चिमदिश:शीमा किञ्चिदरक्रित्वा नैर्ऋत्यदिशो ध-

[56] Metre: Pathyâryâ.

[57] Read पूर्व्वपूर्व्वजनुर्व्वन्मकर्म्मपाकादभूत्सुत: । द्विजाधीशपूज्य:

[58] Metre: Pathyâvaktra.

[59] Read तथाध्यापनाध्ययानां

[60] Read सर्व्वोत्तर: श्रोत्रिय: . प्रातर्श्च° . . श्रीसोमनाथ:

[61] Metre: Sârdûlavikrîdita.

[62] Read °निधि: । श्रौतस्मार्त्त°.

[63] Metre of verses 27, 28, 29, 30: Pathyâvaktra.

[64] Read °क्षिती° विषुवत्याञ्च.

[65] Read °श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्.

[66] Read श्रीमान्.

[67] Read thus, omitting the unnecessary pauses in the plate:—वाडाविषये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तकशान्तिवाडामन्दराग्रामीययथा-प्रधानप्रतिवासिचट्टभट्टविसयिन्नकादिजनपदान् कर्षकांश्च यथात्यागं मानयति बोधयति समादिशति व: मतमस्तु भवताम्। एतदियं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नं परिरोधशुद्धम् अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशं सजलस्थलं भूच्छिद्रञ्च अकिञ्चित्करग्राह्यं.

[68] Read श्रीश्रीधर° With the परिवोध of the text (l. 3) compare the Pâli form पालिबोध = hindrance.

[69] Read तदेतस्मिन्.

L. [59.] म्नालिमादाय नैपोश्टङ्गारयो विवादभूमिर्वाव्यर्द्धमादाय लच्छुवडास्थितैकवाटीसमेतघाट-
चम्पक शीमा वे-

[60.] लवणीपटानवपल । दच्चिणदिश: कुम्भकारभोग्यवहि: शीमा कोण्टोहाडादग्रवोलयावत
ह्लेलावणामुण्डमा-

[61.] दाय दिघ्दाण्डियावत । अग्निदिश: सोमा । एव अष्टसीमा ॥ ॥ द्वितीयपटकस्य चतुद्दश-
पङ्त्या: ॥ मन्तिपाट-

[62.] कसन्नन्तु मन्दराग्रामसंयुत। वडाविसयसम्बड्ं भूच्छिद्रेणेति निश्चयात ॥[70] (29). सव्वायोपाय-
संयुक्तं करोप-

[63.] स्करवज्जितं । यावचन्द्राक्कसभोग्यं यावदिच्छाक्रियाफलं । जलस्थलखिलारण्यवाट-
गोवाटसंयुत[71] ॥ (30). कोष्ठ य-

[64.] स्र करिस्यति स्वयमिदं य: कारयिस्यत्यसौ पुत्रादित्त्वयमभ्युदीच्च निरये कल्पान्तरं स्थास्यति ।
य: श्लाघ्र: परिपा—

Plate III, B.

[65.] स्यति सुतैव्वितै: स वङ्क्स्यते स्वल्लोकं परिभुज्य यास्यति चिराद्विष्णोर्वरेण्यं पदं॥[72] (31).
यावद्भास्करहिमकर-

[66.] ताराभूधरपधिवसुधाद्या: । तावद्विलश्रतु नृपते: कीर्त्ति:[73] श्रीवैद्यदेवस्य[74] ॥ (32). इमां
राजगुरो: पुत्र: श्रीमुरारेर्द्दि-

[67.] जन्मन: पद्मागर्भोद्भवश्चक्रे प्रसस्तिं श्रीमनोरथ:[75] ॥ (33). देवोयं रिपुचक्रविक्रमकथाप्रत्यर्थि-
दोर्व्विभ्रम: शश्वद्दिश-

[68.] परिभ्रमन्नवनवोन्मीलद्यश: श्रीधर:। एतस्मै मुदितो द्विजातिपतये धर्म्माधिकारार्प्पितश्रो-
गोनन्दनकोवि-

[69.] दैकवचसा प्रादादिदं साश्रनं[76] ॥ (34). कर्णभद्रेण भद्रेण शिल्पिनानल्पबुद्धिना । ताम्रं
विनयनस्रेण निर्म्मितं

[70.] साधुकर्म्मणा[77] ॥ (35). एतादृशे मुनिवचनानि भवन्ति । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसु-
न्धरां । स विष्ठायां क्रमिर्भूत्वा

[71.] पच्यते पितृभिस्सह ॥ गामेका स्वर्णमेकन्वा भूमिरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाङ्ग-

[72.] तसंप्लवं ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि: सगरादिभि: यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

[73.] लं[78] ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to the holy Vâsudeva! Hail!

Verse. (1.) Glorious is Hari; the pillar for measuring the sky; the receptacle in which are preserved the germs of the transmigratory world; the boar whose form, assumed by him in sport, terminates with space, (*i.e.* is all-pervading).

(2.) In the race of the Sun, who is the right eye of Hari, was born of yore the king Vigrahapâla, perfect in every accomplishment.

[70] Read° सञ्च° °संयुतम् °विषय° निश्चयात्.

[71] Read सव्वोयो°°वर्ज्जितम् यावचन्द्रार्कसभोग्यं °फलम्° °संयुतम्

[72] Read कोष्ट करिष्यति कारयिष्यति परिपालयिष्यति सुतैर्व्वि° वत्स्यति स्वर्लोकं पदम् । Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[73] Read °भूधरपयोधि° °लसतु कीर्त्ति:

[74] Metre: Pathyâryâ.

[75] Read प्रशस्तिं. Metre: Pathyâvaktra.

[76] Read °दोर्व्वि°°यशा: शासनम्. Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[77] Metre: Pathyâvaktra.

[78] Read परदत्तां वा वसुन्धराम् गामेकां स्वर्णमेकं वा °मङ्गुलम्। संप्लवम् फलम् ।

COPPERPLATE GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA OF KAMARUPA.

PLATE IIA.

Size of original.

(3.) His minister was Yogadeva, who was versed in the Śâstras and the prowess of whose arm was manifest.

(4.) Of this king of mighty power the son was Râmapâla, who was the moon (*produced*) from the ocean-like Pâla family and who wielded the glory of empire. As befitted one of his name (*yathâvat*), Râmapâla (*yena*) spread glory through the three worlds, by gaining the country of Janaka,[79] (as Râma gained Janakabhû, the child of Janaka, *i.e.* Sîtâ); and by killing king Bhîma,[80] as Râma killed Râvaṇa; and by crossing the ocean of war, as Râma crossed the ocean.

(5.) Bodhideva was Râmapâla's faultless minister, the abode of truth. By his wondrous qualities he was known throughout the world as one without an equal.

(6.) His wife was Pratâpadevî, the resting-place of virtue, good fortune and good report, whose beauty was boundless, and who was the embodiment of her husband's joy.

(7.) To him was born of her the renowned Vaidyadeva, who was endowed with the highest happiness, and in whose lake of leaping glory the mountain of Śiva (*i.e.* Kailâsa) appeared as it were but a lotus-sprout.

(8.) Hearing from astrologers and mendicants of the auspicious juncture of Vaidyadeva's birth-time, his enemies' soldiers forthwith gave up food and sleep and courage, and were stupefied. And, further, by the waters of joy that sprang from the eyes of his gathered friends was extinguished the fire-like splendour of the hostile multitude.

(9.) This Vaidyadeva was the minister after his own heart of the famous king Kumârapâla, who was the son of the king Râma, and who delighted in the glory of empire. The deer which is formed in the orb of the moon will run away through fear of being swallowed by the lions represented on the palace, which is made of gold from diadems of the enemies of this (*Vaidyadeva*).

(10.) This *Vaidyadeva* was the sun in the lotus-like assembly of ministers; the ocean of spreading fame; by reason of his natural generosity he was the Lord of Champakâ (*i.e.* Karṇa); he was the moon among the lily-like minds of good men.

(11.) And on the occasion of Vaidyadeva's (*yasya*) victory at the battle in Southern Vaṅga,[81] if the elephants of the eight quarters did not run away terrified by the shouts from the enclosure of boats, it was because they had no place to run to (*i.e.* the shouts of the rowers pervaded all space!) Moreover, if the spray, thrown up by the downward strokes of the upraised rudder-oars, had remained fixed in the sky, then the moon would have become spotless (being washed clean by the spray).

(12.) He (*Vaidyadeva*) chief among the virtuous, sternly keeping in mind the kingdom in all its parts, was minister, dearer even than life, to king Kumârapâla the Lord of Gauḍa, who was like the sun in the might of his arm, with his great glory filling the three worlds, and like Vṛihaspati in his wisdom.

(13.) The aforesaid renowned Vaidyadeva was appointed ruler by the Lord of Gauḍa in the room of Timgyadeva, who had been treated with honour in the East, and of whose disaffection the Lord of Gauḍa had heard.

[79] *i.e.* Mithilâ. To take *janaka* = "father" would spoil the play upon the word.

[80] I cannot identify the name.

[81] *Anuttara* = "complete" may qualify "victory." For *Nauvâṭa* see Dr. Hultzsch,—*Ind. Antiq.* vol. XV, p. 309.

(14.) This victorious Vaidyadeva having placed upon his head, garland-wise, the command of his glorious master, marched speedily in a few days, and having defeated that king (*viz. Timgyadeva*) by the energy of his own arm, became king and appeared like the valiant Indra himself.

(15.) When during the glorious march of this Vaidyadeva the sky became like the surface of the earth on account of the heaps of dust, the horses of the sun found it difficult to move their feet. Further, Indra, while closing both his eyes (*against the dust*), is unable to use his hands for any other action, (*and therefore*) reviles his fate,[82] to which is due the never-closing condition of his eyes.

(16.) This *Vaidyadeva* performed the *Homa* in the fire of his own splendour, which, produced from his arm as fire from the *araṇi*, was fed like fire by the fuel of his enemies' hosts, and was worshipped at the fight, as fire at the sacrifice, (*and he used as material for his sacrifice*) many heads of his enemies in the place of bright *vilva* fruits; next, he offered the *pûrṇâhuti* oblation with the (*body of the*) hostile king, and having acquired vast glory as the result (*of his sacrifice*) he shone resplendent.

(17.) The sun, beholding the sky covered with the enemies' heads, as at the stroke of the sword they fly upwards from the great fight of Vaidyadeva (*yad*), suddenly became alarmed at the thought of these heads being so many Râhus and protected himself by smearing out his own lustre with dust.

(18.) This Vaidyadeva might be exactly compared with the ocean, if he were (*but he is not*) a *jaḷâdhâra*, *i.e.* protector of fools (*jala* = *jaḍa*), as the ocean is a *jalâdhâra*, *i.e.* receptacle of water; or if he were conquerable (*laṅghita*) as the ocean was crossed (*by Râma*)—(for *in other points the comparison holds, thus*—) the ocean is the birth-place of the moon, and he is the source of delight (*chandra*); the ocean is the refuge of mountains (*e.g. Mainâka*) and he is the refuge of kings (*mahîdhra*); the ocean is the home of living things, and he is the home of a disposition in which the *sattva* element of goodness predominates; the ocean is adorned by the beauty of its bed, and he is adorned by the beauty of his ministers (*pâtra*); the ocean is filled with sparkling water, and he is filled with *rasa* (*love, etc.*); the ocean is very deep, he is profound; the ocean is the abode of gems, and he the abode of what is most precious; the ocean is the chief home of Lakshmî, and he of wealth (*śrî*); Vishṇu dwells within the ocean and within his heart.

(19.) He was Vṛihaspati as regards his knowledge, and the Sun as regards his energies, and Vishṇu as regards his good actions, and Varuṇa as regards his stability, and Kuvera as regards his wealth, and the king of Champâ (*Karṇa*) as regards his liberality. Further, even these names (*sc.* Vṛihaspati etc.) are here employed because of their notoriety as the common objects of comparison in poetry (*girâ*); but we for our part declare that in respect to all his numerous qualities Vaidyadeva was like himself alone.

(20.) His younger brother [83] was Budhadeva, who, resembling the younger brother of Râma (*viz.* Lakshmaṇa) in possessing his well-known (*tattat*) boundless and spotless qualities, (*and himself*) the abode of perfect *dharmma* and perfect character, with glory leaping in the might of his arm, was famed to be like the Kalpataru in his gifts and also in his donations to Brahmans, which are the good fruits and fresh sprouts.

[82] It is his *karman* = (*prârabdha*) that makes him Indra with never-closing eyes.

[83] *Anujabhûḥ* is ambiguous. I explain thus:—*anujâ bhûḥ* (*utpattiḥ*) *yasya so anujabhûḥ*.



Size of original.

(21.) Now (turning to the receiver of this grant), there was that chief of munis, named Kauśika, the first of his *gotra*, in whose mouth Sarasvatî rested after her fatigue in wandering through the (*four*) mouths of Brahmâ.

(22.) In his great *vaṁśa*, in the strictly-disciplined village of Bhâva,[84] in Varendrî appeared Bharata, a Brâhmaṇa, glorious, by the bare mention of whose name,—to say nothing of his many other good qualities—are destroyed all sins.

(23.) His son was Yudhishṭhira, chief of Brâhmaṇas and intelligent men, the repository of knowledge purified by (*study of*) the Vedas and Śâstras, the abode of glory showing itself through his mastery of the sacred learning.

(24.) The wife of this learned man was Pâî of boundless beauty, the repose of her husband's heart, and the dwelling-place of virtue, nobleness and prosperity.

(25.) As the result of his merit, acquired in many previous states of existence, there was born to him of her that great son Śrîdhara, honoured among Brâhmaṇas.

(26.) By reason of his pilgrimages to *tîrthas*, and study of Veda, and generosity, as well as by his teaching and by his performance of sacrifices and strict observance of vows, Śrîdhara was chief among learned Brâhmaṇas. Through Śrîdhara's penances of eating once only either by day or by night, and living on alms without begging, and fastings, the Lord Śiva was propitiated here, in the Kaliyuga, by being drawn out of a Guggulu tree.

(27.) Foremost among those who know *karman* and *brahman* (i.e., the *Karma-kâṇḍa* and the *Jñâna-kâṇḍa* of the Veda), Śrîdhara, the store-house of every kind of religious observances, was famed to be like Vṛihaspati in (his mastery of) the hidden things of *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*.

(28.) To this Śrîdhara, at the Vishuvatî (*saṁkrânti*) in Vaiśâkha on Ekâdaśî, the king Vaidyadeva gave this charter, to gain heaven.

[To follow line 14 of the second Plate].[85]

(29.) As determined by the *bhûmichchhidra* rule, the village Santipâṭaka[86] is joined to the village Mandarâ and belongs to the Baḍâ-vishaya.

(30.) The villages conveyed are provided with all sources of revenue, and are exempt from royal charges and payments in kind. They are to be enjoyed as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and the profits (*phala*) of cultivation (*kriyâ*) shall be arranged for as (*the owner may*) wish. They are provided with water and dry land, forest tracts, gardens and enclosures for cows.

(31.) Whoever may himself appropriate this or cause it to be appropriated, shall see his sons and property perish before him and shall remain in Naraka for the period of a Kalpa. But the honourable man who respects it shall be blessed with sons and wealth; and having long enjoyed Svarga he shall go to the supreme abode of Vishṇu.

(32.) May the glory of king Vaidyadeva continue to shine as long as sun, moon, stars, mountains, sea and earth endure!

[84] *Śâsnogre* I take equal to *Ugraśasane*, the commoner bahuvrîhi.

[85] The sign of omission is found in the second plate (side *B*) after *harivâsare*, the last word of l. 14. The translation is therefore made to follow the order intended by the words *dvitîyapaṭakasya chaturddaśapaṅktyâḥ*, to which I supply "*agre*" to complete the construction.

[86] Translation doubtful. Dr. Kielhorn explains *pâṭaka* by "outlying hamlet" (*Ind. Antiq.* vol. XVIII, p. 135), which I follow above. Santi would thus be the name of the *pâṭaka* adjoining the village Mandarâ and falling within the *vishaya* Baḍâ; and the correcter form of the name would appear to be Śânti; [cf. III, A, line 1, where, however, the final syllable of Śânti is read only doubtfully owing to the bad state of the plate.] The grammar of verse 29 seems to make *santipâṭakasaṁjñam* an adjective to Śâsanam in verse 28: (observe also *idaṁ* in verse 31).

(33.) Manoratha, son of the brâhmaṇa *rajaguru* Murâri, and Padmâ, his wife, composed this praśasti.

(34.) This is that king whose active arm destroyed the famed prowess of his many foes. And this is that Śrîdhara, whose glory ever spreading through the world extends anew. [*The king*] being pleased delivered this śâsana to that brâhmaṇa through the words of his *dharmâdhikârin*, the very learned Gonandana.

[Plate II, B, l. 15.] Hail! From the victorious camp at Haṁsâkoñchî, his Majesty Vaidyadeva, a most devout worshipper of Śiva and of Vishṇu, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Parameśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, being in good health [Plate III, A, l. 1.] greets, informs and commands the people of the villages of Śânti-Baḍâ *and* Mandarâ possessed by Gaṅgâdhara Bhaṭṭa, in the *vishaya* of Baḍâ, in the *maṇḍala* of Kâmarûpa in the *bhukti* of Prâgjyotisha, beginning with the principal residents . . . . (?) and peasants. Be it known unto you that these two villages, having their boundaries fixed and subject to no reduction, with their water and dry land, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, and their uncultivated land free of taxes, with a revenue of 400, we have given by charter to Śrîdhara Śarmâ (surnamed) Gugguli in ? ? . . . Therefore be obedient to this charter. Written in the fourth year on the first day of Vaiśâkha by the movement of the sun.[87]

. . . . [88]

[Plate III, B, l. 5.] (35) This copper was engraved by the artist Karṇabhadra, an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman.

To such a plate are added the words of the Munis[89]:—

XXIX.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ

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No. I.[1]—Dated Saṁvat 1162.

This grant is on a single plate, and closely resembles the Basâhi grant of Saṁvat 1161, both in its outward form and text.[2] The plate is 1′ 6″ long by 11″ broad, and weighs 8lbs. 12oz. Like the Basâhi plate (see Dr. Fleet's description *in loco*), it has a *śaṁkha* engraved on its left margin with a barbed arrow below it. At its top end is rivetted a turned over copper band, through which the ring of a seal was evidently intended to run; but the seal is missing.

The inscription is in Nâgarî characters and is well preserved, but the technical execution is on the whole imperfect. As regards orthography, *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign, except once in line 1, where *b* (*babhûva*) is represented by the sign used in seven inscriptions of Jayachchhandra (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 129 *et seq.*) The sibilants are used promiscuously. The letters *r* and *ś* have two forms. In line 22 I

87 See above, p. 349.

88 Here follow the boundaries of the villages.

89 The usual imprecations which follow are left untranslated.

1 As to the finding of these plates see *ante*, p. 347.

2 See Râjendralâla Mitra, *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol XLII (1873), and Fleet, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XIV (1885) for the Basâhi platee

have failed to read the two letters immediately preceding the word *purandara*. In line 23, initial *e* appears in the old form of a triangle, with the apex downwards.

The opening verses, 1—3, correspond with those of the Basâhi plate. Line 2 reads *Mahîyalaśutaḥ*:—conf. *Mahiala-sutaḥ* or *Mahiâla-sutaḥ* of the Bas. pl. according to Drs. Fleet and Mitra. Verse 4 of the Bas. pl. is not found in our text: verse 6 of our text is not found in the Basâhi plate: but these omissions are unimportant. Line 6 records the date in words and figures,[3] *viz.* Tuesday, full moon (bright half) of Kârttika, 1162 Saṁvat, date corresponding to 24th October, 1105 A.D.

Line 7. Govindachandra, the donor, was then encamped in Vishṇupura and made the grant after having bathed in the Ganges, etc. This, and the succeeding names of places, I cannot identify.

Line 8. He gives the village of Usithâ (?), in the Jîâvatî-pattalâ in the Pañchâla country, with the usual appurtenances.

Ll. 12—13. The donee, Vîlhâkâya Dîkshita, who came originally from Sâvithadeśa (?), was the son of Puravâsa and grandson of Nâgânanda (?). These belonged to the Vandhula *gotra* with the three *pravaras* of Vandhula, Aghamarshaṇa and Viśvâmitra, and were followers of the *Yajurveda*.

Ll. 15—16 contain the well-known crux मत्वा यद्दीयमान . . . दशव (ब) धविंशतिक्षवयाकेरे तुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृति . .

Ll. 23—24. The composer of the inscription was Vijayadâsa, who also composed the Basâhi document. The following consented to the grant:—the *pratîhara* Gautama, the *purohita* Jâgûka, the *mahattaka* Vâlhana (all three of whom are mentioned in the Basâhi plate) and the Queen-mother Râlhadevî.

TEXT.

Front.

Line [1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ तमाद्यं सर्व्वदेवानां दामोदरमुपास्महे। त्रैलोक्यं यस्य वक्त्रेव क्रोडान्तःस्थं वलित्त्रयी ॥ (1).[4] वंसे गाहडवालाख्ये बभूव विजयी नृपः ॥[5]

[2.] महीयलसुतः श्रीमान्नलनाभागसन्निभः ॥ (2).[6] याते श्रीभोजभूपे विवुधवरवधूनेत्रसीमातिथित्वं[7] श्रीकर्ण्णे कीर्त्तिशेषं गतवति च नृपे क्ष्मात्यये जायमाने ।

[3.] भर्त्तारं यं धरित्री त्रिदिवविभुनिभं प्रीतियोगादुपेता त्राता विश्वस्य पूर्व्वं समभवदिह स क्ष्मापतिश्चंद्रदेवः[8] (3).[9] ॥ तस्मादभूद्रिषदिलापतिदन्तिसिंहः क्षोणीपति-

[4.] र्मदनपाल इति प्रसिद्धः । येनाक्रियन्त वभुश्रः समरप्रवन्धाः सन्नर्त्तितप्रहतशत्रुकवन्धवन्धाः[10] ॥ (4).[11] तस्मादजायत नरेश्वरवृंदवंद्यपादारविंदयुगलो ज्व-

[5.] लितप्रतापः। क्षोणीपतीन्द्रतिलको रिपुरगभंगी गोविंदचंद्र[12] इति विश्रुतनामकीर्त्तिः (5)[13]॥ तिष्ठतो यस्य दोःस्तम्भे मत्तसौर्यैकदन्तिनः । धनुर्गुणकिणश्रेणी म-

[3] Dr. Kielhorn kindly provides the following note:—
'For V. 1162 expired:—Tuesday, the 24th October, A.D. 1105; the full moon *tithi* commenced 2h. 29m. after mean sunrise and ended 0h. 9m. after mean sunrise of the following day."

[4] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[5] Read वंशे . . नृपः

[6] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[7] Read विबुध.

[8] Read चन्द्रदेवः

[9] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[10] Read बहुशः. °प्रबन्धा . कबन्धबन्धाः

[11] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[12] Read °वृन्दवन्द्यपादारविन्द° रिपुरणभङ्गी गोविन्दचन्द्र°

[13] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

L. [6.] दराजीव लच्यते ॥ (6).[14] संवत्सहस्रके द्विषष्ठ्युत्तरशताभ्यधिके कार्त्तिकपौर्णमास्ये भौमे
दिने ऽङ्केपि संवत् ११६२ सुदि ५ भौमे[15] अद्येह श्रीमद्विष्णुपुरावासितश्री-

[7.] विजयकटके सकलकल्मषक्षयकारिण्यां गंगायां स्नात्वा ॥ यथाविधानं मंत्रदेवऋषिमनुष्य-
भूतपितृंस्तर्पयित्वा । सूर्यं भट्टारकं संपूज्य । भगवन्तं महश्व-

[8.] रं समभ्यर्च्य । विश्वाधारं वासुदेवं ममाराध्य । मंत्रपूतं भुतवह हुत्वा । पंचालदेशे जीश्रा-
वतीपत्तलायां उसिथागामे समस्तविषयसार्श्ववर्त्तिसमस्त-

[9.] महत्तमजनपदान्संबोधयति समाज्ञापयति ॥[16] यथा ग्रामोयं मया स्वसीमातृणयूतिगोचर-
पर्यन्तः सजलस्थलः साम्रमधूकः सगर्त्तोषरपाषाणः स-

[10.] नदीवनलोहलवणाकरः सदशापराधदण्डः साकाशपातालः स्वसोमाचतुराघाटविशुद्धान्तः
पूर्व्वदत्तदेवब्राह्मणवर्ज्जितः । नलिनीदलगतजल ।

[11.] लवतरलतरं प्राणिना जीवित[17] विज्ञाय । करिकलभकर्णाग्रविलसितचपलां लक्ष्मीं विलोक्य ।
जलवुद्‌दाकारं यौवनं परिज्ञाय । कदलीदण्डव-

[12.] त् संसारममारतरं[18] समाकलय्य ॥ साविश्रदेशनिर्गताय वाजरूनेयसाखोमृगाय वंधुलगोत्राय
वधुल अघमर्षणविश्वामित्रत्रिप्रवराय[19] ॥

[13.] दीक्षितनागानदपौत्राय दीक्षितपुरवासपुत्राय यंजुर्वेदविद्यानलिनीविकासनप्रत्यक्षभास्क-
राय[20] दीक्षितवील्हाकाय । श्रद्धाविशुद्धमनसा

[14.] महाराजपुत्रश्रीमद्गोविदचंद्रदेवेन कुशपूतहस्तोदकेन कार्त्तिक्यां निमित्ते सम्यगाजूयास्मै
ब्राह्मणायो मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च यशःपुण्यवि-

[15.] वृद्धये चंद्रार्क्कोदधिक्षितिपवनाम्बराणि यावत् शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः[21] ॥ मत्वा यद्दीयमान-
भागभागकूटकदशवधविशतिकवथाकेरे तुरु-

[16.] ष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसर्व्वादायान तत् सर्वमस्मै निमेदनीय[22] ॥ ये यास्यन्ति महीभृतो मम कुले
कि वा परस्मित्पुरस्तोषामेष मयाजलिर्विरचित्ता नादेय-

[17.] सत् कियत् दूर्व्वामात्रमपि स्वधम्मनिरता दत्त सदा पाल्यता वायुवास्यति तस्यति प्रतपन
श्रुत्व मुनीना वचः[23] ॥ (7).[24] अत्राथ पौराणिकाः

[18.] श्लोकाः ॥ भूमि[25] यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं
स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ (8).[26] योर्चितं प्रतिगृह्णाति ददात्यर्चि-

[19.] तमेव वा । तावुभौ गच्छतः स्वर्गं नरकं तु विपर्यये ॥ (9). वहुदिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सग-
रादिभिः । यस्य सत्य यदा भुगिस्तस्य तस्य वदा

[20.] फलं[27] ॥ (10). यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवत्तत्प्रति
मानि[28] तानि को नाम साधः पुनराददीत ॥ (11).[29] अस्मत्कुलं पर-

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[14] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[15] Read °पौर्णमास्यां and १५ instead of ५.

[16] Read गङ्गायां मन्त्रदेवर्षिमनुष्यभूतपितृंस्तर्पयित्वा . . महेश्वरं . . मन्त्रपूतं हुतवहं° पञ्चाले° °ग्रामे °पार्श्ववर्त्ति °पदान् सम्बोध°, remove the unnecessary signs of punctuation.

[17] Strike out the unnecessary punctuation after जल ; and read प्राणिनां जीवितं.

[18] Read बुद्बुदा° °सारतरं.

[19] Read °शाखामृगाय बन्धुलाघमर्ष°

[20] Read °नागानन्द° यजुर्वेद°

[21] Read श्रीमद्गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवेन . सम्यगाहूया° . ब्राह्मणायोय . . °रात्मन° . . चन्द्रार्कोदधिक्षितिपव- नाम्बराणि . . शासनीकृत्य.

[22] Read °सर्व्वादायान् °निवेदनीयम्

[23] Read परस्मिन्पुरस्तेषामिव मयाञ्जलिर्विरचितो नादेयमस्मात् कियत् । . स्वधर्म्म °दत्तं . पाल्यतां तरत्यति . श्रुत्वा मुनीनां

[24] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[25] Read भूमिं

[26] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh), and in the two following verses.

[27] Read बहुभिर्व° . यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥

[28] Read निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि

[29] Metre: Indravajrâ.

L. [21.] मुदारमुदाहरद्भिरनैव दानमिदमच । शुमादनीयं । लक्ष्मास्तडित्सलिलवुद्वुदचंचलाया दानं फलं परयश:परिपालनं च ज[20] (12).[31] षंखभदासनं

[22.] छत्र वराश्वा वरवारणा: । भमिदानस्य चिह्नानि मसं * * पुरंदर[32] ॥ (13).[33] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसंधरां । स विष्टायां क्रमिर्दूला[34] पितृभि: स-

[23.] ह मज्जति ॥ (14). प्रतीहारगौनमश्क[35] जागुकश्च पुरोहित: । जननी राल्हदेवी च वाल्हणश्च महत्तक: ॥ (15). एतेषां संमत्तिं प्राप्य सम्यग्लिखित-

Reverse.

[24.] वानिदम् । नाम्ना विजयदासाख्य: शासनं राजसंमतम् (16).

No. II.—Dated Saṁvat 1196.

This inscription is engraved on a single plate, which measures 1′ 3½″ in length by 1′ ¼″ in breadth, and weighs 5lbs. 15oz. The plate is perforated at the top margin to take the ring of a seal; and it is likely that one of the loose seals now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, belongs to this plate. The orthography calls for no special remark. Verses 1-7 correspond with the opening verses of the Chandradeva and Madanapâla grant (see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, p. 11): verses 8 and 9 are found again in a grant of Jayachchhandra (*ibid.*, p. 130).

L. 13.—Govindachandra while at Benares conveys the village of Janakadevîpura in the Rânapattalâ (the latter name I read doubtfully owing to the plate being injured).

Ll. 16, 17.—Contain the date, and mention a lunar eclipse on that date, *viz.* Monday, the 15th day in the bright half of Âśvina, 1196 Saṁvat, corresponding to 9th October 1139 A.D.[36]

19, 20. The donee was the *purohita* Jâgû Śarman, the son of the donee in the preceding grant.

TEXT.

L. [1.] स्वस्ति । भकुण्ठेत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठकण्ठपीठलुठत्कर: । संरम्भ[37] सुरतारम्भे स श्रिय: श्रेयसेस्तु व: ॥ (1).[38] आसीदशीतद्युतिवंसजातक्ष्मापालमाला-

[2.] सु[39] दिवङ्गतासु । साचादिवस्वानिव[40] भूरिधाम्ना नाम्ना यशोविग्रह इत्युदार: ॥ (2).[41] तत्सुतो भूमहीचन्द्रश्चन्द्रधामनिभमिजं । येनापारम-

[3.] कूपारपार[42] व्यापारितं यश: ॥ (3).[43] तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिक: क्रान्तद्विषन्मण्डलो विध्वस्तोद्धतधीरयोधतिमिर: श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृप: ॥ येनो-

[30] Read °मुदाहरद्भिरस्मैव दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयम । लक्ष्मास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बुदचञ्चलाया . . °परिपालनम

[31] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[32] Read शङ्खं भद्रासनं छत्रं वराश्वा वरवारणा: । फलं स्वर: पुरन्दर ॥

[33] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh), and in the three following verses

[34] Read हरेद वसुन्धराम् । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा.

[35] Read प्रतीहारगौतमश्च

[36] Dr. Kielhern again kindly notes,— "The year is the *northern* expired year; the lunar eclipse occurred 13 h 21 m. after mean sunrise."

[37] Read भकुण्ठो संरम्भ:

[38] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh)

[39] Read आसीदशीत° °वंश°.

[40] Read साक्षादि°

[41] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[42] Read °पारे

[43] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

L. [4.] दारतरप्रतापसमिताशेषप्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमन्नाधिपुराधिरायमसमन्दोर्व्विक्रमेणार्ज्जितं[44] ॥ (4).[45]
तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोशलेन्द्रस्थानी-

[5.] यकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य । हेमात्मतुल्यमनिसन्ददता द्विजेभ्यो येनाङ्किता वसुमती
सतशस्तुलाभिः[46] ॥ (5).[47] तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीन्द्रचू-

[6.] डामणिर्व्विजयते निजगोत्रचन्द्रः । यस्याभिषेककलसोल्लसितैः पयोभि. प्रक्षालितं कलिरजः
पटलं धरित्र्याः ॥ (6) यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणस-

[7.] मये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैश्चलन्माद्यत्कुम्भिपदक्रमासमभरभ्रस्यन्महीमण्डले । चूडारत्नविभिन्नतालु-
गलितः स्त्यानासृगुल्लासितः[48] शेषः पेषवशा-

[8.] दिव[49] क्षणमसौ क्रोडे निलीनाननः ॥ (7).[50] तस्मादजायत निजायतवाहुवल्लिवधावरुद्धनव-
रायगजो नरेन्द्रः । मान्द्रामृतद्रवमुचाम्प्रभवो ग-

[9.] वां यो गोविन्दचन्द्र इति चन्द्र इवाम्बुरासे[51] ॥ (8).[52] न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्षमांस्तिसृषु
दिक्षु गजानथ वज्रिणः । ककुभि वभ्रमुरभ्रमुवल्लभप्रति-

[10.] भटा[53] इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥ (9)[54] सोयं समस्तराजचक्रसंसेवितचरणः स च परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजो-

[11.] पार्ज्जितश्रीकान्यकुब्जाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
परममाहेश्वर श्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यात-

[12.] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिप-
तिर्विविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीमद्गो-

[13.] विन्दचन्द्रदेवो विजयी ॥ रानपत्तलायां[55] । जनकदेविपुरग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजनपदा-
नुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहि-

[14.] तप्रतीहारसेनापतिभाण्डागारिकाक्षपटलिकभिषग्नैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगपत्तनाक-
रस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषान् समा-

[15.] ज्ञापयति बोधयत्यादिशति च यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजलस्थलः
सलोहलवणाकरः समत्स्याकरः सगर्त्तो-

[16.] षरः समधूकाम्रवनवाटिकाविटपतृणयतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सोर्द्धाधश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धः स्वसो-
मापर्यन्तः संवत् ११८६ आश्विनसुदि १५ सो-

[17.] मदिने[56] श्रीमहावाराणस्यां राहुग्रस्तचन्द्रमसि गङ्गायां स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूत-
पितृगणांस्तर्प्पयित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहस-

[18.] मुष्णरोचिषमुपस्थायौषधिपतिमकलसेधरं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्व्वासुदेवस्य पूजाम्विधाय[57]
प्रचुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा माता-

[19.] पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धयेऽस्माभिर्गोकर्णकुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्व्वम् वधुलगोत्राय
वधुल । अघमर्षण । विश्वामित्रत्रिप्रवराय दीक्षितपु-

[44] Read नृपः । °प्रतापशमिता° नाधिपुराधिराज्यमसमं° °तम्
[45] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[46] Read °तुल्यमनिश . . शतश°
[47] Metre: Vasantatilakâ, and in the next verse.
[48] Read °गलितस्त्या°
[49] Read according to Kielhorn शेषः शेषवशादिव and see *Ind Antiq.*, vol. XV., p. 12, note 97.
[50] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[51] This verse is found in Ben. Coll. grant of Jayachchhandia: see Kielhorn, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII., p. 129; and read °बाहु° . °बन्धा° . नवराज्य° °प्रभवा °राशेः
[52] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.
[53] Read °क्षमान् ति° बभ्रमु°
[54] Metre: Drutavilambita.
[55] रान° doubtful.
[56] Read सोर्द्धाध° °विशुद्धः चाश्विन°
[57] Read °श्वरम् . . पूजां विधाय

L. [20.] रासपौत्राय दीक्षितवोल्हापुत्राय दीक्षितपुरोहितश्रीआगूसर्म्मणे ब्राह्मणाय चादन्द्रार्क्कं यावत् ग्रासनीकृत्य प्रदत्त[58] मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभो-

[21.] गकरप्रवणिकरतुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसमस्तादायान आज्ञाविधेयीभूय दास्यथेति ॥ *[59] ॥ भवन्ति चात्र । श्लोका: । भूमिं य: प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं

[22.] प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥ (10).[60] संखं भद्रासनं च्छत्र वराश्वा[61] वरवारणा: । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत्पुरन्दर ॥ (11). सर्वानेता-

[23.] न् भाविन: पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र: । सामोन्ययं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणा[62] काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि: ॥ (12).[63] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-

[24.] भि: सगरादिभि: यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ (13).[64] सुवर्ण्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलं हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाहूतसंप्ल-

[25.] वं[65] ॥ (14) तडागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न मुध्यति[66] ॥ (15). स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तांवा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां[67] । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृ-

[26.] भि: सह मज्जति ॥ (16).

XXX.—PALI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MAHARAJA LAKSHMANA.

Dated Samvat 158.

By A. Führer, Ph.D.

The original plate containing the inscription now published was found, in May 1891, buried underground in the house of a goldsmith at the village of Pâlî,[1] close to Kosâm, the ancient Kauśâmbî, the chief town of the Karârî pargaṇa in the Mânjhanpur tahsîl of the Allahâbâd district. It was obtained by me from the Magistrate of Allahâbâd, and is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

The plate, which is inscribed on both sides, measures about 7¼″ by 6¼″. It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims to protect the writing. The average size of the letters is about ¼″; they are cut neatly and deeply, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the peculiar "nail-headed" type current in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The language is Saṁskṛit, and with the exception of the benediction and imprecatory verses in lines 9

[58] Read °तस्योदकपूर्व्वम् . . °पुरस्वामिपौत्राय °शर्म्मणे . चाचन्द्रार्क्कं . प्रदत्त: । . and remove unnecessary signs of punctuation.

[59] Read °दायानाज्ञा°—The asterisk is represented in the plate by a character like क. (cf. *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII., p. 12).

[60] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh), and in the following verse.

[61] Read शङ्खं . . छत्र वराश्वा ।

[62] Read °नृपाणां

[63] Metre: Śâlinî.

[64] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh), and in the three following verses.

[65] Read °कृत्स्नम् । °संप्लवम्

[66] Read हर्त्ता° . . मुच्यते

[67] Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा . . वसुन्धराम्

[1] See *ante*, vol. II, page 240

to 14, the inscription itself is in prose throughout. In respect of orthography we have to notice: (1) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* in ***máddhyandináya***, line 5; (2) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r* in ***pittror***, line 4, and in *gottráya*, line 5; (3) the doubling of *ṇ*, *g*, *th*, *bh*, *v*, and *sh* in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *paurṇṇamásyám*, line 15; in *svargge*, line 13; in *artthe*, line 8; in *vidheyair bhbhavitavyaṁ*, line 7, and *kṛimir bhbhutvá*, line 10; in ***parvvatiká***, line 2, and *bahubhir vvasudhá*, line 11; in *varshsha*', line 12; (4) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvára* in *saṁvvatsara*, line 15; (5) the use of *v* for *b* in ***kuṭumvinaḥ***, line 3.

Towards the proper right side of the plate, about the centre, a circular copper ring is fastened through a hole to an oval brass seal, about 2¼" by 2". In the upper part it bears a rather good figure of a lion, squatting on its haunches and brandishing its tail, facing to the right; below it, separated by two lines, is in relief the legend *śrí-mahárája-lakshmaṇasya*, "of the illustrious Mahârâja Lakshmaṇa." The seal itself rests on two low leg-fashioned supports. The weight of the plate is 37¾ *tolas*, and of the ring and seal 27¼ *tolas*; total 65 *tolas*.

The inscription is one of the Mahârâja Lakshmaṇa, and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city Jayapura. The date of the writing of the charter is given in words as the year one hundred and fifty-eight, and the full-moon day of the month Jyaishṭha. There is no indication as to the era; but in all probability it refers to the Gupta era. The corresponding European date can, however, not be calculated as the week-day, *nakshatra*, or other astronomical details are not given, which could be utilized in checking the calculation. The object of the charter is to record the grant, by the Mahârâja Lakshmaṇa, of an *agrahára* in the village Phelâ-parvvatikâ,—undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern village Pâli,—to the Brâhmaṇa Revatisvâmin of the Kautsagotra. The *dútaka* is the Mahârâja Naravâhanadatta. Neither the capital Jayapura nor the names of the two feudatory princes are known to us from earlier or contemporaneous inscriptions.

TEXT.[2]

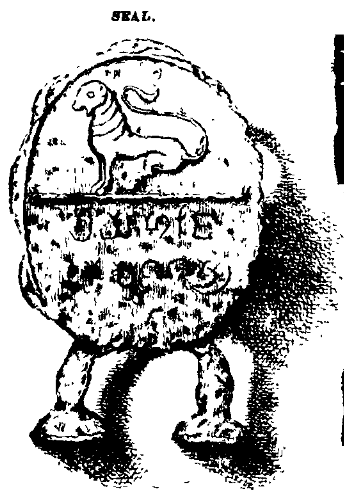
Obverse.

L. [1.] ओं स्वस्ति जयपुरात्परममाहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराज-
[2.] लक्ष्मणः कुशली फेलापर्व्वतिकाग्रामे ब्राह्मणादी-
[3.] न्प्रतिवासिकुटुम्विनः समाज्ञापयति विदितं वोस्तु य-
[4.] थैष ग्रामो मया मातापित्त्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये
[5.] कौत्ससगोत्त्राय वाजसनेयिसब्रह्मचारिणे माद्ध्यन्दिनाय
[6.] ब्राह्मणरेवतिस्वामिनेग्राहारोतिसृष्टस्तद्युष्माभिर-
[7.] स्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भ्भवितव्यं[3] समुचिताश्च प्रत्यायाः
[8.] मेयहिरण्यादयो देयाः[॥]अपि चात्रार्त्थे व्यासगीताः
[9.] श्लोका भवन्ति[॥]स्वदत्तां[4] परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।]
[10.] स विष्ठायां कृमिर्ब्भुत्वा[5] पितृभिः सह मज्जति [॥]

[2] From the original plate.
[3] Read °*rbbhavitavyam*.
[4] Metre: Anushṭubh, and the following two verses.
[5] Read °*rbbhútvá*.



SEAL.



Scale: 3-4ths

Scale: 4-5ths of original.

Reverse.

L. [11.] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।] यस्य यस्य

[12.] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥] षष्टिं वर्ष्षसह-

[13.] स्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव

[14.] नरके वसेत् [॥] दूतकश्चात्र श्रीमहाराजनरवाहनदत्तः

[15.] संव्वत्सरशतेष्टपंचाशदुत्तरे ज्येष्ठमासे पौर्ण्ण-

[16.] मास्यां लिखितं बलदेवेनेति १५८ [॥]

TRANSLATION.

Oṁ! Hail from Jayapura! A most devout worshipper of the god Mâheśvara, the illustrious Mahârâjâ Lakshmaṇa, being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brâhmaṇas, and to the cultivators, at the village of Phelâ-parvvatikâ:—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of my parents and of myself, this village is granted by me as an *agrâhâra* to the Brâhmaṇa Revatisvâmin, of the Kautsagotra, a student of the Vâjasaneya-Mâddhyandina (*śâkha*). You shall be obedient to his commands and you shall render to him the customary taxes, that which is to be measured out, gold, etc." And on the same subject there are also the following verses by Vyâsa:—"He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks into hell together with his ancestors. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue* it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!" The *dûtaka* (*is*) the illustrious Mahârâja Naravâhanadatta. This charter has been written by Baladeva in a century of years, increased by fifty-eight, on the full-moon day of the month Jyaishṭha, 158.

XXXI.—FURTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM SÂNCHI.[1]

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the course of a tour through Eastern Rajputana and the Central India Agency in March 1893, Dr. A. Führer again visited the famous Stûpas of Sânchi, *recté* in Sanskrit Kâkaṇâda or in Prakrit Kâkaṇâva (see I, No. 378) and took impressions of those inscriptions which had not been found on his former visit. He also used the opportunity to clear away the rubbish round the two Stûpas and to make a few excavations. As in all former cases, his operations have yielded highly satisfactory results. The fragment of the Aśoka inscription has been recovered;[2] the number of the small donative inscriptions has risen, if all the fragments and almost effaced pieces are counted, to nearly 500, against Sir A. Cunningham's 240. Finally, a valuable Indo-Skythian inscription has turned up on the base of a statue of Buddha, and in a similar position have been found two inscriptions in later characters,[3] the latest of which shows the Nâgarî of the 9th or 10th century A.D. These new finds prove that the Stûpas were visited by Buddhist pilgrims both during the interval between the times of the early Andhras and of the Guptas, and long after the latter had passed away. Moreover, the late Nâgarî inscription may also be considered to furnish additional evidence for the fact that Buddhism survived in India until very late times, long after the period when the stupid legends allege it to have been drowned in a deluge of blood. The recovery of the fragment of the Aśoka edict does not quite fulfil the expectations which I thought might be reasonably entertained. I am not able to decipher the whole or even to suggest a complete plausible restoration of the portion with which I declined to meddle in my former article. But I am able to settle two points. First, the two signs indistinctly visible in the beginning cannot have formed part of the word *devânaṁ*, nor can the word *piya* have followed. The first sign of the line, which, counting from below, I number as line 7, has been lost, the second is illegible, and the third is either *yaṁ* or *yâṁ*. The *ya* is plain and certain, and so is the Anusvâra, but the vowel is doubtful. The next consonant is certainly *bha*, and the syllable probably was *bhe*. This is sufficient to prove that line 7 does not contain the beginning of the edict, but that a probably not inconsiderable piece has been lost at the top.

Secondly, at the end of line 7 stand not only, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 260), the letters *mag*, but *mage*, and after it quite distinctly *kaṭe*. This new reading removes the possibility that the Saṁgha of Magadha can be mentioned or addressed. The words mean, without a doubt, "a road has been made." The next line 6 tells us for whom this road was intended. The first sign has again been lost. Next follows a fairly distinct *khu*, and after two indistinct signs the syllable *bhi*. The two following consonants have been lost in a large abrasion, to the right of which the vowel *î* appears and immediately after it *naṁ*. Then comes an indistinct sign and next *ti*. Thus, we obtain— . *khu* . . *bhi* . . *înaṁ* . *ti*. It is almost certain that the reading was *bhikkhunaṁ vâ bhikhunînaṁ vâ ti*, and that the road was prepared for the monks and the nuns of the Buddhist order. A comparison of the phrase at the end

[1] Continued from *ante*, p. 87.

[2] In his letter Dr. Führer states that it is now lying in the jungle. It is on a frustum of a *stambha* or pillar which probably stood near the Southern gate, and might be placed in some museum in order to keep it safe. See place of facsimiles.

[3] About thirty very small fragments and illegible inscriptions have not been transcribed.

of the edict (ll. 2-3) "for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the Saṁgha may last a long time" removes even the possibility of a doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted, with which the shape of the remnants of the third, fourth and ninth signs of the line agrees. Though at the end of line 6 the letters *ta pa* are quite plain and again in line 5 towards the end the letters *ka* or *ke, ye,* as well as the word *saṁghaṁ,* I do not dare to propose a restoration. I must content myself with putting down the few signs I believe to recognise. The better preserved remainder of the inscription, as I have stated formerly, indeed corresponds in part with the middle of the Kosambî edict on the Allahâbâd Pillar, and there is very little to alter in the readings which I have given in my former article.

TRANSCRIPT.

Allahâbâd.	*Sânchi.*
. . . . . . saṁghaṁ	. . y[aṁ] bh[e?] . . mage kaṭe [7]
bhokhati bhikhu-va bhikhu-nî vâ .	khu[naṁ vâ] bhi . . înaṁ [vâ] ti [.] . ta pa [6]
[pi châ]o—(2) dâtâ—ni [d]-usàni . naṁ dhâpa	. [. ikhi(?)taṁ] . m. . ri (?) . [ke ?] ye
yitu anâpe-	saṁghaṁ [5] bhokhati bhiku vâ bhikhuni vâ odâtâ-
sa . v . s . y . y .	ni du[s .] . i sanaṁ . . yitu anâ . [3]
	sasi v[i]s . petaviy . [.] Ichhâ hi me kiṁ- [2]
	ti saṁghasa mage chilathitîke siyâ ti [1]

TRANSLATION.

. . . "A road was made both for the monks and the nuns[4] . . . . . the community[5] will dine, both monk and nun, (*and*), causing white cloth to be put down (*for them*), you will order it to be spread; for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the community (*of the Buddhist monks*) may endure for a long time."

It is now evident that the road (*mage*) is something material. Possibly the expression refers to the procession path or "terrace for circumambulation"[6] which surrounds the Stûpa (see *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 184). But the road may also be one which made the Stûpas more conveniently accessible.

The characters of the small donative inscriptions offer various points of interest. Among those the alphabet of which in general agrees with that of Aśoka's Edicts we find—

(1) Some like I, Nos. 172, 174, 185, 203, the letters of which are very small, with short vertical strokes, giving one the impression of an attempt at reproducing the Maurya characters, used for literary purposes;

(2) Two,—II, No. 61 and another,—illegible with the exception of the word *dânaṁ,* in which throughout thin double lines are employed instead of single ones;

(3) Many, which present cursive forms for one or two consonants, or even only for some medial vowel marks. Thus, *da* has frequently (see, *e g.*, I, Nos. 129, 177, 186 and 188) a very shallow curve open to the left and otherwise abnormally bent strokes. Here and there *ja,* too, is irregular. In *Ujeniyá* (No. 159) it has the angular shape, which is the usual one in the Andhra inscriptions, but occurs once in the Girnâr version of Aśoka's Rock-Edicts. In *Rájuka* (I, No. 177), and sometimes in the word *pajávatí, ja* looks

[4] The word *ti* indicates that the sentence is at an end.

[5] I am inclined to take *saṁghaṁ* as a neuter nominative with the *liṅgavyatya-ya,* so common in the Aśoka inscriptions, and as the subject of the sentence. As long as the text has not been restored completely, this is, of course, merely tentative.

[6] Usually called *Pradakshiṇâ* by the Brahmans and *Bhmti* (*Bhramanti*) by the Jainas.

almost like *ṭá*. In *Yakhadásiyá* (I, No. 194) the letter *sa* has been made with a single stroke, the left-hand limb being formed by drawing from the right hand upstroke a continuous line across the letter. Among the vowels *á* and *e* often slant upwards, as in the Kâlsî version of the Rock-Edicts and in the later inscriptions. The vowel *i* very commonly consists, as in the Girnâr version, of a small semi-circle and occasionally (see, *e.g.*, I, Nos. 141, 285) of a long stroke, rising straight upwards. I may add that the vowel *á* is attached against the usual practice to the inner side of the left prong of *ma* in the word *Mâhisatiya*, I, Nos. 313-14, and that the vowel *i* occupies a similar position in *Sirimitáyá* (I, No. 355).

The unusual *cha*, with a little tail, known from Mr. Rea's Bhaṭṭiprolu Stûpa inscriptions, appears in I, Nos. 269 and 284. A *ḷa*, intermediate between the form of the Bhaṭṭiprolu Stûpa and that of the Andhra cave inscriptions, is used in the name *Váḷîvahana*, a vicarious form for *Váḍîvahana* in I, No. 199. This is one of the few certain instances of the occurrence of *ḷa* north of the Narmadâ before the times of the Guptas.

There are also, just as in Sir A. Cunningham's collection, a certain number of inscriptions, showing later characters than those of the Aśoka Edicts. To these belong—

(1) the long imprecatory document, I, No. 377, which shows the dagger-like *ka*, the angular *gha* and a peculiar short *da*, with a shallow curve, but has no *serifs* or nail-heads;

(2) a few inscriptions with short vertical strokes and nail-heads, but otherwise with archaic forms, like I, Nos. 288, 334, 377;

(3) likewise a small number of inscriptions with still more advanced forms, like I, No. 237; II, Nos. 25, 59, 66, among which the first shows curves to the left attached to *ka* and *ra*, while the third offers an almost circular *ba* and the looped *ta*, common in the southern inscriptions of the second century A.D. and of later times. It seems to me that these facts confirm the remarks made in my former article regarding the age of the Stûpas, and show that the bulk of the work belongs to the 3rd century B.C. and to the beginning of the 2nd, as well as that some additions and repairs were made in later times.

With respect to the language I have not to add anything to the notes given in my former article. The type is that of the Pâli of the Aśoka inscriptions and of the Buddhist scriptures. Anomalous forms of the kinds noticed before are also numerous. If my reading of the second word of I, No. 263, is right, there is one instance of the use of a double consonant.

As regards the contents I may state that the new inscriptions mention also a number of the collective donations.

Thus, I, No. 214 registers a gift of the village of Asvavatî; No. 124 one by the nuns of Vâḍîvahana; Nos. 147 and 231 those of the female lay worshippers of Navagâma and of Ejâvatî; No. 276 one by the family of Dhamu [tara] and No. 366 one by the family of Ajitiguta. The number of single monks making donations now amounts to more than eighty. Among them there is (II, No. 59) another *sutátika* or teacher of the Sûtras, a *thera* (I, No. 266), and, it would seem, a *tápasa* or ascetic (I, No. 260). This designation is usually not adopted by Buddhists, who despise the performance of austerities. Possibly this person may have belonged to some other sect. One of the most prominent personages among the monks apparently was Gotiputa Bhaṁḍuka, who occurs twice (I, Nos. 16, 256) and had four pupils . . . ka, Budharakhita, Aya-Kana and Dhamadata. The names of nuns making donations

Stupa I, 21.—p. 99.



J Burgess, impress

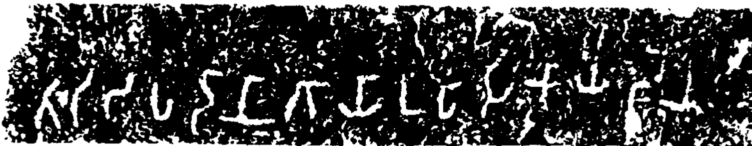
Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 230.—p. 381.



Scale: 1-4th.

St. I, 50.—p. 102.



A Fuhrer impress

Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 256.—p 384



Scale: 1-5th.

St. II, 1.—p. 110.



Scale: 1-4th.

St I, 257.



Scale: 1-5th.

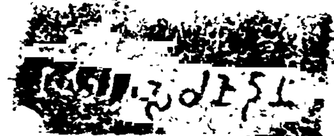
Asoka Fragment p 367



A Fuhrer, impress

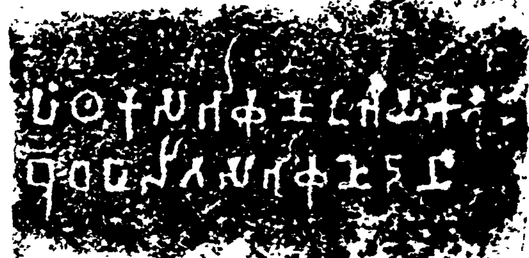
Scale 1-4th.

St. I, 285.—p 387.



Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 288.



Scale: 1-5th.

now rise from thirty-seven to nearly seventy. One or two among them mention their children, and must have been married before they entered the Saṁgha, see, *e.g.*, I, No. 234 and II, No. 29.

Among the lay donors the Sheths and their relatives now take a still more prominent position than in the smaller collection formerly accessible, and it may be pointed out that in several instances the Sheth of a village is mentioned without the addition of his proper name. Thus, I, No. 140, records the gift of "Nâgâ, wife of the Sheth of Kaṁdaḍigâma," and No. 167 that "of the mother of the Sheth." Among the other professions of the donors there are some new ones. Thus, we have a *sotika*, i.e., *sautrika*, "weaver," in I, No. 195; *vaḍaki, i.e.*, probably *vardhakin*, "carpenter" in No. 311, and a *rajuka* in No. 229. The term *rajuka* or *râjuka* is known from the Aśoka edicts and from the *Kalpasûtra* of the Jainas, where, as Professor Jacobi has shown, it occurs in the form *rajjuya*, and is explained to mean 'a clerk or accountant,' what is now called in India a *karkun*.[7] The word is an abbreviation of *rajjugâhaka*, literally, a ropeholder and is an ancient name for a Revenue Settlement officer. *Râjalipikara* "a royal scribe" (I, Nos. 48, 49), apparently differs in meaning from *lekhaka* (I, No. 143), which latter means "a writer who copies manuscripts or copyist." Among the proper names there are various new ones, pointing to the worship of the *Nakshatras*, and a few like Ajarânî, *i.e.*, Ajirâ or Durgâ, indicating the existence of Paurâṇik worship.

There are fifteen new names of towns or villages mentioned as the homes of donors, but none of them occurs more than a few times. It would seem that the inhabitants of Arâpâna, Bhogavaḍhana, Kuraghara, Kurara, Madhuvana, Nandinagara Navagâma, Pokhara, Tumbavana, Ujjain and Vedisa defrayed nearly the whole expense of the ornaments of the two Stûpas, the lion's share falling to Ujjain, which is mentioned thirty-five times.

If we now turn to the three later inscriptions incised on the bases of statues which Dr. Führer has discovered, the first records the dedication of a statue of Buddha by Madhurikâ, daughter of Khara or Vera in the Vihâra of Dharmadeva during the reign of the [*mahârâja*] *râjâtirâja* [*deva*]*putra* Shâhi Vâsushka. The name Vâsushka is new. But it looks as if it were formed of the first part of Vâsudeva and the last syllable of the names Kanishka and Huvishka, and one feels tempted to consider it as another name of the third Kushana king. If the first sign of the date is read, as Sir A. Cunningham, I think, correctly proposes, as 70, the identification of Vâsushka with Vâsudeva becomes quite unobjectionable; for the year 78 certainly falls within Vâsudeva's reign and the characters of the document fully agree with those of the inscriptions which bear his name. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated in the beginning of each line and the third line has almost entirely disappeared. What remains may be read as follows:—

L. 1. . . . . . . syâ[8] râjâtirâjasya . . putrasya[9] Shâh[i] Vâsushkasya[10] saṁ [70][11] 8 he 1 [di 5] [e]tasy[âm] [p]u[rv]v[âyâṁ] bhagava—

[7] See my notes on the Pillar Edict IV, and the Rock Edict III, *infra*, and my article in the *Deutschen Morgenländischen Zeitschrift*, vol. XLVII, p. 466.

[8] Restore, as Sir A. Cunningham suggests, *Mahârâja*, or perhaps *Siddhaṁ mahârâjasya*.

[9] Restore *devaputrasya*.

[10] I read this sign first as 20; Sir A. Cunningham, whom I consulted, suggested that it is a looped sign for 70. I agree to this, as the Mathurâ Inscr. No. XX (*Epigr. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 214), which belongs to the same period, has a very similar sign. (See facsimile on the plate.)

L. 2. . . . . sya[12] jambuchhâyâśailâgra . sya Dharmadevavihâre pratishtâpitâ[6] Kharasya[13] dhitare[14] Madhurikâ.
L. 3. . . . . [ṇa]ṁ deyadharma . . i. . . . .

The second novelty, which shows letters of the 8th or 9th century need not be transcribed, as it contains nothing but the Buddhist creed. The third inscription, which, as already stated, is in Nâgarî characters of the 9th or 10th century, originally consisted of a Sragdharâ verse, of which only two Pâdas are at present completely legible :—

L. 1. Oṁ Prâ—. âyushy ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ —
— ◡ — — [Ta]syâkhyâyâḥ kilânte Sugataguṇavṛitaḥ saṁsthito bhadra. . . . .
L. 2. śavdaḥ [1]
o râ o ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — sam
sam— — dedharmoyaṁ[15] k[ṛi]tasya pravarasukhakarajñânasaṁ—
L. 3. prâptaye saḥ [11]

DONATIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM SANCHI.

Tope I.

No. 124 = C. 2.

[वाडि*]वहना भिकुनिना दानं [॥*][16]

The gift of the nuns from [Vâḍi]vahana.

No. 125 = C. 6.

वजिगुतस दानं [॥*][17]

The gift of Vajiguta (*Vajrigupta*).

No. 126 = C. 7.

देवभागाय [म]धुवनिक[ा य] भिकुनिय दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Devabhâgâ, inhabitant of Madhuvana.

No. 127 = C. 8.

वाकलाये देविये अहिमितम[तु* ॥*][18]

(*The gift*) of the Vâkalâ queen, the mother of Ahimita (*Ahimitra*).

[11] Probably *to sâkyamunisya* to be restored.
[12] Read *pratishṭhâpitâ*.
[13] Or *Verasya*.
[14] Read *dhitarâ*.
[15] This seems to be a contraction of *deyadharmo*, made for the sake of the metre.
[16] Sir A. Cunningham has only *Hanâ bhichkhuniya*. Dr. Führer's impression shows a faint *va* before *hanâ*. The restoration is not doubtful, as *Vâḍivahana* is mentioned in Nos. 101, 116, and so forth.
[17] The letters are beautifully carved and about half a foot high. *Vajrin* may be,—Indra, a Buddha, or one of the Viśve Devas.
[18] Possibly वाकिलाये.

No. 128 = C. 10.

नगदिनस भिछुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of Nagadina (*Nagadatta* or Nâgadatta), the monk.

No. 129 = C. 17.

सोणदेवाय [प]रिजय अगिदेवा[य च दा]नं [॥*]

The gift of Soṇadevâ (*Suvarṇadevá*),[19] Parijâ (?) and Agidevâ (*Agnidevá*).

No. 130 = C. 18.

सुभगाय सभगिनिकाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Subhagâ and her sister.

No. 131 = C. 21 (?).

पुसगिरिनो नाव[गा]मकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyagiri*), inhabitant of Navagâma (*Navagráma*).

No. 132 = C. 26.

ओद[ा]तिकाये भिछुनि वेदिसिकया[20] दानं [॥*]

The gift of Odâtikâ (*Avadátiká*), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 133 = C. 27.

यसोपालस दानं भद[त]काड़ि[य स] (?) [॥*]

(*The gift*) of Yasopâla (*Yaśahpála*), pupil of the venerable Kaḍa (?).

No. 134 = C. 28.

माहम[ो]रगिम्हा सीहगिरिनो दन [॥*]

The gift of Sîhagiri (*Siṁhagiri*) from Màhamoragi.[21]

No. 135 = C. 29.

पुसस चहटियस भिछुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of Pusa (*Pushya*) the Chahaṭiya[22] monk.

No. 136 = C. 32.

[ग]हपतिनो बुधिलस दा[नं* ॥*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Budhila (*Buddhila*).

No. 137 = C. 37.

अय[र]हिलस साफिनेयकस[23] मातु दानं [॥*]

The gift of the mother of the venerable Rahila (?), the Sâphineyaka.

[19] *Suvarṇa, i.e.* the Gandharva of that name.

[20] Compare the note to II, No. 33.

[21] See *ante*, No. 77.

[22] Possibly "inhabitant of Chahaṭa."

[23] This might be rea साढनेयकस, but below (in No. 161), the फि is distinct.

No. 138 = C. 42.

L. 1. नवगामका दिसारखि-

L. 2. तस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Disârakhita[24] (*Diśârakshita*) from Navagâmaka (*Navagrâma*).

No. 139 = C. 44.

पोठदेवाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Poṭhadevâ (*Proshṭhadevâ*).

No. 140 = C. 45 (?)[25].

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेथिनो

L. 2. पजावतिया नागाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Nâgâ, the wife of the Sheth of Kaṁdaḍigâma (°*grâma*).

No. 141 = C. 46.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेथिनो

L. 2. पजावतिय पुसाय दानं [॥]

The gift of Pusâ (*Pushyâ*), wife of the Sheth of Kaṁdaḍigâma.

No. 142 = C. 47.

कंदडिगामा वढस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Vaḍha (*Vṛiddha*) from Kaṁdaḍigrâma.

No. 143 = C. 48.

मुलगिरिनो दानं लेखकस [॥*]

The gift of Mulagiri (*Mûlagiri*), the copyist.

No. 144 = C. 49.

उजेनिय — — — —

From Ujjain . . . .

No. 145 = C. 50.

यखदिनस भिखुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of Yakhadina (*Yakshadatta*), the monk.

No. 146 = C. 51.

उजेनिया उपासिकाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of a female lay worshipper from Ujjain

No. 147 = C. 53.

नावगामिकाना उपासिकाना दानं [॥*]

The gift of the female lay worshippers of Navagâma (°*grâma*).

[24] The deities meant here are the *diśaḥ*, the nymphs of the quarters of the horizon

[25] Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is in one line. Hence this may be a different one.

No. 148 = C. 55.

उजेनिया रो[ह]णिय दानं [॥*][26]

The gift of Rohaṇî (*Rohiṇî*) from Ujjain.

No. 149 = C. 56.

उजेनिया धमगिरिनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of Dhamagiri (*Dharma°*) from Ujjain.

No. 150 = C. 57.

उजेनिया सोनस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Sona (*Suvarṇa*) from Ujjain.

No. 151 = C. 58.

उजेनिया तापसियानं [हु]षानजाय[27] दानं [॥]

The gift of Najâ, the daughter-in-law of the Tâpasiyas, from Ujjain.

No. 152 = C. 59.

उजेया तापसियना इसिमितस दानं [॥*][28]

The gift of Isimita (*Ṛishimitra*) of the Tâpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 153 = C. 60.

उजेनिया मुलदतये दानं [॥*]

The gift of Muladatâ (*Mûladattâ*) from Ujjain.

No. 154 = C. 61.

उजेनिय बलकय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Balakâ from Ujjain.

No. 155 = C. 62.

[उजे]निया ओपेददतस पजावतिय वयुदतय दानं [॥]

The gift of Vayudatâ (*Vâyudattâ*), wife of Opedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.

No. 156 = C. 63.

उजेनिय उपेददतस भगिनिय हिमदताये दानं [॥*]

The gift of Himadatâ (*Himadattâ*), sister of Upedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.

No. 157 = C. 64.

[उजे]निया उपेददतस भगिनिय बुधाये दानं [॥*][29]

The gift of Budhâ (*Buddhâ*), sister of Upedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.

[26] The reverse shows clearly that the apparent *u*-stroke under ह is due to an accidental scratch.

[27] The little horizontal stroke, denoting the ष is placed rather high up and detached from the vertical line.

[28] Read उजेनिया.

[29] Possibly बुधिये to be read.

No. 158 = C. 65.

उजेनिया काडिये भिछुनिये दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Kâḍî (*Káṇḍí*), from Ujjain.

No. 159 = C. 66.

उजेनिया छेतमातु दानं [॥*]

The gift of the mother of Chheta (*Kshetra*), from Ujjain.

No. 160 = C. 67.

उजेनिया तापसियना सिंहदतये दानं [॥*]

The gift of Siṁhadatâ[30] (°*dattá*) of the Tâpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 161 = 68.

उजेनिया सफिनेयकाना इसिकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Isika (*Ṛishika*) of the Saphineyakas from Ujjain.

No. 162 = C. 69.

कुरघर इसिमितय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Isimita (*Ṛishimitrá*) from Kuraghara.

No. 163 = C. 70.

उजेनिया वा[सु]लाया दानं [॥*][31]

The gift of Vâsulâ (?), from Ujjain.

No. 164 = C. 71.

कुरघरा नरय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Narâ[32] from Kuraghara.

No. 165 = C. 72.

कुरघरा नगमितया दानं [॥*]

The gift of Nagamitâ (*Naga*° or *Nágamitrá*), from Kuraghara.

No. 166 = C. 83.

अस्वदेवाय समिकस मातु दानं [॥*]

The gift of Aśvadevâ[33] (*Asvadevá*), mother of Samika (*Svámika*).

No. 167 = C. 85.

सेथिनो मतु कनिय[सि]ये[34]— —

(*The gift*) of Kaniyasî (*Kaníyasí*), the mother of the Sheth.

[30] In this and similar compounds *Siṁha* may possibly stand for नरसिंह, shortened *bhâmâvat*.
[31] Possibly विपुलाय to be read.
[32] *i e.* probably *Naradattá*.
[33] In this and similar compounds अस्व probably stands *bhímavat* for अश्वयुज-
[34] The vowel of सि is indistinct.

No. 168 = C. 88.

वसुलाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Vasulà.

No. 169 = C. 89.

ईददतस पाविडकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Îdadata (*Indradatta*), inhabitant of Pavida.

No. 170 = C. 94.

कुजरस सेथिभातु दानं [॥*]

The gift of Kujara (*Kuñjara*), the brother of the Sheth.

No. 171 = C. 96.

L. 1. —[सि]दताय सकदिन पजाव—

L. 2. —य दानं [॥*][35]

The gift of Isidatà (*Rishidattá*), wife of Sakadina (*Śakradatta*).

No. 172 = C. 97.

भदगुतस सानुकगामीनस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Bhadaguta (*Bhadragupta*), inhabitant of Sànukagàma (°*gráma*).

No. 173 = C. 98.

धरकिना सातिलस दानं [॥*[36]]

The gift of Sâtila (*Sántila* or *Svátila*)[37] from Dharakinà (*Erakina* or *Erán*).

No. 174 = C. 106.

स[घा]य दानं [॥*]

The gift of Saghâ (*Saṁgha*).

No. 175 = C. 118.[38]

वाघुमता काचा— —

(*The gift of*) Kâchà . . . . . from Vâghumatu.

No. 176 = C. 119—21.

L. 1. समिकस वानिकस

L. 2. पुतस चस सिरिपालस

L. 3. दानं ३ [॥*]

Three (*rails*)[39], the gift of Samik a (*Svámika*), the trader, and of his son Siripâla (*Śrípála*).

[35] Restore इसिदताय and पजावतिय.

[36] Probably एरकिना to be read.

[37] Diminutive from *Sântideva*, *Sântivarman*, or *Svâtidatta*.

[38] As the inscription is mutilated, its identity with C. 118 is not absolutely certain.

[39] As Sir A. Cunningham (*The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 252) states, the three lines are carved on three different rails, which probably were given by the two persons named.

No. 177 = C. 122.

भादतराजुकस [दा]ना [॥*]

The gift of Bhâdata-Râjuka (the venerable *Râjuka*

No. 178 = C. 123.

विसाखस भिकुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Visâkha (*Viśâkha*).

No. 179 = C. 130.

नंदस कुररतो— —

(*The gift*) of Namda from Kurara.

No. 180 = C. 132.

मधुव[ना] इ[सि]दतये भिकुनिये दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Isidatâ (*Ṛishidattâ*) from Madhuvana

No. 181 = C. 133.

[इ]सिदताये भिखुनिये कुररिये दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Isidatâ (*Ṛishidattâ*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 182 = C. 134.

धमपालस कोथुकपदियस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Dhamapâla (*Dharmapâla*), inhabitant of Kuthukapada.

No. 183 = C. 147.

नंदिनागारिकय इसिदिनाये भिकुनिये [॥*] [11]

(*The gift*) of the nun Isidinâ (*Ṛishidattâ*), inhabitant of Namdinagara.

No. 184 = C. 151

अयधनकस भिकुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Dhanaka.

No. 185 = C. 157.

धनगिरिगो दानं [॥*]

The gift of Dhanagiri.

No. 186 = C. 159.

L. 1. बलिकाये भिकुनिया मडलाछिक-

L. 2. टिकाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Balikâ, inhabitant of Maḍalachhikata.

[10] Or *Kothukapada*, i.e. either *Kunthuka* or *Kroshtukapada* or *padra*.

[11] Read नंदिनागरिक°

No. 187 = C. 163.[42]

L. 1. भडिकियस
संघिलस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Saṁghila, a pupil of Bhaḍika.[43]

No. 188 = C. 164.

अरहतपालितस भि— — — — [॥*]

(The gift) of the monk Arahatapâlita (*Arhatpâlita*).

No. 189 = C. 165.[44]

L. 1. अरहकस परि-
L. 2. पनकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Arahaka (*Arhaka*), the Paripanaka.[45]

No. 190 = C. 166.

धमगिरिकमातु दानं [॥*]

The gift of the mother of Dhamagiri (*Dharmagiri*).

No. 191 = C. 168.

सिधथस वि— — —

. . . . of Sidhatha (*Siddhârtha*) . . . . .

No. 192 = C. 169.

इसिदासिये नादिनागरिकाय भिकुनिये दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Isidâsî (*Ṛishidâsî*), inhabitant of Naṁdinagara.

No. 193 = C. 170.

नंदिनगरा दुपसहभिकुनिये दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Dupasahâ (*Dushprasahâ* ?) from Naṁdinagara.

No. 194 = C. 171.

यखदासिया दानं [भिकुनिया] [॥*]

The gift of Yakhadâsî (*Yakshadâsî*), the nun.

No. 195 = C. 172.

दतकलिवतस दानं [॥*][46]

The gift of Datakalivata (?)

[42] Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription has only one line and may be different.
[43] Compare No. 306.
[44] Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.
[45] This possibly means an inhabitant of *Paripana*, i.e., *Pariparna* or *Paripâṇa ?*
[46] The inscription may be mutilated in the beginning.

No. 196 = C. 174.[47]

L. 1. दमकस सोति-

L. 2. कस कुसुकपितु

L. 3. दानं [॥*]

The gift of the weaver Damaka, father of Kusuka.

No. 197 = C. 179.[48]

L. 1. इसिपालीतस च

L. 2. समणस च दनं [॥*]

The gift of Isipâlîta (*Ṛishipâlita*) and of Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*).

No. 198 = C. 186.

卐 वीरस भिखुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Vîra.

No. 199 = C. 187=88.

L. 1. यखिय भिखुनिया वाळीव=

L. 2. 卐 हनिकाया दानं ॐ

The gift of the nun Yakhî (*Yakshî*), inhabitant of Vâḷîvahana.

No. 200 = C. 189.

वेदिसकेहि दंतकारेहि रुपकंमं कतं [॥*]

The workers in ivory of Vedisa have done the carving.

No. 201 = C. 192.

कुरराय नागपायस अछावडे सेथिस पुतस च संघस [दा]नं] [॥*][49]

The gift of Nâgapiya (°*priya*) in Kurara, Sheth in Achhâvaḍa, and of (*his*) son Saṁgha.

No. 202.[50]

अछावाटा चिरातिमातु दानं [॥*]

The gift of Chirâtî (*Kirâtî*) from Achhâvâṭa (? *Ma*°).

No. 203.

अज[रा]निय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Ajarânî (*Ajirâ*).

No. 204.

[अ]ठकनगरस गगं[द]तस भिखुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of Gagaṁdata (*Gaṅgadatta*), the monk, inhabitant of Aṭhakanagara.

[47] There are four impressions bearing these letters. Though perfectly identical, they may yet belong to two different inscriptions.

[48] Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.

[49] Read कुररिय नागपियस.

[50] As there are four impressions with these letters, it is possible that they refer to two separate inscriptions.

No. 205.[51]

अप — यह दनं [॥*]

The gift of Apa-yaha (?)

No. 206.

अपा[का]निया दानं [॥*]

The gift of Apâkânî.

No. 207.

अयकनस भिकुनो दानं अयभंडुकियस [॥*]

The gift of the venerable Kana, pupil of the venerable Bhaṁḍuka.[52]

No. 208.

अयजे[त]स भिकुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Jeta (*Jayanta*).

No. 209.

L. 1. अयफगुनस साधिविहारिनो

L. 2. खेमकस भिकुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Khemaka (*Kshemaka*), the fellow-wanderer of the venerable Phaguna (*Phalguna*).

No. 210.

अरपना असाडस दा[नं]व— —

The gift of Asâḍa (*Ashâḍha*) . . . from Arapana.

No. 211.

अरपना पदा— — —

From Arapana . . . . .

No. 212.

[अ]रपानिया सिहय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Sihâ (*Siṁhâ*), inhabitant of Arapâna.

No. 213.

असगुतस दानं [॥]

The gift of Asaguta (*Aśvagupta*).

No. 214.

असभये उजेनिकाये भिकुनिये दान [॥*]

The gift of Asabhâ, a nun of Ujjain.

No. 215.

[अ]स्ववतिय गामस — —

(*The gift*) of the village of Asvavatî (*Aśvavatî*).

[51] Incised on the procession path.

[52] See *ante*, p. 98, No. 16, and below No. 256.

No. 216.

L. 1. इसिदसिये नादिनागरिकाये भिकु[निये]

L. 2. दानं [॥*][53]

The gift of Isidasî (*Rishidâsî*), a nun of Nandinagara.

No. 217.

L. 1. इसिनदनस दानं [॥*]

L. 2. [पु]ञवढनियस [॥*]

The gift of Isinadana (*Rishinandana*), inhabitant of Puñavaḍhana (*Puṇyavardhana*).

No. 218.

इसिरखितस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Isirakhita (*Rishirakshita*).

No. 219.

उजेनिये अस्वरखिताये दानं [॥*]

The gift of Asvarakhitâ (*Aśvarakshitâ*) in Ujjain.

No. 220.

उजेनाया उपसिकाये सिरिकाये दानं [॥*][54]

The gift of the lay worshipper Sirikâ (*Śrîkâ*) from Ujjain.

No. 221.[55]

उजेनिया ओपेददतस पजावतिय वा[यु]दताय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Vâyudatâ, wife of Opedadata (*Upendradatta*) from Ujjain.

No. 222.

L. 1. [*उ]जेनिय कलुरप-

L. 2. तस बुमुस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Bumu, son of Kalura, from Ujjain.*

No. 223.

L. 1. उजेनिया तापसिया-

L. 2. नं — — — धम

L. 3. [दता]य दानं [॥*]

The gift of Dhamadatâ (*Dharmadattâ*) . . . of the Tâpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 224.

[उ*]जेनिया धमयसाया मतु भिकुनिया दा[नं* ॥*]

The gift of the mother of the nun Dhamayasâ (*Dharmayaśas*) from Ujjain.

[53] This is identical in words with No. 192 (C. 169), which however is in one line.

[54] Read उजेनिया.

[55] This is identical in words, but not in spelling, with No. 155 (C. 62).

No. 225.

L. 1. उजेनिया बलिकाया

L. 2. मातु दानं [॥*]

The gift of the mother of Balikâ from Ujjain.

No. 226.

उजेनिये मितये भिकु — — — —

(*The gift*) of the nun Mitâ (*Mitrâ*) in Ujjain.

No. 227.

उजेनिया वसुलय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Vasulâ from Ujjain.

No. 228.

उजेनिया संघदतस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Saṁghadata (°*datta*) from Ujjain.

No. 229.

उजेनिया सुलासस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Sulâsa from Ujjain.

No. 230.

उतरस रजुकस दानं [॥*][56]

The gift of Utara (*Uttara*), the *Rajuka*.

No. 231.

एजावतिय उ[पा]सिकाना — —

(*The gift*) of the female lay worshippers from Ejâvati.

No. 232.

एजावतिया वाहिलस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Vâhila from Ejâvatî.

No. 233.

कटकञु[य]कस [ई*]ददेवस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Îdadeva (*Indradeva*), inhabitant of Kaṭakañu.

No. 234.

कटकञुया अरहस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Kaṭakañu.

No. 235.

कटकञुया घ — — —

From Kaṭakañu . . . .

[56] See facsimile on the plate.

No. 236.

कंदडिगामा सेथि — —

From Kaṁdaḍigâma (°*gráma*), of the Sheth . . . .

No. 237.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेठिनो

L. 2. पजावतिया देवभागाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Devabhâgâ, wife of the Sheth of Kaṁdaḍigâma (°*gráma*).

No. 238.

L. 1. काणस भिकुनो

L. 2. दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Kâṇa.

No. 239.[57]

कुरघरा घोसकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Ghosaka (*Ghoshaka*) from Kuraghara.

No. 240.

कुरघरा नगमिताय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Nagamitâ (*Naga* or *Nágamitrá*) from Kuraghara.

No. 241.

L. 1. [कु]र घरिय स[ा ति]सिरिय

L. 2. —खुनि — — — —[58]

(*The gift*) of the nun Sâtisiri (*Śántiśrí* or *Svátiśrí*), inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 242.

L. 1. कुररातो अरहगुतस

L. 2. दन [॥*]

The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*) from Kurara.

No. 243.[59]

L. 1. कुररातो अरह[गु]तस

L. 2. दानं [॥*]

No. 244.

L. 1. कुरराय अछावतिय

L. 2. भिखुनिय दानं [॥*][60]

The gift of the nun Achhâvatî (*Ṛikshavatí*) in Kurara.

[57] There are two illegible lines above that given here.

[58] Restore भिखुनिय दानं.

[59] The inscription is identical in words with the preceding, but the last three letters of line 1 are almost destroyed and the spelling differs.

[60] It is not impossible that the कुरराय in this inscription and in Nos. 241 and 244 is meant for कुरघिय.

No. 245.

कुरराय णागादिनाय दानं [॥*][61]

The gift of Ṇâgâdinâ (*Nâgadattâ*) in Kurara.

No. 246.

कुरराय धमकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Dhamaka (*Dharmaka*) in Kurara.

No. 247.

कुरारय वल — — — —

No. 248.

L. 1. कुरराय सघारखिताया[62]

L. 2. भिखुनिय दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Saghârakhitâ (*Saṁgharakshitâ*) in Kurara.

No. 249.

कुररिय अरहगुता [य दा]—

The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadguptâ*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 250.

कुर[रि]य [अर]हदिनाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Arahadinâ (*Arhaddattâ*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 251.

[कु]ररियस सघा — — — — —

No. 252.

L. 1. गडाय भिछुन-

L. 2. य दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Gaḍâ (*Gaṇḍâ*?).

No. 253.

गड[ा]या भिछुनिया वेदिसिकाया दा[नं* ॥*]

The gift of the nun Gaḍâ (*Gaṇḍâ*?), inhabitant of Vedisa.

No. 254.

. . गिरिकस पजावतिया—तिया दानं [॥*]

The gift of . . tî, wife of Girika.

No. 255.

गोतमिये इसिनिका — — — —[63]

(*The gift*) of Isinikâ (*Ṛishikâ*), the Gotamî (*Gautamî*).

[61] Read नाग.

[62] Read सघर.°

[63] There are four impressions, which seem to refer to the same inscription.

No. 256.

गोतिपुतस भडुकस भिकुनो दानं [॥*][64]

The gift of the monk Bhaḍuka, son of the Gotî (*Gauptî* mother).

No. 257.[65]

जितमितय दनं [॥]

The gift of Jitamitâ (*Jitâmitra*).

No. 258.[66]

जोह्नकस भिखनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnakâ*).

No. 259.

ताकारापदा संघरखितस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Saṁgharakhita (°*rakshita*) from Tâkârâpada.

No. 260.

तापसस गोनंदकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of the ascetic Gonaṁdaka.

No. 261.

तिरिडपदा नागाया उपासिकाय [द]ा नं [॥*]

The gift of the female lay worshipper Nâgâ from Tiriḍapada.

No. 262.

तिसस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Tisa (*Tishya*).

No. 263.

तुडस फुजाकप[लि]यस दानं [॥*][67]

The gift of Tuḍa (*Tuṇḍa*), inhabitant of Phujâkapallî (?).

No. 264.[68]

तुं[ब]वना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दान [॥*]

The gift of *Gahapati* Patiṭhiya (*Pratishṭhita*) from Tuṁbavana.[3]

No. 265.

तुंबवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस भातु [जा]याय ध[ञा]य दानं [॥*]

The gift of Dhañâ (*Dhanyâ*), wife of the brother of the *gahapati* Patiṭhiya (*Pratishṭhita*) from Tuṁbavana.[69]

[64] This is identical in words with the inscription No. 16 (*ante*, p. 98), which however has three lines, see facsimile.
[65] See facsimile.
[66] Identical in words (but not in the size of the letters) with No. 75, *ante*, p. 105.
[67] The consonant of the bracketed syllable is very doubtful.
[68] Identical in words with No. 23, *ante*, p. 99.
[69] *Tumbavana* occurs in Hemachandra's *Pariśishṭa Parvan*. (*see* Professor Jacobi's Introduction, p. 71).

No. 266.

थेरस अयनागस भिकुनो उजेनिकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of the *Thera*, the venerable Nâga, monk of Ujjain.

No. 267.

L. 1. दताये भिकुनिया म — — [-]कटिकाये[70]

L. 2. दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Datà (*Dattá*), inhabitant of [Madalachh]ikaṭa.

No. 268.

देवरखितस मोरजहकटियस भिकुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Devarakhita (*°rakshita*), inhabitant of Morajahakaṭa.

No. 269.

धनगिरिनो [चडि]पियस[71] च भिकुनं दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monks Dhanagiri and Chaḍipiya (*Chaṇḍîpriya*?).

No. 270.

L. 1. धमकस वेजजक-

L. 2. स दन [॥*]

The gift of Dhamaka (*Dharmaka*), inhabitant of Vejaja.

No. 271.

धमगिरिनो च धमसेनस च दा[नं] [॥*]

The gift both of Dhamagiri (*Dharma°*) and of Dhamasena (*Dharma°*).

No. 272.

धमदिनाये दान [॥*]

The gift of Dhamadinâ (*Dharmadattá*).

No. 273.

L. 1. धंमपालस

L. 2. म[हि]पालस[72] दान [॥*]

The gift of Dhammapâla (*Dharma° and*) of Mahipàla.

No. 274.

L. 1. धमरखितस

L. 2. — रकारकस दानं [॥*]

The Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), inhabitant of —rakara(?).

No. 275.

धमरखिताय मधुवनिकाये दानं [॥*]

The gift of Dhamarakhitâ (*Dharmarakshitá*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.

[70] Restore मडलछिकटिकाये

[71] This may also be intended for चडिपियस or चडि

[72] The second vowel has been obliterated.

No. 276.

L. 1. धमु — — —

L. 2. कुलस द[न ॥*][73]

The gift of the family of Dhamu[tara] (*Dharmottara*).

No. 277.

L. 1. नदिनगर अचल—

L. 2. भिकुनिय दा[नं ॥*]

The gift of the nun Achalâ from Nadinagara (*Nandi°*).

No. 278.

L. 1. नंदिनगरा अम[ग य]

L. 2. दानं [॥*]

The gift of Amagà (*Amatâ*, i.e., *Amṛitâ* ?) from Naṁdinagara.

No. 279.

L. 1. नंदिनगर[ा] उतरदतय

L. 2. दानं [॥*][74]

The gift of Utaradatâ (*Uttaradattâ*) from Naṁdinagara.

No. 280.

नंदिनगर [उतर]मितय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Utaramitâ (*Uttaramitrâ*) from Naṁdinagara.

No. 281.

L. 1. [नं]दिनगर उपास-

L. 2. [कस] यमदस दन [॥*][75]

The gift of the lay worshipper Yamada[ta] (*°datta*) from Naṁdinagara.

No. 282.

L. 1. नदिनगर रोहणदेव-

L. 2. य [दा]नं [॥*]

The gift of Rohanadevâ (*Rohiṇidevâ*) from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 283.

नं[दु]तरय दनं वे[दि]सिकय भिकुनिया

The gift of Naṁdutarâ (? *Nandottarâ*), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 284.

L. 1. नागदतस सघरखितस च कोरघरानं

L. 2. दानं [॥*][76]

The gift of Nâgadata (°datta) and Sagharakhita (*Saṁgharakshita*), inhabitants of Kuraghara.

[73] Probably धमुतरस to be restored.

[74] Above the first syllable stands another न.

[75] Read यमदतस

[76] This inscription has to be read from below, see *ante*, p. 107, No. 93.

No. 285.[77]

ना[गिल]स सेठिनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of *Sheth* Nâgila.

No. 286.

नाटिय भिखुनिय [को]रघरिय द[नं ॥*]

The gift of the nun Nâṭî, inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 287

नादिनगर काबोज -
स भिकुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Kâboja (*Kâmboja*) from Nâdinagara (*Nandi°*).

No. 288.[78]

L. 1. पंथकस भिकुनो उ[भि]यका — —

L. 2. बुधपालीतस भिकुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Paṁthaka (*Pânthaka*) . . . . (*and*) of the monk Bûdhapâlîta (*Buddhapâlita*).

No. 289.

[पा]तिठानस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Pâtiṭhâna.

No. 290.

पुरुविडा दिसागिरिपुतानं दा[नं ॥*]

The gift of the sons of Disâgiri[79] (*Diśâgiri*) from Puruviḍa.

No. 291.

पुसकस दन [॥*]

The gift of Pusaka (*Pushyaka*).

No. 292.

पुसदतस नवगमकियस दन [॥*]

The gift of Pusadata (*Pushyadatta*), inhabitant of Navagâma (*°grâma*).

No. 293.

पेमुतिकाय सुपठामाये भिकुनिये दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Supaṭhâmâ (*Suprasthâmâ* ?), inhabitant of Pemuta.

No. 294.

[पो*]खरातो इसिदताय लेवस पजावतिया दानं [॥*]

The gift of Isidatâ (*Ṛishidattâ*), the wife of Leva from Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

[77] See facsimile. [78] Given among the facsimiles. [79] See above, note 24 to No. 138.

No. 295.

पोखरातो इसिदताय दानं — — — — — — —

The gift of Isidatà from Pokhara . . . . .

No. 296.

[*पो]खरातो तुडाया तुडम च दानं लि — — — — —

The gift of Tuḍà and Tuḍa (*Tuṇḍa*) . . . from Pokhara.

No. 297.

पोखरा संघ[खि]स[80] दानं [॥*]

The gift of Saṁgha[ra]khi[ta] from Pokhara.

No. 298.

पोडविभकम इसिदिनम दानं [॥*]

The gift of Isidina (*Rishidatta*), inhabitant of Poḍavijha.[81]

No. 299.

बधकम भिकुना को[डि]जिलकस — —

(*The gift*) of the monk Badhaka (*Baddhaka*),[82] inhabitant of Koḍijila.

No. 300.

L. 1. बलदताया चुड[फ]

L. 2. लगिरियाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Baladatâ (°*datta*), inhabitant of Chuḍaphalagiri (*Kshudra*?).

No. 301.

[बो]हु मुलपितु[83] दनं [॥*]

The gift of Bohu (*Bhoddhri* ?), the father of Mula (*Mûla*).

No. 302.

बुधरखितम [दानं] [॥*]

The gift of Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*).

No. 303.

बुधरखितम [भिखुनो अ]य भंडुकियस दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*pupil*) of the venerable Bhaṁḍuka.

No. 304.

L. 1. बुधरखताय भिखु —

L. 2. य दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Budharakhatâ (*Buddharakshita*).

[80] Read संघरखितस.

[81] Professor Jacobi suggests that this may be derived from a Sanskrit compound पुराडविन्ध्या.

[82] This may be a misspelling for बोधक or बधक

[83] Perhaps meant for बहुमूलपित. See the facsimile.

No. 305.

बोधिया दान [॥*]

The gift of Bodhi.

No. 306.

L. 1. भडिकस भिखुनेा

L. 2. कुरघरा-

L. 3. स दानं]॥*][84]

The gift of the monk Bhaḍika, inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 307.

भड — — — खुनेा कोरघरस दन [॥*][85]

The gift of [*the monk*] Bhaḍ[ika], inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 308.

भडुनेा पजावतिय दानं [॥*]

The gift of the wife of Bhaḍu (*Bhaṇḍu*).

No. 309.

[भो]गवढना धञिकाय — —

(*The gift*) of Dhañikâ (*Dhanyakâ*) from Bhogavaḍhana (*°vardhana*).

No. 310.

मछवटा नादिनिया दानं [॥*]

The gift of Nâdinî (*Nandinî*) from Machhavaṭa (*Matsyavarta*).

No. 311.

मनोरमस वडकिनो श्रो — — — —

(*The gift*) of the carpenter[86] Manorama . . . . . .

No. 312.

महानामस

Of Mahânâman.

No. 313.

माहसतिय अरिहदताये दानं [॥*][87]

The gift of Arihadatâ (*Arhaddattâ*) from Mâhasati (*Mâhishmatî*).

No. 314.

माहिसतिय जि — — — स दानं [॥*]

The gift of Ji . . . . from Mâhishmatî (*Mâhishmatî*).

[84] Probably कुरघरियस to be read.

[85] Restore भडिकस भिखुनेा.

[86] I take *vaḍakino* to stand for *vaḍḍhakino*, just as we have in No. 210 *Asḍ́hasa* for *Asâḍha*.

[87] Meant for माहिसतिय; the blurred letters of the inscription might be taken to represent माहिसतिय.

No. 315.

मितसिरिया दानं भिखुनिया कोररिया [॥*]

The gift of Mitasiri (*Mitraśrî*), a nun of Kurara.

No. 316.

यखिय भिकुनिये वेदिसा दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Yakhî (*Yakshî*) from Vedisa.

No. 317.

रतिनय[88] माहिसतिय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Ratina from Màhisati (*Mâhishmatî*).

No. 318.

L. 1. रेबिलस नंदिनगारकस[89]

L. 2. दानं [॥*]

The gift of Rebila,[90] inhabitant of Naṁdinagara.

No. 319.

L. 1. रेवतिमिताय बलक-

L. 2. स पजावति[या दा]नं [॥*]

The gift of Revatimitâ (*Revatîmitrâ*), wife of Balaka.

No. 320.

L. 1. वजिनिय भिखुनिया

L. 2. दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Vajinî (*Vajriṇî*).

Nos. 321-22.

L. 1. वरदतस दानं

L. 2. भगिनिया वरसेनाय

L. 3. दानं

The gift of Varadata (°*datta*); the gift of (*his*) sister Varasenâ.

No. 323.

L. 1. वरदतस पजावतिय

L. 2. इसलय[91] दानं [॥*]

The gift of Isalâ (*Ṛishilâ*), wife of Varadata (*Varadatta*).

[88] Meant for रतिनिय, diminutive from रति or रत्न.
[89] Probably meant for नंदिनागरकस:
[90] This probably stands for *Rebhila*, like *Asâḍa* (No. 210) for *Asâḍha*.
[91] Meant for ऋसिलाय.

No. 324.

L. 1. वरदतस पजवतया

L. 2. रोहाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Rohâ, wife of Varadata (°*datta*).

No. 325.

वरुणस दनं [॥*]

The gift of Varuṇa.

No. 326.

L. 1. [व]सुमिताय भि-

L. 2. कुनिय [दानं]

L. 3. उजेनिकय

The gift of Vasumitâ (°*mitrâ*), a nun of Ujjain.

No. 327.

वसुलाय दनं [॥*]

The gift of Vasulâ.

No. 328.

वाडीवहनातो ओडकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Oḍaka (*Ârdraka*) from Vâḍîvahana.

No. 329.

वासवये नंदिनगरा भिकुनिये दानं [॥*]

The gift of Vâsavâ, a nun from Naṁdinagara.

No. 330.

L. 1. [वि]तिरिञहय भुत-

L. 2. रखितस दनं [॥*]

The gift of Bhutarakhita (*Bhûtârakshita*) from Viṭiriñahâ (?).

No. 331.

L. 1. वितिरिनहिय महि-

L. 2. रखितस दनं [॥*]

The gift of Mahirakhita (*Mahirakshita*) from Vitirinahî (?).

No. 332.

L. 1. विपुलाय कापासिगा—

L. 2. मतू भिखुनिया दानं [॥*]

The gift of Vipulâ, a nun from Kâpâsigâma (°*grâma*).

No. 333.

विरोहकट घरिनियै [सि]झाये दानं [॥*]

The gift of Sijhâ (*Śaikhsâ*), a house-wife from Virohakaṭa.

No. 334.

विसाखरखितस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Visâkharakhita (*Viśâkharakshita*).

No. 335.

विसखरखितस भिकुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Visakharakhita (*Viśâkharakshita*).

No. 336.

वीरसेनाये दानं [॥*]

The gift of Vîrasenâ.

No. 337.

वी[राये] भिकुनिया तोबवनिकाय दानं

The gift of Vîrâ(?), a nun of Tuṁbavana.

No. 338.

वेदिसा अरहतरखित — दानं [॥*]

The gift of Arahatarakhita (*Arhadrakshita*) from Vedisa.

No. 339.

वेदस[92] दतस कलवडस दानं [॥*]

No. 340.

वेदिस दतस कलवडस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Data (*Datta*) Kalavaḍa from Vedisa.

No. 341.

वेदिसा मोहिकाये भिकुनिये दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Mohikâ from Vedisa.

No. 342.

सकरखितस दनं [।*]

The gift of Sakarakhita (*Śakrarakshita*).

No. 343.

संघरखिताय कोरमिकाय भिकुनिया [दनं] [॥*]

The gift of Saṁgharakhitâ (*°rakshitâ*), a nun of Kurama.

[92] Meant for वेदिसा.

No. 344.

संघाये — — — — —

Of Saṁghâ.

No. 345.

संघायदासकमातु दान [॥*]

The gift of Saṁghâ, mother of Dâsaka.

No. 346.

सतिगुतस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Satiguta (*Śaktigupta* or *Svâtigupta*).

No. 347.

L. 1. समणस भिकुनेा अयुतरस अतेवसिनेा

L. 2. दानं [॥+]

The gift of the monk Samaṇa (*Sramaṇa*), pupil of the venerable Utara (*Uttara*).

No. 348.

समिकस अयनगस अतेवसिनेा दानं [॥*]

The gift of Samika (*Svâmika*), pupil of the venerable Naga (*Nâga*).

No. 349.

L. 1. समिकस वनि[क]स

L. 2. पुतस च सी[हदे]व-

L. 3. स [दा]नं [॥*]

The gift of the trader Samika (*Svâmika*) and of (his) son Sîhadeva (*Siṁha°*)

No. 350.

समिकया भिखुनि-

L. 2. य दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Samikâ (*Svâmikâ*).

No. 351.

सामिकाय भिकुनिया दानं

The gift of the nun Sâmikâ (*Svâmikâ*)

No. 352.

[सा*]मिदतस भिकुनेा दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk [Sâ]midata (*Svâmidatta*).

No. 353.

सिरिदिनाय भिकुनया नादिनागरिकाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Siridinâ (*Śrîdattâ*) of Nandinagara.

No. 354.

सिरिभागस संबु — — —

Of Siribhâga (*Śrîbhâga*) . . . . .

No. 355.

सिरिमिताया नादिना[ग]रिकाय भिकुनिय दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Sirimitâ (*Śrîmitrâ*) of Nandinagara.

No. 356.

सिरिया भिकुनिया दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Siri (*Śrî*).

No. 357.

सिवतिये

Of Sivati.

No. 358.

सिहय[93]

Of Sihâ (*Siṁhâ*).

No. 359.

L. 1. सिहाय देवदताय

L. 2. च दानं [कु]रघरा भिकु-

L. 3. निनं [॥*]

The gift of Sihâ (*Siṁhâ*) and Devadatâ (°*dattâ*), nuns from Kuraghara.

No. 360.

सिहाय समातिकाय वजिनिकाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Sihâ (*Siṁhâ*), *Samâtikâ*[94] (Samâptikâ ?) (*and*) Vajinikâ (*Vajriṇikâ*).

No. 361.

सुबाहितस पजाव[तिय][95] — — —

Of the wife of Subâhita . . . . .

No. 362.

L. 1. सुरियय बुधदेवय पेमतिक-

L. 2. य दानं [॥*]

The gift of Suriya (*Sûryâ and*) Budhadevâ (*Buddha*°) of Pemata.

[93] Incised on the procession path and surrounded by four sacred symbols, among which that on the right hand looks like a large म. See facsimile on the plate.

[94] Possibly *samâtikaya* may stand for *samâtṛikâya* and be intended to indicate that *Vajinikâ* was the mother of *Sihâ*. If so, the construction is of course ungrammatical.

[95] Compare No. 48, *ante* p. 102.

No. 363.

L. 1. सुरियाय भिखु-

L. 2. निया दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Suriya (*Sûryâ*).

No. 364.

L. 1. सेतपथियस

L. 2. योनस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Yona (*Yavana*), inhabitant of Setapatha (*Śveta°*).

No. 365.

L. 1. हालाय दखिणाजि-

L. 2. य दानं [॥*]

The gift of Hâlâ, the Southern (?).[96]

No. 366.

— — — — कस अजितिगुतकुलस — —[97]

No. 367.

[स]ककछ अखदे[वाय*] — —

No. 368.

लिवस [भि ?] — — —

No. 369.

— — — — [सतिनो] [?] कुररस दानं [॥*]

No. 370.

— — — — नागिलस दानं [॥*]

No. 371.

L. 1. — — — — तय एजावति[य]

L. 2. पू — न

No. 372.

— — डस दान सपजावतिकस [॥*]

No. 373.

— — — स कुथुपदकस [दानं]? [॥*]

No. 374.

L. 1. — — — — रा संघपालि[ताय*]

L. 2. भिखुनिय दा[नं] [॥*]

[96] The explanation of दखिणाजी by दाक्षिणात्या is, of course, merely tentative.

[97] On the analogy of Gujarâtî *Vikamâjit* for *Vikramâditya*, *Ajitiguta* may stand for *Adityagupta*.

No. 375.

L. 2. — — — य सुभगाय पुसाय नागदतस सघरखितस कोरघ[रका][नां?]

L. 1. दानं [॥*][98]

The gift of . . . . Subhagâ, Pusâ (*Pushyâ*) Nâgadata (°*datta*) Sagharakhita (*Saṁgharakshita*), inhabitants of Kuraghara.

No. 376.

— — — — उत[राय] ट — — -

No. 377.[99]

L. 1. [यो] इतो काकणा — तो तोरण वा वेदिक वा

L. 2. उपादेया उपादा — — या वा अानं वा (vâ) आचरियकु —

L. 3. संकामिय सो म — — — तिन पितिघा — न

L. 4. अरहंतघातिन — — — — — — — [म मो]

L. 5. [कम] उपायकान — — — — — [स पापा]

L. 6. [कर] न सेव — — — — — —

He who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kâkaṇâ[va] an ornamental arch or rail, or causes it to be transferred[1] to another temple of the teacher [*shall incur the guilt*] of murderers of mothers, of murderers of fathers, of murderers of Arhats . . . .

No. 378.[2]

थभो फ पं[चा]नगरियकारकान [ग]त गक्षेय यो इतो काकणायातो से[ल]कमे उपादे]य*] [उपा]दापेय वा

अनं वा आचरियकुलं संकामेया तस ते पातका भवेयु [॥]

A pillar (*the gift*) of the workmen, inhabitants of Paṁchânagara (?) . . . . . on him who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kâkaṇâva the stonework or causes it to be transferred to another temple of the teacher, shall fall (*the guilt*) of those mortal sins.

TOPE II.

No. 22 = C. 1.

नागिलस दानं अयस अंतेवासिनो [॥*]

The gift of Nâgila, the pupil of Aya (*Arya*).

No. 23 = C. 2

धमरखितस सेभस कु — —

. . . of Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), the pupil.

[98] The inscriptions must be read from below.

[99] Identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 183. There is a large abrasion in the centre, and the right sides of lines 1-4 have been somewhat defaced by a large diagram which has been carved over them. Restore l. 1 काकणावाटो; l. 2. उपदापयेया आचरियकुल, l. 3 मातघातिन पितिघातिन. All the bracketed signs are indistinct and their vowels doubtful. See facsimile on the plate.

[1] This explanation, which requires संकामेया to be taken in the sense of संकामयेया, has been suggested to me by Professor Jacobi. With आचरियकुल in the sense of 'temple of the teacher,' compare देवकुल.

[2] This inscription, which may be identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 195, is incised on a long band. See facsimile.

No. 24 = C. 7.

सघमितस भिखुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Saghamita (*Saṁghamitra*)

No. 25 = C. 8.

बुधपालितस सेठिनो पडुकुलिकियस दनं [॥*]

The gift of Sheth Budhapâlita (*Buddha°*), inhabitant of Paḍukulikâ (*Pâṇḍu-kulikâ*).[3]

No. 26 = C. 15.

L. 1. वलाय कोररिये भिखु-

L. 2. निये दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Valâ, inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 27 = C. 19.

L. 1. बलकस अयस अरहगुतस सासा-

दकस अतेवासिनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of Balaka, the pupil of the venerable Arahagupta (*Arhadgupta*), inhabitant of Sâsâda.

No. 28 = C. 21.

मुलाया दान थभो गडाय अतेवासिनिया [॥*]

A pillar, the gift of Mulâ (*Mûlâ*), the pupil of Gaḍâ

No. 29 = C. 22.

L. 1. सघरखिताया मातु — — कडिकाया[4]

L. 2. इसिदासिया भिकुनिया दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Isidâsî (*Ṛishidâsî*), inhabitant of — — kaḍa, mother of Sagharakhitâ (*Saṁgharakshitâ*).

No. 30 = C. 23.

अयस बुधरखितस पोखरेयकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of the venerable Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*)

No. 31 = C. 26.

सिदकाडा टिकिसस दानं [॥*][5]

The gift of Ṭikisa (?) from Sidakaḍa.

No. 32 = C. 27.

— य सिदकाडिया दानं [॥*]

The gift of . . . î, inhabitant of Sidakâḍa.

[3] See *ante*, p. 110, No. 1.

[4] The syllable *yâ* stands in l. 2 after दाम.

[5] The letters *ḍa* and *ka* look rather modern, the *ḍa* is of the Andhra type.

No. 33 = C. 28.

बुधपालिता सिदकडियाय दानं [॥*][a]

The gift of Budhapàlità (*Buddha°*), inhabitant of Sidakaḍa.

No. 34 = C. 29

सटकडियाय गोलाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Golà (*Godávarí*), inhabitant of Sadakaḍa (*Sidakaḍa*).

No. 35 = C. 31.

बधगुताय सेदकडिय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Budhagutà (*Buddhaguptá*), inhabitant of Sidakaḍa.

No. 36 = C. 34.

अरहकस भिकुनो भाणकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Arahaka (*Arhat*), a preacher.

No. 37 = C. 35.

बहुलस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Bahula.

No. 38 = C. 39.

नागरखितस भिकुनो पोखरेयकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Nâgarakhita (*°rakshita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 39 = C. 40.

L. 1. सघरखितस भिकुनो दानं कोरर-

L. 2. स [॥*]

The gift of the monk Sagharakhita (*Saṁgharakshita*), an inhabitant of Kurara

No. 40 = C. 43.

ओडिय भिखुनिय थभो दानं [॥*]

A pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍì.

No. 41.

अयस पोखरेयकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Aya (*Árya*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 42.

असदेवाय भिखुनिय द[ा]नं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Asadevâ (*Aśvadevá*).

[a] This seems to be one of the cases where only one of two words standing in the same case is inflected—see also above. I, No. 132.

No. 43.

L. 1. आजनावा आवासि-

L. 2. कस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Âvâsika from Âjanâva.

No. 44.

इसिदताय भिखुनिय दन [॥*]

The gift of the nun Isidatâ (*Ṛishidatta*).

No. 45.

ईददतस उपसकस दन [॥*][7]

The gift of the layman Îdadata (*Indradatta*).

No. 46.

गंधारस भिखुनो दानं [॥*][8]

The gift of the monk Gaṁdhâra.

No. 47.

गोतमिया भिखुनिया दनां [॥*][9]

The gift of the nun Gotamî (*Gautamî*).

No. 48.

चिरतिय भिकुनिय दयं [॥*][10]

The gift of the nun Chiratî (*Kirâti*).

No. 49.

चुं[व]मोरगिरिनो गामस द[ा]न [॥*][11]

The gift of the village of Chuṁvamoragiri (?)

No. 50.

दानं मोरयहिकटियस [॥*]

The gift of the inhabitant of Morayahikata.

No. 51.

L. 1. धमरसिरिय उपसिक-

L. 2. य दन [॥*]

The gift of Dhamarasiri (*Dharmaśrî* ?),[12] a lay worshipper.

[7] The letters are somewhat blurred.

[8] The letters are blurred and only just recognisable.

[9] The *u*-stroke of *khu* is very faint, and there is also an *â*-stroke at the top, which seems to have been afterwards obliterated.

[10] Read दानं

[11] The second sign is abnormal. I suspect that चुडमोरगिरिनो is intended.

[12] This is probably intended for धर्मसिरिय ; compare धमपति in the Mathurâ inscriptions, —*ante*. p. 210, No. 37.

No. 52.

[ध]मसेनस भिखुनो दन [॥*][13]

The gift of the monk *Dhamasena* (*Dharma°*)

No. 53.

L. 1. नदिनगरा

L. 2. असदवय भिखुय दन [॥*][14]

The gift of the nun Asadava (*Aśvadevâ*), from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 54.

L. 1. नदिनगरा

L. 2. — ि-मितय भिखुनय दनं [॥*][15]

The gift of the nun . . imitâ from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 55.

नं[दु]कस भिछुनो दन [॥*][16]

The gift of the monk Naṁduka.

No. 56.

पलस भिखुनो दन [॥*][17]

The gift of the monk Pala (*Pâla*).

No. 57.

L. 1. ब[ध]कस कुररस भिखु—

L. 2. दनं [॥*][18]

The gift of the Badhaka (?) (*Baddhaka*), a monk of Kurara.

No. 58.

बु[ध]गु[त]स उदुबरघरियस [दा]न [॥*]

The gift of Budhaguta (*Buddhagupta*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*).

No. 59.

बुधरखितकस सुतातिकस अर[पा]नकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Budharakhitaka (*Buddharakshitaka*), the Sutâtika (*Sautrântika*) inhabitant of Arapâna.

[13] All the letters are much blurred, and the first is not certain.

[14] Meant for असदेवाय भिखुनिय.

[15] Restore इमिमितय.

[16] Possibly नंदकस, but compare above, No. 16.

[17] All the letters are much blurred, and the first may have been ब.

[18] The second letter is not closed at the top and not certain. The name may be intended for Balaka,—*see* above, No. 26.

No. 60.

बुधरखित [कु]— —[19]

No. 61.

L. 1. बुधरखितय भिछुनि[य]

L. 2. दनं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Budharakhitâ (*Buddharakshitá*).

No. 62.

बुधरखितस भिखुनो दन [॥*]

The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakshitá*).

No. 63.

बोधिया भ— —

(*The gift*) of Bodhi . . . .

No. 64.

भ[र]णभूतिनो भिखुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Bharaṇabhûti (?) (*Bharaṇíbhuti*).

No. 65.

भिछुनिकाय दानं [॥*][20]

The gift of Bhichhunikâ (*the little nun* ?)

No. 66.

रोहणिकस उदुबरघरियस दनं [॥*]

The gift of Rohaṇika, inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragṛiha*).

No. 67.

विपुलस भि[खु]नो [दा]नं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Vipula.

No. 68.

L. 1. विसकस रोहणिपदियस

L. 2. दनं [॥*]

The gift of Visaka (*Viśvaka*), inhabitant of Rohaṇipada.

No. 69.

सघय मातु साफिनेयिकाय[॥*]

(*The gift*) of the Sâphineyikâ, mother of Saghâ (*Saṁghá*).

[19] The ब is made circular, the त has the looped form of some Andhra and Mathurâ inscriptions. The last letter is uncertain.

[20] All the lines of the letters are double.

No. 70.

सोणसिरिय भिखुनिय दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Soṇasiri (*Suvarṇaśrî*,

No. 71.

— — — तय सगिरेयिकाय धम — — [सक]सय दानं [॥*]

No. 72.

L. 1. — — — — — रस भिखुनो मातु कोडुय

L. 2. — — — — — या दानं [॥*[*

The gift of Koḍu, mother of the monk . . . . . ra. . . .

No. 73.

L. 1. — [म]र[खि]ताय[21] — — — — —

L. 2. दा[नं] कोर[मि का]य [अंते]वासिनिया [॥]

The gift of Dhamarakhitâ (?), pupil of Koramikâ.

No. 74.

— — — — णस भिकुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk . . . . ṇa.

No. 75.

— — — — कुनय स — — —

No. 76.

L. 1. — — — य भिखुनिय

L. 2. — — [को]र रिय [॥*]

(*The gift*) of the nun . . . inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 77.

— — — — भिखनो दानं [॥*]

No. 78

— — — तया धवदेवय दन [॥*]

The gift of . . . . tâ, Dhavadevâ (*Dharmadevâ*).

[21] Restore धमरखिताय.

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[22] This index includes also the names given on that appended to the former paper. The new impressions made it necessary to alter a number of words and to exclude some.

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[23] This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer's new impression.

[24] This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, —compare *ante* (Note).

[25] This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, instead of Haṁsa° (?).

[26] According to Dr. Führer's new impression it is possible to read *Seyasa*.

IV.—Females not marked as nuns.

V.—Geographical Names.

[27] This is the distinct reading of Dr. Fuhrer's new impression, instead of *Poravikkhika*. It is confirmed by the form *Poḍavijhaka* in No. 298.

XXXII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1485.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Dr. Burgess has furnished me with good impressions, by Dr. A. Führer, of three inscriptions of the Guhila princes of Mewâḍ, which are at Chitorgaḍh in the Udaypur state of Râjputâna. Of the earliest[1] of them—it is dated in the Vikrama year 1331—I have already given an account[2] in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXII, p. 80, from a rubbing of Mr. Garrick's that had been sent to me by the late Sir A. Cunningham. I here publish the text of the second inscription, the only one of the three that is complete, of the Vikrama year 1485.

This inscription is on a slab of black marble, inside a large carved stone temple which according to local information was built by Mokalji.[3] It contains fifty-three lines of writing, which cover a space of about 4′ 2″ broad by 2′ 8″ high. In the midst of the writing, causing a break in the lines 21-29, is an ornamental device, $5\frac{1}{2}''$ square, enclosing a circle which is about $3\frac{7}{8}''$ in diameter; and inside this circle again is an open flower with eight leaves. Near the periphery of the circle is a verse in the Anushṭubh metre, which apparently invokes the blessing of the God Hara (Śiva), but the letters of which are too faint in the impression to be read with confidence. And in the centre, and on the leaves of the flower and around them, seventeen other *aksharas* are engraved, three of which clearly give the name *Mokala*. The writing of the inscription is generally

[1] A photo-lithograph of it is given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, plate xxv. and I do not think that it would be worth while re-publishing the text of it.

[2] In Dr. Führer's impressions the name of the 14th prince, *Âmraprasâda*, is quite distinct. Otherwise, I have nothing to add to my previous account of the inscription.

[3] See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 106, and plate xxxiii.

well preserved, so that, with the exception of about a dozen *aksharas*, the actual wording of the text may be made out with certainty. The average size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{8}''$ and $\frac{7}{16}''$. The characters are Nâgarî of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Saṁskṛit, and, excepting the introductory words *Oṁ Oṁ namaḥ Śivâya* and a date at the end, the whole is in verse. Considering the great length of the inscription, the historical information conveyed by it is very meagre indeed; and the author has tried to make up for the want of substance by lengthy and exaggerated descriptions of the valour, fame, piety and munificence of the princes of whom he is treating. His language is sometimes obscure, and not free from actual mistakes. The orthography does not differ from that of an ordinary Saṁskṛit manuscript.

The object of the inscription is, to record the erection, at Chitrakûṭa (the modern Chitorgaḍh), of a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samâdhîśa[4]) by the prince Mokala of Medapâṭa (or Mewâḍ). After the words "Oṁ, Oṁ, adoration to Śiva," the inscription has four verses invoking the blessings of Gajâsya (Gaṇeśa), Ekaliṅga (Śiva), the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Śiva's consort Pârvatî) who dwells on the Vindhya, and Achyuta (Vishṇu). The poet then (in verses 5-6) glorifies the pious and famous family of the prince Guhila.[5] In that family was born the lord of Medapâṭa Arisiṁha (vv. 7-12). His son was the prince Hammîra (*Hammîra-vîra, Hammîra-deva*; vv. 13-23). From him sprang the prince Kshetra (*Kshetra-mahîpati, Kshetra-kshitîśa*; vv. 24-33). His son was the prince Lakshasiṁha (*Lakshasiṁha-nṛipati, Laksha-kshitîśa*; vv. 34-43), who according to verses 38 and 41 freed the holy place Gayâ from the distress brought upon it by the ruler of the Śakas (*i.e.* the Muhammadans). And Lakshasiṁha's son was Mokala (*Mokala-kshmâpati, Mokalendra*; vv. 44-60), whom his father appointed his successor, and of whom in verse 51 it is intimated that he defeated Peroja, the king of the Yavanas[6] (meaning, again, the Muhammadans). Mokala, according to vv. 61-64, had already before built a splendid temple of 'the lord of Dvârakâ' (*i.e* the god Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa), near which he also had a tank excavated. And it is now recorded by this inscription (vv. 65-73) that on the Mount Chitrakûṭa, situated in the prince's dominion, Mokala also built a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samâdhîśa) and provided for its proper maintenance. Verse 74 gives the date on which this temple was inaugurated; and the *Praśasti* closes (in verse 75) with a prayer for the continuance of Mokala's rule. Five additional verses record that the preceding *Praśasti* was written[7] (*i.e.* composed) by Ekanâtha, a son of *Bhaṭṭa* Vishṇu, of the Daśapura clan;[8] that the temple was constructed by Mana, the son of Vîjala; and that the inscription was written on the stone by Vîsala, a son of Mana, and engraved by Vîsa, who also is described as a son of Mana, and is perhaps identical with Vîsala. And the inscription ends with a date which differs from the date given in verse 74.

[4] The text, in verse 72, actually has *Samidvaiśaḥ*, which must be altered to either *Samiddheśaḥ* or *Samâdhîśaḥ*. *Samâdhîśa* occurs, as a name of Siva, in line 53 of this inscription and in other inscriptions at Chitorgaḍh and Mount Âbû; and *Samiddheśvara* I find in another Chitorgaḍh inscription of the Vikrama year 1207. See below, p. 422.

[5] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 346.

[6] Verse 46 states in a general way that Mokala subdued the Aṅgas, Kâmarûpas, Vangas, Nishâdas, Chînas, and Turushkas; but there can be no doubt that that verse has been put in solely for the sake of poetical ornamentation.

[7] The original has *alikhat*, which must here mean 'composed,' because the writer's name is given afterwards, and because the name of the composer would hardly have been omitted.

[8] *Daśapura-jñâti* occurs again in the Nâgarî inscription of Mokala's grandson Râjamalla; *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* vol. LVI, part I, p. 82, v. 25. On the town Daśapura see Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 79, note 2.

Neither the date in verse 74 nor the one at the end of the inscription works out satisfactorily. According to verse 74 the temple built by Mokala was inaugurated on the day of the preceptor of the gods, *i.e.* on a Thursday, the third lunar day of the dark half of the month Tapasya, *i.e.* Phâlguna, of the Vikrama year made up of the arrows (5), eight (8), the Vedas (4) and the earth (1), *i.e.* 1485, under the *nakshatra* of Aryaman, *i.e.* Pûrvâ-phalgunî, while the sun was in the sign Makara and Jupiter in the sign Ghaṭa, *i.e.* Kumbha. Here the statements that the sun (on Phâlguna-vadi 3) was in the sign Makara, and that Jupiter was in the sign Kumbha, show that the scheme of the lunar month was the *pûrṇimânta* scheme, and that the date must fall between the 25th February A.D. 1428 and the 20th February A.D. 1429 (*i.e.* in the Jovian year Râkshasa, as determined by the northern mean-sign system); and accordingly the true equivalent for Phâlguna-vadi 3 of Vikrama 1485 can only be the 23rd January A.D. 1429. On that day the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 18h. 29m. after mean sunrise, the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Pûrvâ-phalgunî, and the sun was in Makara and Jupiter in Kumbha, all as required; but the day was a Sunday, not a Thursday, as stated erroneously by the inscription.— The date at the end of the inscription is Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Mâgha of the year 1485. In the impression the figures for the day is not as clear as one could wish it to be. But, under any circumstances, this date, on which the inscription is said to have been engraved, would precede the date recorded in the body of the inscription; and assuming my reading to be right, the possible equivalents of the date would be Monday, the 19th January A.D. 1428, and Saturday, the 8th January A.D. 1429, which shows that this date too cannot be correct.

Notwithstanding these errors, there appears to be no reason to doubt that the temple which was built by Mokala, was finished by him in A.D. 1428-1429, and that this inscription furnishes a true date for the reign of that prince. Mokala, therefore, could not have been succeeded by his son Kumbhakarṇa (Koombho) as early as Vikrama 1475 = A.D. 1419, as was stated by Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rájasthán* vol. I, p. 286. And if there be any truth in the statement of our inscription that Mokala defeated the Yavana King Peroja, who could only have been the Sultân Fîrûz Shâh (A.D. 1351—1388), the commencement of his reign, too, must be placed at least ten years before the time assigned to it by Tod. As regards Mokala's predecessors, I can only say that the list furnished of them by this inscription agrees with the one given in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rájasthán*[10] and in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 257.

TEXT.[11]

L. 1. ओं[12] ॥ ओं नमः शिवाय ॥

सिद्धार्थामरसुंदरीकरवलत्सिंदूरधारारुण-

श्रीगंडस्थलमंडलीयुगलसद्दानांबुपूरोज्व(ज्ज्व)लः ॥(।)

संध्याभ्रच्छुरिताग्रसानुनिपतन्नाकापगौघद्वयः

स्वर्ण्णोर्व्वीभृदिव प्रयच्छतु शिवं देवो गजास्योव्ययं ॥ १ ॥[13]

वेदा वागिति शिष्टतामुपगतो यः कर्म्मणामोचि-

[9] The earliest certain date of Kumbhakarṇa's reign known to me is of the Vikrama year 1492; see Peterson's *Third Report*, Appendix, p. 203.

[10] The names given by Tod are Ursi, Hamir, Khaitsi, Lakha Rana, and Mokul. *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 267-277.

[11] From an impression, prepared by Dr. Führer.

[12] Expressed by a symbol.

[13] Metre of verses 1—4: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

L. 2. ता

साक्षी तत्प्रतिभूः पुनर्भवति सन्निधार्थसंदर्शनः ।
जात्यैवेषु[14] विनश्वरेषु सकलं दाता विविक्तः फलं
देवः स्वस्तिकरः परः स सततं स्तादेकलिंगाभिधः ॥ २ ॥
भूमीभृत्स्वयमे[धि]तस्थितिरियं गुर्वी नगा बंधवो
विंध्योगस्त्यचरित्रतो न चकितः प्रास्थापयद्ब्राह्मणान्[15] ।
कन्या मान्यतमा महोत्सवविधा-

3. वित्येकमंत्रोक्तितो
यामानीनयदर्चनाय गिरिजा विंध्यालया सावतात् ॥ ३ ॥
कालिंदीतटकुंजबद्धवसतिः सेयं प्रिया राधिका
स्मर्त्तव्यं ननु रुक्मिणी न भवती हुं चारुहासिन्यसि ।
युक्तं ना[सि] कलावती सुविदितं त्वं सत्यभामेन्यथा
नोक्तासीति विनिह्नुतोक्तमुदितश्लेषोच्युतः पातु वः ॥ ४ ॥
स्फारन्यायोन्ववायो गुहिलनरपतेर-

4. स्ति जाग्रत्प्रशस्ति-
र्ध्वस्तीभूतांतरायो वसतिरिह युगे धर्म्यकर्मोदयस्य ।
शश्वद्यागानुरागे(ग)स्थिरविमलनिधौ भूरिभोगोनभागां[16]
भूयोनूनां विधत्ते सपदि शतमखी[17] यत्र संभूय शक्रः ॥ ५ ॥[18]
वाक्सेतोरचलन्मतिर्दिशि दिशि प्रख्यातमानोन्नति-
र्निर्यन्निस्वनवाहिनीपरिवृतो नानाधनैकाकरः ।
अत्यक्तक्षितिविग्रहो मुनिकथागीतादिगोत्रस्थिति-
र्विंध्यो बं-

5. धुरबंधुतां वितनुते यस्योपपन्नश्रियः ।[॥] ६ ॥[19]
वंशे तत्रारिसिंहः क्षितिपतिरजनि क्षत्रक्षत्रलक्ष्मी-
वीक्षादक्षोरुयुत्क्ष्माबहुलजरजनिध्वंसभास्वद्गभस्तिः ।
विंध्यावंध्यप्रदेशस्फुरदमलखनिव्यक्तरत्नाकरत्व-
स्फारश्रीमेदपाटक्षितिब(व)लयवलद्ग्धपाथोदचंद्रः[20] ॥ ७ ॥[21]
नरपतिररिसिंहः शस्त्रशास्त्रोपदेष्टा वितरणर-

6. णकर्णो विश्वविख्यातवर्णः ॥ (।)
स्फुरदमलगुणौघः पुत्त्रगण्योरुनामा नयविनयविवेकोद्यानपुंस्कोकिलः सन् ॥ ८ ॥[22]
बिभ्यत्सिंहपदादमुष्य सकरी नूनं मघोनो यतो
वाजी सत्र(त्र)हविस्तताध्वरभुवं[23] नोच्चैःश्रवा गच्छति ।
आहूतः कथमेत[24] वाहनमृते देवाग्रणीर्वृत्रहा

[14] Read जात्यैवेषु.

[15] I should have expected प्रस्थापयन्ना°.

[16] The reading of this line is perfectly clear in the impression, but the end of it yields no suitable sense.

[17] Read शतमखी.

[18] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[19] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[20] पाथोद 'cloud' is apparently used here in the sense of पाथोधि 'ocean.' Originally °दुग्धा° was engraved.

[21] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[22] Metre: Mâlinî.

[23] Originally °सतोध्वर° was engraved.

[24] Read कथमेतु.

मेघं वाहनमातनोदयमत: सद्योमधूमोद्भवं ॥ ९ ॥[25]
कीर्त्तिः कौतुकिनी दिगंतमगमत्कर्पू-
L. 7. रपूरोज्व(ज्ज्व)ला
खेलंती निजवासिताभ्रमवशादालिंगिता दिग्गजैः ।
क्षीरांभोनिधिगाहनं तु विधिना कृत्वादरादुत्थिता
ब्रह्मादीननुयोक्तुमुत्तमगुणस्यास्य प्रगल्भा दिवं ॥ १० ॥
विशिष्टजनसंगतौ व्यतरदेकलक्ष्यं[26] यतस्ततोधिकतरं यशोलभत भोजभूमीपतिः ।
अयं कथमदःसमः कविभिरुच्यते वाददाद्विशेषविधिनाम्बहं[27] विविधलक्षभोजानपि[28] ॥११॥
निर्व्रीडो न महेश्व-
8. रोन कठिनो नाचेतनश्चिंतितं
दातानेकगवीश्वरः परिवृढो नो भारती दुर्भगा ।
सेनानीर्न विपक्षसंगतिरतो नोच्चैःश्रवा वा हयो
नारामः कतिचित्तरुः कथमदः पुर्याः स धुर्या दिवः[30] ॥ १२ ॥[31]
शूरः सूनृतवागनूनविभ[वो] वंशावतंसः सुत-
स्तस्य व्यक्ततरव्रतानुगरिमा हम्मीरवीरो जयी ।
विख्यातः स्मररूपजित्वरवपुर्लक्ष्मीनिवासाच्युतो
वाग्देवीचतुराननो रिपु-
9. कुलप्रोषोग्ररूपो महान् ॥ १३ ॥
हम्मीरः किल वैभवोचितविधिर्दित्सुः सहस्रं गवा-
मित्याकर्ण्य सहस्रगू रविशचीनाथौ भयं जग्मतुः ।
शश्वत्तद्रहसि स्थिताम्बुररिपोः श्रुत्वा सहस्रं पुन-
र्धेनूनां समुपागतावतिमुदा तद्दानमेवेक्षितुं ॥ १४ ॥
कर्णादीनतिशय्य दिग्जयविधावादाय दिग्मंडली-
दंडं दूरमपास्य कालमसकृद्दाता स्वयं दक्षिणां ।
इत्याकर्ण्य
10. जनश्रुतीः परिभवं स्वं शंकमानोंतक-
स्त्रष्टुं न क्षमते प्रजा मनुनये यस्मिन्महीं शासति ॥ १५ ॥
प्रासादमासादितशातकुंभकुंभं वसद्देवमचीकरद्यः ।
अचीखनत्सागरकल्पमल्पेतरत्वरचूतवनीभिरिद्धं ॥ १६ ॥[32]
संग्रामग्रामभूमौ सदिदमसिलता संगता पंचशाखे
सच्छाये श्यामलांगी क्षतजजलवलत्पुष्टिरिष्टप्रचारा ।
चित्रं सूते विकोशा कुसुम-
11. मतिमहत्कीर्त्तिसंनीयं दिगंते
धा[त्रा]त्राता नितांतं दलयति नियतं वारणांगे पतंती[33] ॥ १७ ॥[34]

[25] Metre of verses 9 and 10: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[26] This may have been altered to °क्षं.
[27] Perhaps altered to वाददवि° ; read वीददावि° (?).
[28] The meaning of this is not clear to me.
[29] Metre: Pṛithvî.
[30] Perhaps the original has द्विव:. Read धुर्यो दिव: (?).
[31] Metre of verses 12—15: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[32] Metre: Upajâti.
[33] Read त्राता (?) and पतंती.
[34] Metre: Sragdharâ.

हम्मीरवीरो रणरंगधीरो वाग्माधुरीतर्ज्जितकोकिकीर: ॥(।)
धराधवालंकरणैकहीरस्तत्तइनोभूषितसिंधुतीर: ॥१८[॥*][35]
एतत्पाणी कृपाणी द्विषदसुपवनाहारतोषं दधाना
कालाकारोरगीव स्फुरति सचकितं वीचिता भीतिहेतु: ॥(।)
ना-

L. 12. ध: काये कथंचिद्दशति बहुमता नो बिभीते विपचा-
त्स्वर्गे वासं च[ता]नां वितरति रमते न द्विजिह्वेन चित्रं ॥१९[॥*][36]
पायं पायं सुपीन:] परभटरुधिरं तन्महीगर्भजाता
खड्ग: काल: कुतोयं कथमियमपरा कीर्तिरत्यज्ज(ज्ज्व)लास्य ॥(।)
एकेनाम्नायि नूनं रुददरिवनितानेत्रतोयैंजनाढ्य
तासामुद्वर्त्तितेयं मृदुभुजब(व)लयस्वच्छचूर्णैरजस्रं ॥

13. २० [॥*]
उद्यत्प्रौढप्रतापानलमुषितमहाबिंबशेषो विवस्वा-
न्यस्मादुद्दामकीर्त्तिच्छुरिततरतनु: शीतरश्मित्वमेति ॥(।)
शंके रूपांतरं स्वं कलयति स वपुर्भेदभीतो रणस्था-
धीरे हम्मीरवीरे धृति परसुभटान्संगरे संमुखस्थान् ॥ २१ [॥*]
कुर्वन्पद्मे जनु: स्वं विधिरिति विधिदग्दृष्टसृष्टाग्रदिष्टो
नो पंके जन्म दोषं व्यजगणदतुलं तस्य रक्तोतरस्य ॥(।)
भूत्वा ह-

14. म्मीरदेवक्षितिपतियशस: स्वच्छवर्णोपमेयो
गंता पुण्योपमानं दिशि दिशि सुचिरं सत्कवीनां मुखेषु ॥ २२ [॥*]
गौरी गौरीशहासादपि रुचिररुचिश्चंदनाच्चंद्रतो वा
कांत्या कर्णाटकांतासितदशन[च]तुष्कानुमेया सुगेया ॥(।)
शेषस्याशेषवेषस्फुरदमृतरुचश्चारुसौंदर्यधैर्या[37]
कीर्तिर्यस्येंदुमूर्त्ते: किल चरति दशाशांतविश्रांतयात्रा ॥ २३ [॥*]
तस्मात्क्षे-

15. त्रमहीपति: समभवत्ख्यातो गुणांभोनिधि:
शौर्योदार्यमहत्व(त्त्व)सत्व(त्त्व)महितो[38] धर्मो वपुष्मानिव ॥(।)
शक्रार्द्धासनभाजि येन जनके रत्नाकरालंकृति-
भूर्भुक्ता जितपूर्वराजगरिमप्राप्तप्रभाशालिना ॥ २४ [॥*][39]
हृदि विनिहितरामो योस्त्रविद्याभिरामो मदनसदृशमूर्तिर्विश्वविख्यातकीर्त्ति: ।
समरहतविपक्षो लीलया दत्तलक्षो नयनजित-

16. सरोज: प्रक्रियाक्रांतभोज: ॥ २५ [॥*][40]
संग्रामे दंतिदंतज्वलनकणमुचि प्रोल्लसद्वीरयोध-
स्फारोन्मुक्ताशुगालीनिविडकवलिताशेषकाष्ठांतराले ॥(।)

[35] Metre: Upajâti.
[36] Metre of verses 19-23: Sragdharâ.
[37] Read °र्यधुर्या.
[38] Read शौर्यौदा°.
[39] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[40] Metre: Mâlinî.

जित्वा दुर्गं समग्रं नरपतिमहितं साधुवादस्य सम्य-
क्स्तंभं योधाङ्करिग्रामरिकलपतगश्रेणिचंडप्रदीपः[41]॥ २६ [॥*][42]
आक्रांता हृषपुंगवेन विलसन्नाशा चतुर्भिः पदैः
सम्यग्वीक्षणपालिता

L. 17. नवनवप्रासप्रकर्षो दया ॥(।)
प्रासोष्टामरनैचिकोव बहुशो रत्नान्यनर्घाणि गौः
शूरे कीर्त्तिपयो धराशतमखे यस्मिन्महीं शासति ॥ २७ ॥[43]
कीर्त्तिक्षीरोदपूरे बहुविधविरुदप्रोल्लसद्वीचिमाले
कृष्णाः शेतेस्य खड्गः सुखमुरुसमरे शेषमासाद्य शत्रोः ।
दृश्यंते राजहंसा दिशि दिशि न ततो मानसे लीयमा-

18. नाः
सीदत्पक्षा विलक्षाः स्फुरति न कमलोन्मेषितापेक्षितैषां ॥ २८ ॥[44]
यस्यासिः कालरात्रिः स्फुरति किल भवन्मंडले वैरि— —[45]
— — [प्रो]न्नासिवेश्म प्रभवदहिभयं भूतराजोरुतापं ॥(।)
पद्मोद्बोधी न चैषां भवति विघटते चक्रयो[र्गो] नियोगा-
द्दूरिर्जागर्त्ति भीतिः पतति निजपथो

19. नोज्झितः पंकपातः ॥ २९ ॥
भ्रातः कल्पतरो किमात्थ भगवन्हेमाचल श्रूयतां
कर्तुं चेत्रमहीपतिः प्रयतते दानानि पुण्याशयः ।
वर्त्ते[हं स्व?]करे गृहांगणभुवि त्वं वर्त्तसे नित्यशः
क्रीडार्थं यदि [वा] ददाति हि तदा वक्तुं क ईष्टे जनः ॥ ३० ॥[46]
इत्थं दानकथा मिथो विजयते चिंतामणिस्वर्गवी-
मुख्या-

20. नामपि दानशास्त्रविलसन्नाम्नाममुष्य प्रभोः ।
उन्मीलच्छरदंवु(बु)जामलदलस्वच्छायताक्षिस्फुर-
त्कोपस्यायुकमित्रवैरिपरिषत्संपद्विपद्दत्मनः ॥ ३१ ॥
मात्यद्देतंडचंडध्वनिभरविगलद्वीरवर्मोरुधैर्यें
स्फूर्जत्कोदंडदंडप्रपतदिषुचयच्छन्नसैन्येप्यनन्ये ।
जन्ये प्रावीकपक्षे गणयति न गणं विद्विषां पु-

21. ण्यराशि-
र्धन्यः चेत्रक्षितीशः प्रतिभटनृपतिक्ष्माकराक्षिष्टदृष्टिः[47]॥ ३२ ॥[48]
मूर्च्छालं तु जडीभवच्छ्रुतिपथं संशुष्कितैकत्वचं
मोक्षंतं च मुहुर्मुहुः शिथिलितं यांतं न[वा]सुस्थितं ॥(।)

[41] Read °कुल°, and प्रदीपं.
[42] Metre : Sragdharâ.
[43] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[44] Metre of verses 28 and 29 : Sragdharâ.
[45] Here four *aksharas* are broken away
[46] Metre of verses 30 and 31 : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[47] Perhaps altered to °क्लिष्टदृष्टिः.
[48] Metre : Sragdharâ

दारिद्र्योपहतं विबोधयति यद्दृष्टाद्दिदृष्ट[49] यथा
जाप्यं कर्णपथाश्रितं सुविमलं यन्नाममंत्रा-

L. 22. क्षरं ॥ ३३ ॥[50]

तत्सूनुः किल लक्षसिंहनृपतिः[51] ख्यातो गुणग्रामणी-[52]
र्व्यद्दानफलामलार्जुनयशोवल्लीमतल्लीतरुः ।[53]
यत्तेजःशिखिनो [वि]पक्षवनितानेत्रांबुजातद्युतेः
काष्ठांताक्रमणं [झ]टित्यनुदिनं नाभूद्विचारास्पदं ॥ ३४ ॥
रामः किं जितदूषणः सुभरतो रामानु-

23. रागास्पदं

शत्रुघ्नः किमु लक्ष्मणोदयभरः सुग्रीव इत्यांगदः ।
तारावल्लभ उत्तमेन वपुषालंकारमा[या]दतो
यो रामायणनायकैकतनुतां द्रष्टुं विधात्रा कृतः ॥ ३५ ॥
दानादुद्दामसामा शरणगतजनत्राणपाषाणसीमा
भीमासीमैकधामा शतमखपुरतो विद्विषा गी-

24. तनामा ।

श्यामारामदामा मखसुखविलसद्धूमधूमोत्थसामा[54]
सन्नद्धाशेषरोमा धरणिसुरतरुर्लक्षसिंहः स धीमान् ॥ ३६ ॥[55]
वैरिक्षोणींद्रमत्तद्विरदमदनुदा[56] सिंहतः शुद्धसारा-
दागादुद्गीतकीर्त्तिरमरपुरभिष[क्कांति]निर्णीतमूर्त्तेः ।
दाने माने कृपाणे यशसि

25. महसि [वा] साधुवाण्यां कृपाण्यां

वीरात्क्षत्क्षितीशाज्जगति न हि परः ख्यातभक्तिः सु[भु]क्तिः ॥ ३७ ॥
नीतिप्रीतिभुजार्ज्जितानि [लक्ष]शो रत्नानि यत्नादयं
दायं दायममायया व्यतनुत ध्वस्तांतरायां गयां ।
तीर्थानां करमाकलय्य विधिनान्यत्रापि युंक्ते[57] ध-

26. नं

प्रौढग्रावनिबद्धतीर्थसरसीआगत्यशोभोरुहः ॥ ३८ ॥[58]
संग्रामेषु गतागतानि विद[ध]ल्लक्षं परैर्लक्षितो
दत्वा(त्त्वा) लक्षमपि स्व[यं न] तनुते संतोषमक्षेषणः ।
कुर्वाणः किल कानकीमपि तुलां तत्खंडबिंबच्छला-
[ल्ल]क्षं स्वां तनुमातनोदिति नृपो लक्षप्रथो-

27. जायन[59] ॥३९॥

दाने हेम्नस्तुलायां मखभुवि बहुधा शुद्धिमापादि[ता*]नां
भास्वज्जांबूनदानां कुतुकिजनभरैस्तर्किता राशयोऽस्य ॥(।)

[49] The word यद्द before दृष्टा° appears rather superfluous.

[50] Metre of verses 33—35: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[51] Originally लक्ष्य° was engraved.

[52] One would expect गुणि°.

[53] Originally °तरुर्यत्ते° was engraved.

[54] Read °सद्धूमधूमो°.

[55] Metre of verses 36 and 37: Sragdharâ.

[56] Read °नुदः.

[57] The sign of *anusvâra* of युं is very faint.

[58] Metre of verses 38 and 39: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[59] Read °जायत.

संग्रा[मे] लुंटितानां प्रतिनृपमहसां राशयस्ते किमेते
विंध्यं बंधुं समेतुं किमु समुपगता: साधु हेमाद्रिपादा: ॥४०॥[60]

कृता-

L. 28. शेषपदां शकाधिपकरव्यग्रीभवज्जीवनां
धीरोमूमुचदर्जुनीमिव गयां मायाविमुक्ताशय: ।
धर्म्मश्चास्य समस्तलोकमहित: [का]ष्ठां परामागतो
नि:[सत्त्वी ?]कृतधर्म्मराजवसते: पद्मालयासद्मन: ॥४१॥[61]
मत्तुल्या [न*]नु नाभवत्किल तुला पूर्वेति गर्वं तुला-
मुष्य

29. क्षोणिपतेर्भुवं कृतवती गर्वासहिष्णो: पुर: ।
तस्यास्तस्य[62] मुदानुदां विदधता धीरेण दत्तापरा-
सौ मानादधिकाधिकीकृतविभिस्मद्यो वियद्घाटका[63]॥ ४२ ॥
संख्यातुं कथमीशते कविजना दानानि नानाविधा-
न्यस्याकृष्टसमस्तराजवसुधावित्तस्य चित्तोन्नते: ।

30. लब्धा[64] नोद्विजते वनीपकगणान्दत्वा(त्त्वा) न यत्कीर्त्तये-
त्यावं प्राप्य मुदान्वितस्तृणतुलां[65] स्वर्ण्णे समारोपयेत् ॥ ४३ ॥
तस्य क्ष्मावलयं नयेन नयत: संतोषमायु[ष्म]त:
[सं]भूत: स्मरसुंदरो गुरुनत: पुत्र: सुधीर्मोकल: ।
शक्त्या भूभृति दारुणं वितनु[ते] यत्तत्कुमार: पुर:
सर्वज्ञोस्ति यतस्ततोचलभुवो नाथ-

31 स्तु पिता कृत: ॥ ४४ ॥
प्रासादा दद्दृश: समुन्नतियुज: क्षोणीभुजा कारिता:
शुद्धान्मुर्द्धसु राजमानकनकप्रस्फारकुंभश्रिय: ।
नागेंद्रा नु शिरस्सु हाटकघटाना[धा]य लोलत्सुधान्
यातुं नाकमिवोत्थिता मखभुजां पीयूषपानोत्सुका: ॥ ४५ ॥
अंगा: संप्राप्तभंगा: स्मृतघनविटपा: कामरूपा विरूपा
वंगा

32. गंगैकमंगा गतविरुदमदा जातसादा निषादा: ।
चीना: संग्रामदीना: स्खलदसिधनुषो भीतिशुष्कास्तरुष्का
भूमीपृष्ठे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति महिमनि क्ष्मापतेर्मोकलस्य ॥ ४६ ॥[66]
मूर्द्ध:[67] सिंदूररेखाशतमखधनुषा राजमाना गभीरं
कुर्वंत: शब्दमुच्चै रदरुचिचपला: स्निग्धतन्वा कचाभा: ।
संग्रामग्रामयाता रि-

[60] Metre Sragdharâ.

[61] Metre of verses 41-15: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[62] I should have expected here तस्यासीन, but am doubtful about the exact sense of the second half of this verse.

[63] This is quite clear in the impression, but the sense of the word is not apparent.

[64] Here ag in the exact construction of the line is not clear.

[65] Read °तृणतुलां.

[66] Metre of verses 46-51: Sragdharâ

[67] Read मूर्द्धा.

L. 33. पुष्करिजलदा[68] प्राप्तकालोपयोगा
यस्येषुव्रातभिन्ना: खलु रुधिरजलं पूरि[69] वर्षति सद्य: ॥ ४७ ॥
अस्य प्रौढप्रयाणक्षणरणर[ण×]कहृषमानोत्मान-[70]
स्फूर्जद्गर्वार्वव[यं]क्रमणभरभवद्धूलिधारांधकारं ।
ना[शं ने?]ता विवस्वानिति तु विरमतु ध्वस्तनेत्रप्रकाश:
स्वानस्थानस्ववर्णान्यदि परिचिनुते तत्स भाग्यं महीय:
34. ॥ ४८ ॥
वासो नाशासु भास्वत्कररुचिररुचाभासितास्वस्य वैरात्
पारावारांतरायादपि न हि गमनं दूरमस्मादकस्मात् ।
सेवाहेवाकमेवाचरत बहुमतं दत्त वित्तं नितांतं
[मं]त्रीमात्यैरकारि प्रतिविमतसदो भूपतेर्मोकलस्य[71]॥ ४९ ॥
पुष्टप्रौढारिवर्गप्रथितपुरब(व)लद्रूमधूमप्रचारै-
र्धूम्नं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मां-
35. डभांडोदरमतिविपुलं वीक्ष्य दक्षेषु मुख्य: ।
कीर्त्यालिपं सुधोत्थं कलयति बलवान्दिग्वधूकिंकराभि-
[72]स्तारातद्विंदुवृंदच्छुरणबहुरुचा यांबरेणावृताभि: ॥ ५० ॥
नेता पातोत्तराशां यवननरपतिं लुंटिताशेषसैनं
पेरोजं कीर्त्तिवल्लीकुसुममुरुमतिर्योकरोत्संगरस्थ: ।
पल्लीशाक्रांतिवार्त्ता[73]
36. कलयति कलया कीर्त्तिता यस्य हेलां[74]
पंचास्यस्येव माद्यद्गजदलनरुचेर्लीलया रंकुभंग: ॥ ५१ ॥
आरूढ: सविता तुलां कलयति द्राङ्नीचतां कन्यया
दूरं मुक्तपरिग्रहो बहुरुचा चित्तोल्लसद्वस्तया ।
धौरीयं पदमुत्तमं तु विधिना प्राप्तस्तुलां गाहते
कन्याभिर्व्रियतेतमां क्षितिभुजां श्रीमोकलक्ष्मापति: ।(॥) ५२ ॥[75]
37. मानत्राणमना मनागपि मनोरन्यूननीतिव्रतो
नो जानाति निजप्रतापमतुलं सिंहो यथा विक्रमं ।
मन्ये भास्वरहेमराशिमिषतो धाता तुलायामधा-
देतस्मादपि सोगमञ्च गुरुतामद्यापि जा[ना]ति किं ॥ ५३ ॥
दृष्ट्वा हाटककोटिकूटमतुलं दानाय मानाधिकं
सद्य: शोधित[सूत्र]तैकमतय: संशेरते शाब्दिका: ।
शक्रप्रार्थित-
38. हेमदे सुरतरौ किं किं नु चिंतामणौ
हेमाद्रौ शकलीकृते किमु तुलाशब्दस्तु संकेतित: ॥ ५४ ॥

[68] Read °जलदा:.

[69] Read भूरि.

[70] Read °हृषमाणो°.

[71] Read भूपतेर्मो°

[72] Here, again, the reading is quite certain, but the sense is not clear. Perhaps the intended reading may be तारावद्वि°.

[73] This is not quite clear in the original.

[74] Perhaps altered to हेला.

[75] Metre of verses 52-54: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

दीव्यत्तद्वीरतुंगत्तरतुरगवरव्रातजातोरुवात-[76]
क्षुभ्यत्तत्क्ष्मोत्थरेणुक्षतनयनरुजाव्यग्रसूता: खरांशो: ।
मंदायंते गतेश्चास्तत इव वनिता वैरिणां तद्दिनानां
यामान्जानंति[77] दीर्घानवितथविरुदे मोकलेंद्रे रणस्थे ॥५५॥[78]
को वा नो

L. 39. वेद विद्वांश्वरमयुगकलावेकपादेव धर्म:
खंजवष्टावलंब: किल चरतु कथं पीनपंके जनेस्मिन् ।
सोयं सद्वंशयष्टिं वह्हिरवह्हिरथो शुद्धसारोपपन्नं
प्राप्य श्रीमोकलेंद्रं प्रविशति विपुलां मंडलीं पंडितानां ॥५६॥
नूनं द्यूतविधावधाम्मखभुजामीश: सुमेरुं पणं
गण्यस्तव मनस्विनां व्यजयत श्रीमोकलक्ष्मापति: ॥(।)
तादृ-

40. क्षा: क[थ*]मन्यथावनितले हेम्नासमो[79] राशयो
नैषां दानविधावमुष्य च मन:पीडाकलापि क्वचित् ॥५७॥[80]
वङ्कावङ्काय सर्पि:पतननवरुचौ भूमधूमायमाने[81]
दूनां—म[चि?]पंतौ कथमुपकुरुते यागभागो मघोन: ।
पुण्येनास्यैव जाने दिनमणिरयते सत्कराणां सहस्रं
बिभ्रत्सद्योस्ततंद्र: स्थगयति विधिना योयम-

41. स्त्रणां सहस्रं ॥५८॥[83]
आरुह्यामलमंडलोकृत तुलां य: पुष्करद्योतनं
पुण्यश्री: स कथं तथा प्रथमतो गण्यो न तेजस्विनां ॥ (।)
नि:पंका[83] करलालिता वसुमती सद्राजहंसा यतो
वं(बं)धूनामुदयस्ततस्तदुदये स्यात्संपदामौचिती ॥५९॥[84]
पारावारस्य वेलातटनिकटमनु प्राप्तशैलाधिवासा
शत्रुश्रेणी समग्रा नि-

42. वसति सततं भीतभीता नितांतं ।
जेतुं यावादसीया यदि भवति तदा वाजिराजीखुराग्र-
व्युत्क्ष्माधूलिधारा स्थलयति जलधिं पारयानाय तस्य ॥६०॥[85]
आसाद्यातिथिमाश्रयं त्रिजगतां श्रीद्वारकानायकं
प्रासादं रचितोपचारमकरोद्भूमीपतिर्मोकल: ॥(।)
देवेनांबुजबांधवेन चकितं यो योच्चित: शंकया
विंध्याद्रेर्गि-

[76] The word तुंगत् is apparently used here in the sense of त्वंगत्.

[77] Read यामाञ्चा°.

[78] Metre of verses 55 and 56 : Sragdharâ.

[79] Read हेम्नासमो.

[80] Metre : Śârdûlavikıidita.

[81] Read °भूमिधु(?).

[82] Metre : Sragdharâ.

[83] Read निष्पंका.

[84] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[85] Metre : Sragdharâ.

L. 43. रिसत्तमस्य नियते[86] मुक्तस्य वाग्बंधनात् ॥६१॥[87]

यस्य प्रत्युप्तकर्मद्रवदखिलमहाधातुसंभारधारा-[88]
पातघ्मातापशुष्यद्दलेविलविलसल्लोललाला[89] फणींद्रः ।
व्याचष्टे स्पष्टमिष्टं ध्रुवमयमधुना भाष्यमाभाष्य शिष्यं ।
स श्रीभर्त्तुः प्वरस्ताज्जयति[90] खगपतिर्मोकलेंद्रस्य कीर्त्तिः[91] ॥६२॥[92]
सोढुं नेशः पयोधिः चणमपि वि-

44. रहं द्वारकानाथ(य)कस्य
प्रेम्णा पादोपमूलं स्वयमुपगतवान्यत्तडागच्छलेन ।
नोदन्या कुंभयोनेरतिपततितरामंतरेणैनमेषन्
शापांते[93] मे विदध्यादयमिति विनयाद्विध्य[94] एवानयद्यं ॥६३॥
विंध्यस्कंधैकबंधुर्निजविततिभरादंधुतानीतसिंधु-
र्नीरक्रीडत्पुरंध्रिप्रसभकुचतटाघातसोदत्तरंगः ।
सतुष्यत्तोयजंतुर्विविधनगन-[95]

45. दोवेगसंरोधतंतुः[96]
सन्सेतुर्नेतुरस्य स्फुरति वसुमतीसिद्धिहेतुः सुकेतुः ॥६४॥
अमुष्य धरणीभृतो विषयमध्यवर्त्ती महादरीवृतवपुष्टया [वि]वृतदूरगंभीरतः ।
म[हो]दर इवापरः परमनोनगम्यांतरः[97] पवित्रतरकीर्त्तनो जयति चित्रकूटाचलः ॥६५॥[98]
जायंतां नाम कामं कुलधरणिभृतः सप्त शृंगौघतुंगा
वैचित्र्या चित्रकूटं तुलयि-

46. तुमनलं तीर्थभूतप्रदेशं ।
मा भूवनिर्झरिण्यो[99] मदुदितजनुषो नीचगामानशौंडः ।[100]
शृंगे यः चीरवारांनिधिमधिततरामुद्यदंभोजवासं ॥६६॥[1]
उद्दामग्रावनिर्यंज्झरभरकणिकाजातसेकातरेक-[2]
च्छिद्यच्छालप्रवालप्रभवदुरुतराभोगसूनप्रसूतात् ।
मध्वासारादपारादुप[हृ]तजनुषो दाववह्नेर्निदाघे
विष्वग्द्रींचो[3] वनानि प्रसभपरिभवं ने-

47. ह शैले विदंति ॥६७॥
एतस्मिन्सरिदस्ति निर्मलजला यस्यां निवापांजला-
वुन्मीलत्तिलजातपातकवलव्यग्राः शफर्यश्चलाः ।
क्रीडासंभ्रमविस्मृतान्सुवहुधो मज्जद्वधूनामहो
नेत्राणीव विलोपिकज्जलकणांश्चेतुं स्फुरंति स्फुटं ॥ ६८ ॥[4]

86 Read नियतं.
87 Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
88 Originally प्रत्युप्ति° was engraved.
89 Read °द्रलविल° and °लालः.
90 Read पुर°.
91 Read कीर्तिः.
92 Metre of verses 62-64: Sragdharâ.
93 Read शापांते.
94 Read °विंध्य.
95 Read संतुष्य°.
96 Originally °संरोधितंतुः was engraved.
97 Read परममाग°(?).
98 Metre: Pṛithvî.
99 Read भुवन्नि°.
100 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
1 Metre of verses 66 and 67: Sragdharâ.
2 Read °कातिरेक-.
3 Read विष्वद्रीचो.
4 Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

लंका किं नाम दुर्ग्गं जलनिधिरविता[5] यत्र सा काल[काका?][6]

[प्रा]वृट्का[ले] विवर्गैरपि गलितमदैर्या व्रियेतेति मा-

L. 48. नो ।

यो धत्ते चीरवारांनिधिमुपरि परै राजहंसैरगम्य-

स्तद्दुर्गं चित्रकूटो जयति वसुमतीमंडनं भूरिभूमि:[7] ॥ ६८ ॥[8]

सौभाग्यैकमहौषधिर्भगवती यस्मिन्भवानी स्वयं

जागर्त्ति प्रियसन्निधानवमति: साध्वीजनानां गुरु: ॥(।)

देव: सोपि समस्तनाकरमणीसंतानदामव्रज-

प्रश्चोतन्मकरंदबिंदुसुरभिप्रस्फारनृत्यांगण: ॥ ७० ॥[9]

सेवा-

49. हेवाकदेवस्तुतहरचरितप्रोल्लसद्भावसंप-[10]

त्सद्य:रिवद्यद्भवानीकृतसुरवसवनस्फारसौरभ्यहारि[11]।

यद्वारि प्रातिभाव्यं वहति मृगदृशां मज्जतीनामजस्रं

पातिव्रत्ये समंतात्समधिकसुभगंभावुकत्वेपि शश्वत् ॥ ७१ ॥[12]

गिरि: कैलासो यद्दशमुखभुजोच्छ्रासनदिनाद्गलन्मूलस्थामा प्रभवति न नाथं विषहितुं ॥(।)

50. प्रदेशप्राग्भारप्र[कृ*]तिरमणीये तदधुना समिद्वेश:[13] श्रीमानिह वसति गौरीसहचर: ॥७२॥[14]

एकैकग्रावतावत्कृतिमुषितमहासर्वकर्मीणमानं

कृत्वा प्रासादमाशामुखमुकुरमतिव्योमसीमानमस्य ।

यस्याशेषोपचारक्षमधनमुदितारी-[15]

हीर: श्रीमोकलेंद्रो धनपुरमुचितं ग्राममायामिसीमं ॥ ७३ ॥[16]

अब्दे बाणाष्टवेदक्षितिपरिकलिते

51. विक्रमांभोजबंधो:

पुण्ये मासे तपस्ये सवितरि मकरं याति जीवे घटस्थ ॥(।)

पक्षे शुक्लेतरस्मिन्सुरगुरुदिवसे चार्यमर्क्षे तृतीया-

तिथ्यां देवप्रतिष्ठामयमकृततरां मोकलो भूमिपाल: ॥ ७४ ॥

उन्मीलद्यागयात्रोद्यतसुरतरुणीगीतसंग्रामधामा

सुत्रामा यावदीष्टे त्रिदशपरपरीपालनस्पष्टनीति: ।

पर्यायोपात्तभूनां स्फुरति दशशती शेषमूर्द्धां च याव-

52. त्तावप्रस्फारलक्ष्मीरवतु[17] वसुमतीं मोकलेंद्रस्य बाहु: ॥ ७५ ॥

श्रीमद्दशपुरज्ञातिर्भट्टविष्णोस्तनूद्भव: ।

नाम्नैकनाथनामायमलिखत् कृतिमुज्व(ज्ज्व)लां ॥ १ ॥[18]

[4] Read °रचिता.

[5] The *aksharas* in these brackets are damaged.

[7] Read भूतिभूमि:(?).

[8] Metre : Sragdharâ.

[9] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[10] Read सेवाहेवाकि° ; originally देवास्तु° was engraved.

[11] Read °कृतसुखवसन°.

[12] Metre : Sragdharâ.

[13] Read समिद्धेश: or समाधीश:, which are both names of Śiva.

[14] Metre : Śikhariṇî.

[15] Six *aksharas* of this line are omitted ; the last word of the line must have been व्यतारीत्.

[16] Metre of verses 73-75 : Sragdharâ.

[17] Read तावत्प्र°.

[18] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).

अनेकप्रासादैः परिवृतमतिप्रांशुकलशं गिरीशप्रासादं व्यरचयदनूनैरनुचरैः ॥(1)
मनाख्यो विख्यातः सकलगुणवान् वोजलसुतः सुतः शिल्पी जातो गुणगणयुतो वोसल
इति ॥२॥[19]

अतिप्रशस्तैरलिख-

L. 53. त् प्रशस्तिं[20] वर्णैरवर्णेन वहिःकृतैर्यः[21]।
श्रीमत्समाधीशमहेश्वरस्य प्रसादतोसौ चिरजीवनोस्तु[22]॥ २(३)॥[23]
वो[जलस्य] सुतः शिल्पी मनाख्यः सूत्रधारकः ।
तस्यात्मजेन वोसेन प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कृता ॥ ३(४) ॥[24]
रुचिराक्षरमुत्कीर्णा प्रशस्तिरियमुज्व(ज्ज्व)ला ।
लिलेष[25] वोसलः शिल्पी शमाधीशप्रसादतः[26]॥ ४(५) ॥ ॥
संवत् १४८५ वर्षे माघसुदि [३] गुरुदिने[27] . . . .

XXXIII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAULUKYA KUMARAPALA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1207.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a slab of black marble which is preserved in the temple of Mokalji[1] at Chitorgaḍh, in the Udaypur state of Râjputâna. I edit it from Dr. Führer's impressions.

The inscription contains twenty-eight lines of writing which cover a space of about 1′ 8″ broad by 1′ 3″ high. Lines 1-14 are generally well preserved; but in the subsequent lines part of the writing is entirely gone, in consequence of the peeling off of the surface of the stone, on the proper right side; and from the same cause a number of *aksharas* has also disappeared on the left side, in lines 24-28. In the midst of the writing causing a break in lines 17-23, is an ornamental drawing, about 3¾″ square, which encloses a circle about 3½″ in diameter. Near the periphery of this circle and across the square, both vertically and horizontally, there is some writing (apparently a verse) the greater part of which is too faint to be made out. The size of the letters is between 5/16″ and ½″. The characters are Nâgarî. The language is Saṁskṛit; and nearly the whole inscription is in verse. It is carefully written and engraved, and in respect of orthography it is only necessary to state that *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is

19 Metre: Śikhariṇî.
20 Read प्रशस्तिं.
21 Read वहिष्कृ°.
22 Originally °जीविनोस्तु was engraved.
23 Metre: Upajâti.
24 Metre of verses 4 and 5: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
25 Read लिलेख.
26 Read समाधी°.
27 This word is engraved beneath the preceding वर्षे and appears to have been followed by three or four other *aksharas*, which are illegible.

1 See above, p. 408. [I took impressions of the inscriptions at Chitorgaḍh in January 1873; Mr. H. B. W. Garrick copied several of them in 1884 (*Arch. Sur. Reports*, vol. XXIII, pls. xx, xxi); and again Dr. Führer on a tour in Râjputâna took fresh impressions, one of which is used for this paper.—J. B.]

several times used instead of the palatal and the palatal once instead of the dental sibilant.

The inscription is dated (in line 28) in the year 1207, corresponding, as a year of the Vikrama era, to A.D. 1149-50 or 1150-51; and its object is, to record a visit of the Chaulukya king Kumârapâla to Mount Chitrakûṭa, the modern Chitorgaḍh, and some donations which on that occasion were made by the king in favour of a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (Śiva) on the hill.— After the words "Oṁ! Adoration to the Omniscient," the inscription has five verses, three of which glorify the god Śiva under the names of Śarva, Mṛiḍa, and Samiddheśvara, while the others invoke the assistance of the goddess of eloquence, Sarasvatî, and celebrate the compositions of poets. The author then (in line 5) eulogizes the family of the Chaulukyas. In that family the king Mûlarâja was born (line 6), and when he and many other kings of the same lineage had gone to heaven, there came the king Siddharâja (line 7), who again was succeeded by Kumârapâladeva (line 9). When this king had defeated the ruler of Śâkambharî (line 10) and devastated the Sapâdalaksha country (line 11), he went to a place named Śâlipura (line 12), and having pitched his great camp there, he came to view the glorious beauty of the Chitrakûṭa mountain; the temples, palaces, lakes or tanks, slopes and woods are extolled in lines 13-19. Kumârapâla was delighted with what he saw there, and having come to a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (line 22) which was on the northern slope of the mountain, he worshipped the god and his consort, and gave to the temple a village the name of which has not been preserved (line 26). Other donations (a *ghâṇaka* or 'oil-mill' for lights, etc.) are spoken of in line 27; and line 28 tells us that this *Praśasti* was composed by the chief of the Digambaras Râmakîrtti, a pupil of Jayakîrtti, and records the date, already given above.

It will be seen from this abstract of the contents that this inscription is not of a very great importance; but it shows at any rate that Kumârapâla's well-known victory[2] over (Arṇorâja), the ruler of the Sapâdalaksha country, whose capital was Śâkambharî (Sâmbhar) in Râjputâna, must have taken place in the Vikrama year 1207, or very shortly before it.— The place Śâlipura at which Kumârapâla is said to have been encamped, and which must have been near Chitrakûṭa, I am unable to identify.

Text.[3]

L. 1. ओं[4] ॥ नमः सर्व्व[ज्ञा]यः[5] ॥ नमो[6] . . . [स]मार्च्चिर्दम्ब(ग्ध)संकल्पजन्मने । शर्व्वाय परम ज्योति[र्द्द]ग्धसंकल्पजन्मने ॥ जयतात्स मृडः श्रीमान्मृडा . . -[7]

2. दनाम्ब(म्बु)जे । यस्य कण्ठच्छवी रेजे से(शै)वालस्येव वल्लरी ॥ यदीयशिखरस्थितोल्लसदनल्पदिव्यध्वजं[8] समंडपमहो नृणामपि वि[दू]

3. रतः पश्यतां । अनेकभवसंचितं क्षयमियर्त्ति पापं द्रुतं स पातु पदपंकजानतहरिः समिद्धेश्वरः ॥ यवोल्लसत्यद्भुतकारिवाचः[9] स्फुर[न्ति चि]

4. त्ते विदुषां सदा तत् । सारस्वतं ज्योतिरनंतमंतर्विस्फूर्ज्जतां मे घनजाड्यवृत्ति ॥ जयंत्यत्र श्र(त्र)पीयूषविंदुनिष्यंदिनोमलाः[10] । कवीनां [सम

[2] See *ante*, vol. I. p 295.
[3] From impressions prepared by Dr. A. Führer.
[4] Expressed by a symbol
[5] Read °ज्ञाय.
[6] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh) and of the next verse
[7] The missing *aksharas* are नीव.
[8] Metre: Pṛithvî.
[9] Metre: Upajâti.
[10] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the next three verses

L. 5. कीर्त्ती(र्त्ती)नां वाग्विलासा मद्दोदया: ॥ न वैरस्यस्थिति:[11] श्रीमान्न जलानां[12] समाश्रय: । रत्नराशिरपूर्व्वोस्ति चौलुक्यानामिहान्वय: ॥ तत्रो-

6. दपद्यत श्रीमान्सद्वृत्तस्तेजसां निधि: । मूलराजा(ज)महीनाथो मुक्तामणिरिवोज्व(ज्ज्व)- ल: ॥ वितन्वति भृशं यत्र क्षेम(मं) सर्व्वत्र सर्व्वथा । प्रजा राजन्वती नून(नं) ज-

7. ज्ञेसौ चिरकालत: ॥ तस्यान्वये[13] महति भूपतिषु क्रमेण यातेषु भूरिषु सुपर्व्वपतेर्न्निवासं । प्रोर्ण्णुत्य वीभ्रयशसा ककुभां मुखानि श्रीसिद्धरा-

8. जनृपति: प्रथितो व(ब)भूव ॥ जयश्रिया[14] समाश्लिष्टं यं विलोक्य समंतत: । भ्रांत्वा जगंति यत्कीर्त्तिज(र्ज)गा[हे]मरमंदिरम् ॥ तस्मिन्नमरसाम्रा-

9. जां(ज्यं) संप्राप्ते नियतेव्वसात्[15] । कुमारपालदेवोभूत्प्रतापाक्रांतशात्रव: ॥ स्वतेजसाप्रसह्येन न परं येन शात्रव: । पदं भूभृच्छिरस्सूच्चै: कारि-

10. तो वं(बं)धुरप्यलं ॥ आज्ञा यस्य महीनाथैश्चतुरम्बु(म्बु)धिमध्यगै: । ध्रियते मूर्द्धभिर्न्नम्रे(म्रै)- र्देवशेषेव सन्ततम् ॥ महीभृन्निकु(कुं)जेषु[16] शाकंभरी-

11. श: प्रियापुत्रलोके न शाकंभरीश: । अपि प्राप्तशत्रुर्भयात्कंप्रभूत: स्थितौ यस्य मत्तेभवाजि- प्रभूत:[17] ॥ सपादलक्षमामर्द्य[18] नम्रीकृ-

12. तभयानक: । [स्व]य[म]यान्महीनाथो ग्रामे शालिपुराभिधे ॥ सन्निवेश्य[19] सि(शि)विरं पृथु तत्र वासितासहनभूपतिचक्रम् । चित्रकू-

13. टगिरिपु[ष्क]लशोभां द्रष्टुमार नृपति: कुतुकेन ॥ यदुच्चसुरसद्मशोपरिष्टात्प्रपतन्सदा[20] रथं नयत्यलं मंदं मंदं भंगभयाद्रवि: ॥ य-

14. त्सौधशिखरारूढकामिनीमुखसन्निधौ । वर्त्तमानो निशानाथो लक्ष्यते लक्ष्मलेखया ॥ प्रफुल्ल- राजीवमनोहरानना[21] विवृत्तपाठीनविलोललोच-

15. — ।[22] ⏑ — त्त[भृं]गावलिरोमराजयो रथांगवक्षोरुहमंडलश्रिय: ॥ परिभ्रमत्सारसहंसनि- स्वना: सविभ्रमा हारिमृणालवा(बा)हुका: । वृ(बृ)हन्नितंवा(बा)मलवारि-

16. — ⏑ —[23] मुदे सतां यत्र सदा सरोङ्गना: ॥ स(सु)रभिकुसुमगंधाकृष्टमत्तालिमालाविहित- मधुररावो[24] यत्र चाधित्यकायां । स्खलिततरणिभानु: सप्त-

17. — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ मथिषति शश्वत्कामिन: कामिनीभि: ॥ शुभे[25] यद्वने शाखिशाखांत राले प्रिया: क्रीडया सन्निलीना निकामं । घने [प]-

18. ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [णां] [त]नगंधसक्तालय: सूव(च)यंति ॥ प्राप[26] कदापि न या हृदये शं सानुनयं समया हृदयेशं । यद्वनमेत्य सु[सं?]-

19. ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — [र]तरागं ॥ एवमादिगुणे[27] दुर्गे स्वर्गे वा भुवि [सं]- स्थिते । राजा जिष्णु: परप्रीत्या संचरन्निजलोल-

[11] Divide, also, वैरस्य स्थिति:.

[12] *i.e.*, also, जडानां.

[13] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[14] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the next three verses.

[15] Read °तेर्व्वशात्.

[16] Metre: Bhujangaprayâta

[17] Originally मत्तेभ° was engraved.

[18] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[19] Metre: Svâgatâ.

[20] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.

[21] Metre: Vaṁśastha; and of the next verse.

[22] The *aksharas*, here broken away, are probably मा: । प्रम.

[23] The *aksharas*, here broken away, are probably राजयौ.

[24] Metre: Mâlinî.

[25] Metre: Bhujangaprayâta.

[26] Metre: Dodhaka.

[27] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of all the following verses.

L. 20. या ॥ ति . . . . [ता?]स्वयंसंकुलम् । ददर्शागाधगंभीरस्वच्छं स्वमिव मान-
सम् ॥ निर्म्मलं सलिलं यत्र पि-

21. हितं प[द्मि] — ◡ — । . . . . जे नीलाब्ज(ब्ज)राग[भू]श्रियम् ॥ विमुच्य व्योम
पातालरसा यत्र त्रिमार्गगा । लोका-

22. न् पु[नाति] . . . . ◡ — ◡ — ॥ [त]स्योत्तरतटे द्राक्षीत्सामरसमर्चितं । श्रीस-
मिद्धेश्वरं देवं प्रसिद्धं

23. जगतो ◡ — ॥ . . . . ◡ — ◡ ते । त्रैसंध्य[तू]र्यनादेन कलि(लिं)
निर्भर्त्सयन्निव ॥ य[त्स्त?]वस्याधिपत्येस्थात्पुरा भ-

24. ट्टारिकोत्त[मा।] . . . [वी] नृपाभ्य[र्चा?] . . . . ◡ — ◡ — ॥ तस्याः शिष्याभवत्साध्वी
सुव्रतव्रातभूषिता । गौरदेवीति वि[ख्या] . . . [ता?]कृतोद्यमा ॥ सु[मनो?] . .

25. संसेव्या [मा ?] . . यविनाशिनी । दुर्गा हि . . . . ◡ — ◡ [ता] ॥
यत्तपः पावनं वीक्ष्य पवित्रीकृतसज्जनं । सस्मरुः पूर्व्वयमि . . . . . ◡ — ◡ — ॥
शिवं प्रपूज्य त[त्प] . .

26. . . [म]गमत्प्रभुः । प्रणम्य [तावुभौ?] भक्त्या सि(शि)रसा ◡ — ◡ — ॥ . . . . .
[तस्यां]तः पूजार्थं हरपादयोः । कुमारपालदेवोदाद्ग्रामं श्री . ◡ — ◡ — ॥ .[28] . . . स्यां
दिश्याराम . .

27. . टा दक्षिणपूर्व्वोत्तरपश्चिमतः मरःपालो भृग्गादित्य . . . . . राज . . . दीपार्थं घाण-
कर्मकं सज्जनोप्यदात् दंडनाथ . . . . मेतद्दानम . . .

28. श्रीज[य]कीर्त्तिशिष्येण[29] दिगंव(ब)रगणेशिना । प्रशस्तिरीदृशी चक्रे . . श्रीरामकीर्त्तिना ॥
संवत् १२०७ सूत्रधा . . . .[30]

XXXIV—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SÛBA OF DIHLÎ.

No. II.

By Paul Horn, Ph.D., Strassburg.

The following inscriptions are in continuation of, and in addition to, those contained in a previous paper, *ante*, pp. 130 *seq*. I begin with Fathâbâd, which was there represented by the inscription from Fîrôz Shâh's famous pillar.[1]

Fathâbâd.

1. To the left of the *mihrâb* of what is now an *'Îdgâh* in the fort of Fathâbâd, is a light-coloured rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of ten lines, measuring 2′ 3″ by

[28] In the prose passage, from here up to the end of line 27, it is impossible to say exactly how many *aksharas* are broken away in each place.

[29] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[30] Below this line some more *aksharas* have been roughly engraved; but they are quite illegible in the impression.

[1] Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, in General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XXIII, p. 11, remarks that Maulawî Ziyâ uddîn Khân has been successful in deciphering the long inscription on the above-mentioned monolith (see plate II there); but, so far as I know, the translation has not yet been published.

1′ 2½″, of which Mr. Garrick gives a good copy (*Arch. Sur. India Rep.* vol. XXIII plate iii)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وان المساجد [لله] فلا يدعوا [*sic*]

مع الله احدا وانه لما قام عبدالله يدعو[ا] كادو[ا] يكونون

عليه ابدا قال عليه السلام [من] بني الله [*sic*] مسجدا يبتغى به وجه الله بنى الله له فى

الجنة مثله تمام شد این مسجد در ایام دولت شاه اعظم والخاقان المعظم

مالك الرقاب طوايف الامم من الهند والترك والعرب والعجم رافع رايات [ا]لمجاهدات

والمغازي محمد همايون بادشاه غازي خلد الله تعالي ملكه في بحار الطف [*sic*]

فلكه بسع [*sic*] جناب سعادةفرجام زبدة فضلاء الانام نتيجة الامراء العظام امير رستم بيك بن

جناب المغفور المبرور المختص امير محمد على الله تعالى محام . . . . . . فى الثاني: ماه رمضان

سنه خمس [و] اربعين وتسعماية كارفرماء فقير عبدالكريم دوفد براى جراغ بر مروم [؟] تعين كرده شد

طلاق است اورا هركه منع كند .

"In the name," *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûra lxxii, 18, 19). "The prophet,—upon whom be peace,—says, 'He who builds, *etc.*' This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzi*,—May God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom [*and guide*] his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amîrs, Amîr Rustam Beg, son of his highness the pardoned and purified chosen Amîr Muhammad 'Alî,—God Almighty. . . . . on the 2nd of the month Ramazân A. 945 (*the 22nd January, 1539*). The superintendent of the work (*was*) the poor 'Abdul-Karím."

The verse at the end of the inscription cannot be fully deciphered. The whole has a striking resemblance to the inscription of Amîr Muhammad's mosque at Hiṣâr (*ante*, p. 155).

2. Into the outer wall of the mosque enclosure in the fort of Fathâbâd a rectangular sandstone is let containing a well-known invocation of 'Alî in Arabic, in four lines, size 1′ 2¾″ by 6¾″—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ناد عليا مظهر

العجائب تجده عونالك في النوائب كل

هم و غم سينجلى بنبوتك يا محمد بولايتك

يا علي يا علي يا علي تم تم تم

"In the name, *etc.* Invoke 'Alî, the manifestor of miracles; thou wilt find him

for thy help in adversities. Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish through thy prophetship, O Muhammad, through thy saintliness, O 'Alî, O 'Alî, O 'Alî, O 'Alî!"

HIṢÂR.[3]

3. Near the Nâgôr-Gate, outside the town, is a sandstone (measuring 5′ by 4″), on four sides covered with inscriptions. It belonged to the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî, but it is now on a wrong grave, where it was placed a short time ago, on being dug up. The inscription, in one line, on the west upper side, runs—

نقل این سلطان المشایخ والاولیا شیخ محمّد بن شیخ محمود چشتی في التاسع من شعبان سنه اثنی
وتسعین وثمانمایة

"The departure of this king of the Shaikhs and the Saints, Shaikh Muhammad, son of Mahmûd, the Chishtî,[4] (*took place*) on the 9th Sha'bân, 892 (*31st July, 1487*)."

Since the tomb of so highly revered a man as Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî was may claim some interest, I give also the Arabic inscriptions of the lower west side and of the east face—

يا من بدنياه اشتغل قد غرّه طول الامل الموت ياتي بغتةً والقبر صندوق العمل

Metre: *Rajaz.*

"Ah! He that is occupied with his earthly life and the length of his hope (*i.e., his hoped life-time*) deceives himself! Death comes unexpectedly, and the tomb is the coffin of his work."

بسم اللّٰه الرّحمن الرّحيم لا اله الا اللّٰه محمّد رسول اللّٰه صلّى اللّٰه عليه
الا انّما الدّنيا كمنزل راكب اينام عشيّا وهو في الصّبح راحل

"In the name, *etc.*, there is no God but, *etc.* Is not the world verily like the station of a camel-rider? Will he sleep in the evening when he is to depart in the morning?"

4. Outside the Nâgôr-Gate is also the enclosure known as Shaikh Junaid's tomb. The stone on the west contains the name of the builder twice, who, in spite of the omission of any title, may nevertheless be identical with the Shaikh named, from his also being

[2] This formula is very popular for amulets all over the East. It is engraved on bracelets just as on swords (see *Proceedings As. S. Beng.* for November 1872, p. 169). Mr. Blochmann gives it in his *Âin-i Akbari* Translation, p. 507, with an unmetrical alteration in the second line. But see also *Proceedings As. S. Beng.* (*loc. cit.*)

[3] Some of the following inscriptions were published by Blochmann, in *Proceedings As. S. Beng.* for April 1877, pp. 94 *seq.*

[4] The most extensive essay on the whole branch of the Chishtî Saints (see *ante*, p. 145) is in the *Sawâṭi' ul-anwâr*, a copy of which work is in India Office library in London. The contents of this large volume (481 pages of 17 lines each) have been copiously described by Prof. C. H. Ethé in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the India Office Collection (No. 654), for access to the proof sheets of which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. R. Rost. It is known that biographies of single Chishtîs are likewise given in other works and that there are writings treating of single members as the *Maṭlûb uṭṭâlibîn*, which is restricted to the life and deeds of *Nizâm uddîn Auliyâ*. Compared with such books those of the princess Jahânârâi about Shaikh Mu'în uddîn and of her brother Dârâ Shukôh (*Safînat ul-auliyâ*) are very dilettante. I have perused the whole of the first and looked over the latter in the manuscripts at the British Museum. This is not the place to speak at large of the value of the literary products of the two princely authors, but I may mention that I was disappointed with them, and the most by Dârâ Shukôh's, which pretends to be more serious than Jahânârâi's unassuming book. They do not furnish us with original information of importance concerning the Chishtîs, as one would be disposed to expect, considering the close relation of both with Shaikh Mu'în uddîn.

born at Ajôdhan,— the name for Dîpâlpûr,— too striking an accord.[5] But then the date of the latter's death, as given in the *Khazînat ul-asfiyá*, which Blochmann has extracted, must be too early. The size of the two inscriptions is 7′ 6″ by 7″, and 6′ by 4½″, respectively.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الغرة من ربيع الاول سنة سبع وعشرين وتسعماية بانيه جنيد بن چندان

"In the name, *etc*. On the first Rabi'ul-awwal, 927 (*9th February, 1521*). The builder of it (*was*) Junaid, son of Chandan."

الغرة من شهر ذي القعدة سنه احدى وثلثين وتسعماية بانيه جنيد بن چندن بن محمود اجودهني

"On the first Zi'l-Qa'da, 931 (*20th August, 1525*). Its builder (*was*) Junaid, son of Chandan, son of Mahmûd, of Ajôdhan."[6]

There are some other inscriptions from the same Mausoleum, but of no value. One, measuring 2′ 1½″ by 6″, contains, in two lines, the *Bismilláh* and the *Kalima*; two others from the north and west sides of the N.-W. pillar of the tomb, each measuring 1′ 1″ square, bear *Qorán*, Sûra cxii, adorned with flowers.[7]

5. Over the western arch inside a tomb, west of the road leading from Hiṣâr to Dâna Shêr, outside the town half a mile from the Dihli-Gate, is an inscription in *stucco*; it measures 1′ 2″ by 1′ 1⅛″, and contains eight lines, but very much damaged—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله . . . . .

در عهد ميمون دولت

همايون . . . . خلد ملكه و سلطانه

واعلى امره وشانه اين

عمارت ازان والتوخان

. . . . بن مير . . . . بن

سلطانملكبك در سيم [؟] ماه رمضان

. . . . . . سنه ثلاث واربعين وتسعماية تمام شد

"In the auspicious time and reign of Humâyûn (*the king, etc.*)—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and elevate his condition and dignity!—this building of Wâltû Khân . . . . ., son of Mîr . . . . . son of Sultân Malik Bêg, was finished on the third [?] of month Ramzân, A. 943 (*13th February, 1537*)."

Along the right-hand side, almost in the same line with the above, are the following words:—

اين . . . . بادشاه . . . . . بيست هزار تنكه سيه [؟] باهتمام شيخ منور بن قاسم [؟] اتمام شد

[5] Shaikh Farîd uddîn Mas'ûd was also born at Ajôdhan,—see W. Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothekzu Berlin*, No. 590, p. 556.

[6] Mr. Ghulâm Husain, who prepared the impressions of all these inscriptions with the same care as those of the former Panjâb series, remarks that both have been published by Amîn Chand in his *Settlement Report*, a work which is not to hand.

[7] In the neighbourhood of this Mausoleum also the pre-Muhammadan pillar stands which, according to Captain W Brown,—*Journal of A. S. Beng.* vol. VII, (1838), p. 429,—"has the appearance of having been partially worked by Feroz's orders, and probably some inscription was cut upon it by his workmen, but of which there is now no trace owing to the peeling off of the exterior surface." *Cf.* Gen. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. V, p. 140 *et seq*.

" . . . . . 20,000 copper-*tankas* (*1,000 rupees*) was completed under the superintendence of Shaikh Munawwar, son of Qâsim."

Owing to the bad condition of the stone all the words are not certain.

6. The following two inscriptions come from the same place as No. 5. Their sizes are 3′ 1½″ by 1′ 9″, and 3′ by 1′ 6″, respectively, each containing seven lines. The tomb itself is in poor condition and greatly neglected, but the inscriptions have been well preserved—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد ميمون ودولت همايون سلطان
الهند و الخراسان رافع رايات المجاهدات والمغازي محمد همايون
بادشاه غازي خلد خلافته اين عمارت بتاريخ ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه
اربع واربعين وتسعماية تمام شد واين گنبد
بر تردي كوجك بن مير برنطق مغل شده است
واين جوان در لشكر گجرات شهادت يافت
و مبلغ بانزده هزار تنكه سياه خرچ شده است

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*,—May (*God*) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed in the month Rajab—May its dignity be magnified!—of the year 944 (*began the 4th December, 1537*). And this cupola (*was made*) for the sake of Tardî Kuchuk, son of Mîr Barantaq, the Moghul; and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarât. The cost was 15,000 copper-*tankas* (*750 rupees*)."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد ميمون ودولت همايون
سلطان الهند و الخراسان رافع رايات المجاهدات و المغازي
طهيرالدين محمد همايون بادشاه غازي خلد خلافته بتاريخ ماه
رمضان سنه اربع واربعين و تسعماية اين عمارت از براى [؟]
مير عاشق محمد بن مير شاه على شد واين
جوان در لشكر گجرات شهادت يافت
و مبلغ دوازده هزار تنكه سياه خرچ شده

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, *Tahîr*[8] *uddîn* Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*,—May (*God*) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed during the month Ramazân of the year 944 (*began the 1st February, 1538*). It was made for the sake of Mîr 'Âshiq Muhammad, son of Mîr Shâh 'Alî,[9] and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarât. The cost was 12,000 copper-*tankas* (*600 rupees*)."

[8] Mr. Blochmann has wrongly read Humâyûn's common *kunya Nasîr uddîn*; but here *Tahîr uddîn* has been engraved. *Zahîr uddîn* was Bâbar's *kunya*.

[9] Here *'Alab* has been engraved, but this is no name.

Both youths probably served in the Gujarât war that ended with Bahâdur Shâh's victory, A.H. 942. Then, or perhaps in Muhammad Zamân Mîrzâ's attempt to overpower the country, their death may have occurred, and they afterwards found a tomb at home, Gujarât being lost to Humâyûn.

7. Over the *mihrâb* of an *'Îdgâh* at Dâna Sher, one mile south of Hiṣâr on the old Hânsî road, is an inscription of four lines in *stucco*, measuring 1′ 9″ by 4½″. It is in very bad condition, being exposed to wind and weather. I try to read it thus—

این مسجد [؟] . . . . . . بلك ابن بولاد سروانی . . . . سروا[نی] بن
ادریس سروانی . . . . مسند عالی دولتخانه در عهد شیرشاه
سلطان سنه تسع بع [*sic*] اربعین سبع . . . . تمام شد . . . . . .
. . . . خرچ شد مبلغ دوازده [؟] هزار

"This mosque of . . . Bêg, son of Pûlâd Sarvânî . . . son of Idrîs Sarvânî . . . the high *Masnad* of the *Daulatkhâna*, was finished in the reign of Shêr Shâh, the king, in the year 947 (*began the 8th May, 1540*) . . . The cost was 12,000 . . ."

With Messrs. Ghulâm Husain and the late E. Rehatsek (who made rough versions of many of these epigraphs) I have supposed that we have here a barbarous construction, contrary to the Arabic usage, the date beginning with the hundreds instead of the units. بع would then be for مایة 'hundred', scarcely for سبع; so I read the monarch's name as Shêr Shâh, which is possible. And surely, if بع were only a blunder, perhaps of the stone-cutter, a reiterated *tis'*, only with a shortening of the long stroke of the *sín*, and the date in this case were 749, one could not read the king's name as Muhammad, as would then be necessary, or the word after *sab'* as *mi'at*. Besides, there are some words, especially '*în masjid*', that I cannot warrant as certain.[10]

Hânsî

Mr. H. B. W. Garrick (*ut sup.*, pp. 15, 16) gives a list of the principal inscriptions found at Hânsî. Some of them have already been published by Blochmann, that of the Dînî mosque, also *ante*, p. 159. There are several others perhaps also deserving notice that are not mentioned in Mr. Garrick's list, but I miss also some inscriptions of his in Mr. Rodgers's collection.[11]

Because Hânsî was an important place in the times of the early Pathân Sultâns, it is not surprising that numerous old inscriptions of that dynasty are found there. If we do

[10] In the *Ma'âthir ul-Umarâ*, vol. I, p. 583, it is mentioned by the way that the *dârôghagi* of the *daulatkhâna* was bestowed only upon trustworthy men. The author of the *Târîkh-i Shêrshâhî*, 'Abbâs Khân, son of Shaikh 'Alî, was also a Sarwânî, an Afghan tribe tracing its lineage to the mythic Baṭan (see *Âîn-i Akbarî*, I, 591), likewise 'Azam Humâyûn (who lived in Sultân Ibrâhîm Lôdî's time, *cf. Bâbar's Memoirs*, pp. 347, 392; *Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 103) and therefore also his son Fath Khân Khânjahân (*Bâbar's Memoirs*, pp. 390, 392, *Akbarnâma*, vol. I, pp. 103, 104), and grandson Mahmûd Khân (*Bâbar's Memoirs*, p. 393, *Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 104), or Bahâdur Khân, whose tomb Bâbar visited at Sôgandpûr (*Memoirs*, p. 491), and others. For another Shêr Shâh inscription of the same year (at Sakit) see *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* for May 1874, p. 105.

[11] *e.g.* Nos. 1, 3, 4. I leave it to the reader to correct Mr. Garrick's little mistakes concerning the single inscriptions and their readings.

not take into account the Dihlî inscriptions from the years 587 (E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli*, p. 22 or *Journal Asiatique*, Vme série, vol. XVI (1860), p. 274) and of 592 (E. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 24, and *Jour. Asiat.*, p. 240), we have here the oldest dated Muhammadan one in India, *viz.* of 593 (of the same year is also a Dihlî inscription,—see *Jour. Asiat. u.s.* p. 240). Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb has no original inscription relating to this pious man, and is a remnant of even an older period for the saint in 559 A.H. became a martyr in Sultân Shihâb uddîn Ghôrî's attack upon the fort of Hânsî (see Mr. Garrick's *Report*, p. 13). Not a few inscriptions evidently are also very old, but they bear no dates.

8. The rectangular sandstone, with the following inscription of one line, measuring 4′ 11″ by 6″, serves now as a lintel to the doorway of the third enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb. Formerly it belonged to a mosque built by 'Alî, son of Isfandiyâr; it is of the 5th year of Muhammad ibn Sâm's reign:—

امر ببنا هذالمسجد العبد علي بن اسفنديار فی عشر ذی الحجة سنه ثلث وتسعين وخمس مايۀ

"This mosque was ordered to be built by the slave (*of God*) Alî, son of Isfandiyâr on the 10th Zil Hijja, 593 (*24th October, 1197*)."

9. The *masjid* walls of the second enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb contain also other inscriptions that originally had nothing to do with it. Into the outer western wall a rectangular light-coloured sandstone has been built horizontally, bearing one line (size 3′ by 1′), and mentioning the monarch's name under whose rule the inscription falls. Originally it was the jamb of a door. It is frightfully decayed, but the following is quite legible:—

[ابو]المظفر محمد بن سام ناصر امیرالمومنین . . . .

"[*Abu'l*] *Muzaffar* Muhammad, son of Sâm, the helper of the Khalif of the faithful."

The other jamb contains also one line (measuring 3′ 7½″ by 11″); the lintel has not been found:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من بنا لله مسجدا في الدنيا بنا [الله له] قصر[ا في الجنة] . . . . . .

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! Who builds a mosque in this world for God, God will build for him a castle in paradise......"

Other inscriptions from Muhammad ibn Sâm's reign, besides the above-mentioned Dihlî ones, have been published by E. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, pp. 24 (A.H. 594) and 25 (A.H. 596).

Of no historical value are the inscriptions over the doorway inside (1′ by 11″), only a fragment, in large characters, containing two words, being a part of a king's title [ذ]ر کن والعم; over the northern window in the outer wall (2′ 5″ by 3½″), the first half of *Qorán*, Sûra ii, verse 215—, and in the northern inside wall (1′ 7″ by 6″), a fragment, المسجد الحرام كمن امن بالله وا[ليوم] (*Qorán*, Sûra ix, verse 9). But there is no reference to the age of all.

10. South-east of the town, about 150 yards from the walls, is the tomb of the four *Qutbs* or Saints (*cf.* Mr. Garrick's *Report*, p. 14, and plate vii). In the wall of the

enclosure is the following inscription, which originally belonged to the grave of some unnamed noble lady. It consists of two lines and measures 4′ 3″ by 11″—

تمت القبر المستوره الجليله نور الله قبرها وغفر الله لها في جنّة الماري

يا ارحم الرحمين [sic] وذلك بالتاريخ الحادي غرت ذوالقعده سنه اثني عشرين ستمائة

"Finished was the tomb of the veiled noble lady,—May Allâh illuminate her tomb and may Allâh pardon her in the garden of the asylum (*Paradise*)! O most merciful of the merciful! This took place on the 1st Zil Qa'da, 622 (*4th November, 1225*)."

It is curious that the word *qabr* is used as feminine, of course only from its being occupied by a woman. The year 622 falls in the reign of Shams-uddîn Altamsh, as does that of the following inscription, No. 11.

Entering the courtyard of the tomb one meets an undated fragmentary inscription, which has found a place in the wall, facing south, its original position not being known. It is much decayed, and consists of two lines (1′ 10½″ by 1′ 1½″). A complement of it must be Mr. Garrick's sixth one—

كي[لاني] وبفردوس سلطاني

بندة مسعود محمّد صفهاني بود

"[Gî]lânî and to Firdaus Sultânî. He was a slave of Mas'ûd Muhammad of Isfahân."

In the wall of the mosque of the four *Qutbs* is a fragmentary inscription of two lines, measuring 1′ 4″ by 1′—

بتوفيق حضرت

كمال [جمال or] ابن . . . . . .

"By the grace of his highness Kamâl, son of........"

11. At the mosque of Bû Alî Bakhsh in the Moghulpâra-Quarter of Hânsi is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 2′ 6″ by 6″, with two lines—

هذا عمارة المسجد العبد الضعيف احمد بن محمد اسمندي

في المنتصف ربيع الاخر سنه ثلث والعشرين وستمائة

"This building (*is*) the mosque of the feeble slave (*of God*) Ahmad, son of Muhammad, of Asmand. In the middle of Rabi' II, 623 (*began the 1st April, 1226*)."

Mr. Blochmann remarks that Asmand is a small place near Samarqand.

There are also two other inscriptions over the north and south arches of the same mosque, the first (1′ ½″ by 7½″) containing the *Bismillâh*, with the *Kalima*, the second (1′ by 7″) being a fragment.

12. Half a mile to the west of the town, in the fields, is an *'Idgâh* and on the left of its central arch (*mihrâb*) is an old fragmentary inscription of two lines (measuring 2′ 10½″ by 1′), very much damaged. It runs—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عيسى ابن مريم اللهم ربنا انزل علينا مائده

ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر [؟] محمود بن السلطان . . . .

"In the name, *etc.* Jesus, the son of Mary, has said, "O God, our Lord, send down to us a table from heaven [*to be to us as a festival, etc.*],—*Qorán*, Sûra v, verse 114.

Because the inscription is so worn there may be doubts about the king's name. I think it was Nâṣir uddîn Mahmûd, second son of Altamsh of *that* name, who reigned A.H. 644-664, of whose time only one inscription has yet been published, *viz.* by Blochmann in the *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, vol. XLII, p. 248, note [A.H. 652, at Aligarh]. In spite of the want of any date we are scarcely allowed to think of his elder brother, owing to Mr. Thomas' remarks in his *Pathán Kings*, p. 84.

In the central arch of the same *'Ídgâh* another old inscription of two lines of Altamsh's reign is said to be, size 2′ 9½″ by 1′.

13. On a loose stone in the courtyard of Bû 'Alî Bakhsh's mosque is a fragment, (the right half not being found) of three lines, size 1′ 4″ by 1′ 2½″ :—

شاه گیهان معزالدّنیا

شلطان خلّد ملکه در نوبت

بهلول بن مهرابک الانی بر. . . . . محرم سنه سبع وثمانین وستمایة

"The king of the world Mu'izz uddunyâ,.........the Sultân,—May (*God*) perpetuate his reign !—in the time of.........Bahlûl, son of Mihrâ (?) Bêg, Alânî... Muharram, 687 (*began the 6th February, 1288*)."

The name of the grandee is not certain. For other inscriptions of Kaiqobâd see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 158, and note 42.

14. About a quarter of a mile north of the fort of Hânsî is the tomb of Walâyat Shâh Sultân Shahîd. Here are two inscriptions of no value; one mentioning the date 713, measuring 1′ 10½″ by 1′ 2½″, in three lines, the other measuring 1′ 10½″ by 5½″, in one line, being a portion of *Qorán*, Sûra ii, verse 256.

15. At the mosque of the *Quṭbs* (see No. 10) a rectangular sandstone bears eight lines in coarse and indistinct characters; size 3′ 8″ by 11″ :—

الملک لله

بتوفیق اللّه تعالی بنده درگاه سبحانی ابا بکر نام جلوانی که یکی

از مریدان پیر دستگیر سلطان المشایخ شیخ ابوالفتح قدس اللّه سره العزیز است

در پایان قطب اقطاب عالم شیخ جمال الحق والشرع والدین طاب ثراه وجعل

الجنّة مثواه ونوراللّه مراقده در وقت جلوس سجاده بندگی سلطان المشایخ

شیخ فرید مد اللّه عمره این مسجد راس کنانید هرکه درین مسجد نماز بگذارد بدعای

اینان [?] یاد کند کاتب حروف رضی قطب نائب قاضی هانسی . . . .

الخامس والعشرین من ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه ست وتسعین وثمانماية سنگتراش امین [?] بیرلال [?]

ناگوری

"The Kingdom belongs to God!

'By Almighty God's grace, the slave of the glorious court, Abâ Bakr by name, Jalwânî,[13] one of the disciples of the guiding spiritual chief, the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh

[13] In *Bâbar's Memoirs* occur also *Jalwânîs*, by name Isma'îl (pp. 338, 486, 487) and Mubârak Khân (p. 491), or Râi Husain, a partisan of Shêr Khân (*vide* Akbarnâma, vol. I, p. 164), and others. I have read *Înân* (first word of the 7th line) instead of *îbân*, as has been engraved on the stone.

Abu'l Fath,—May God sanctify his dear secret !—has laid the foundation of this mosque at the feet of the pole of the poles of the world, Shaikh *Jamâl ul-haqq washshar' waddîn* (*i.e.* Shaikh Jamâl uddîn),—May his grave be fragrant! May (*God*) make Paradise his mansion, and may God illuminate his resting-place!—at the time when the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Farîd,—May God lengthen his life!—ascended to the throne of the spiritual rule. Every one who prays in this mosque should remember these men in his prayer.

"The writer of the words (*was*) Razâ Quṭb, the representative of the judge of Hânsî . . . On the 25th Rajab,—May its power increase!—896 (*3rd January, 1491*). The stone-cutter (*was*) Amîn (?) Bîr Lâl of Nâgôr."

In the first line, to the left of the words "The kingdom belongs to God," in smaller characters, the name of the reigning king is given—

در عهد بادشاه زمان [؟] سکندر شاه بن بهبول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه وسلطانه

"In the time of the king of the age, Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl Shâh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!"

16. In the north inner wall of the Barsî gate in Hânsî is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 1′ 5″ by 1′ 1″, on which are five lines—

بناه عمارت این دروازه متین علوی با مرمت حصن حصین علائی

که مورخست سنه اثني وسبعماية در عهد سلطان السلاطين ابوالمظفر

ابراهيم شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه وسلطانه ودر عمل مسند عالي حميد خان

[ا]مانتخان کمال ودر شقداری خواجه شیخ [؟] محمد و بفرمایش موکل بن کمال

. . . . في الخامس من شهر ذی القعده سنه ثمان وعشرين وتسعماية کاتب خانزاده نصر مفتي هانسوي

"The building of the edifice of this solid, high gate, together with the repairs of the strong upper fort,[13] dated 702 A.H. (*began 26th August, 1302*), (*took place*) in the time of the king of kings, *Abu'l Muzaffar* Ibrâhîm Shâh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—and during the governorship of the high *Masnad* Hamîd Khân, son of Amânat Khân Kamâl and during the *shiqdârî* of Khwâja Shaikh Muhammad, and by order of Muwakkal, son of Kamâl...., on the 5th Zi'l Qa'da, 928 (*26th September, 1522*). The writer (*was*) Khânzâda Naṣr, the Muftî of Hânsî."

Hamîd Khân is known to have been governor of Hiṣâr Fîrôza; he was defeated in battle by Prince Humâyûn A.H. 932 (*Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 94, and *Bâbar's*

[13] As we learn from an inscription on the same gate, to the left of the entrance, published by Bloohmann in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. B.*, for May 1877, p. 122, and mentioned by Mr. Garrick (No. 6), the correct year of the first fortification of Hânsî was 703, not 702. The repairing of the fort which most probably Muhammad Shâh had intended be an outpost against the Moghuls, was useless against their final invasion under Akbar.

Memoirs, p. 339, where he is styled *Hamîda Khân Khâṣṣa Khailí*, *shiqdár* of Hiṣâr Fîrôza).

The following inscription refers also to Muhammad Shâh's fortification of the place.[14] Originally it consisted of three parts that are now scattered. The larger portion, given here, is at present doing duty as the headstone of a grave near the Husain Gate; a smaller one has been let into the brick wall of a well, near the same gate, and is fast being destroyed. The inscription, in heavy characters, is a very fine one, and ought to be preserved. Two lines, size 3′ 3″ by 1′ 6″—

بناء عمارت این حصن حصین ودروازهٔ متین در عهد [سلطان السلاطین]

جم نشان وسلیمان تمکین سکندرزمان ابوالمظفر محمّد شاه السل[طان]

"The building of the edifice of this strong fort and solid gate (*xas*) in the time of (*the king of kings*) celebrated like Jamshêd, of high dignity like Solomon, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh*, the king......"[15]

17. Inside of the *mihráb* of the mosque of the Makhdûm Ṣâhib Ashraf in the Weavers' Quarter of Hânsî, is a very old inscription in square Kufic characters that must be of the first Pathân period. It measures 1′ 1″ by 9″ and consists of the *Kalima* only. Over the outer gateway of the enclosure of the same mosque is found a poor inscription of three lines (9½″ by 6″), giving the date, "Month Ṣafar 989," (*began 7th March, 1581*). The old mosque therefore was repaired in Akbar's time.

18. Outside the stables of Haidar Bêg, high up in a wall is a rectangular sandstone, bearing an inscription of nine lines (size 1′ 9½″ by 1′ 7″). It is frightfully worn and can be deciphered only with the greatest difficulty. But the following is certain:—

بعنایت . . . . . .

در عهد ودولت سلطان السلاطین

ابوالمظفر شهاب الدین محمّد صاحب

[14] Perhaps also to the Barsî Gate (Blochmann No. 3, Garrick No. 6).

[15] Other inscriptions of 'Alâ uddîn Muhammad Shâh's reign (A.H. 695-715) have been published in General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, p. 76 (A.H. 705, at Bayâna), by E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings*, p. 173 (A.H. 710, at Dihlî), and by Blochmann, *Proceedings of As. Soc. B.*, for August 1873, p. 156 (A.H. 711, at Râprî), (also No. 22 below). I would here call attention to a work that may be very important for the history of another monarch of the Khiljî tribe, *viz.* of Mahmûd Shâh I. of Mâlwa. The Royal Library at Berlin possesses a MS. that seems to be unique; at least I have found no second copy in the accessible catalogues of manuscripts, and the late Mr. E. Rehatsek did not know of one elsewhere. Its title is *Ma'âthir-i Mahmûdshâhî wa siyar-i khilâfat-panâhî*, written in the lifetime of Mahmûd Shâh I. of Mâlwa, as the author 'Alî *Ibn* Mahmûd ul-Kirmânî states, by Mahmûd's own order. The writer shows himself well acquainted with many private adventures of his sovereign, especially with his dreams before the occupation of the throne, and he describes fully these inviting divine messages as justifying the rebellion of the subject against his former master. Although partly composed in a very bombastic style, it would still be worth publishing, all the more as it is a proof of the taste then reigning at the court of Mâlwa. Mahmûd is related to have been always a favourer of learned men. It is stated in this work that for the engraving of the inscriptions on the splendid *Madrasa* Bâm-i Bihisht, built by Shâh Mahmûd A.H. 845 in his capital, he employed Persian artists because of their higher dexterity, and these applied the *thulth* and *muhaqqaq* kinds of writing (Fol. 89). This may be a hint in cases where nothing is related concerning the nationality of the stone-cutters. It is remarkable how many of the 'modern' Indian caligraphists mentioned in the 34th chapter of the first book of the *Âin-i Akbarí* (*cf.* also Mr. Blochmann's translation, p. 100, *et seq.* and notes) were strangers by birth and only afterwards settled in India. The Kufic style that has flourished in Arabia, Egypt and Spain has produced only some scanty flowers in India, but this is easily explained by the later date of Islâm in India, the Kufic period then already having passed. Some remarks about the caligraphy of the inscriptions are to be found in the *Jour. of As. S. B.*, vol XL, p.257-8, and in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*.

قران ثاني شاه جهان بادشاه غازي
خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه
. . . . . این جاه زنان شد . . . . .
. . . .
بتاریخ هفتم ماه شعبان المعظم
سنه سبع وخمسين والف

"By the favour of . . . in the time and reign of the king of kings, *Abu'l Muzaffar Shihâb uddín* Muhammad, second lord of the conjunction, Shâhjahân, *Bádishâhi Ghází*—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! . . . of this well for women . . . on the 7th of the honoured month Sha'bân in the year 1057 (*7th September, 1647*)."

The words *châh-i zanân*—"well for women," seem to be certain, so that there can be no uncertainty about the establishment the inscription refers to. In the fourth chapter of the third book of the *Áin-i Akbarí*, vol. I, p. 284, it is stated amongst the duties of the *Kotwâl*, to reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women.

19. On the east wall of the enclosure of a tomb in the court-yard of *Makhdúm Ṣáhib Ashraf's* mosque is an inscription, measuring 1′ 2″ by 8½″, in a very bad condition; only the date در سنه سبع ثمانين الف 'A.H. 1087' (*began the 16th March, 1676*) and the name of the architect بسعي معمار شريف 'by the effort of the architect Sharîf' are legible. The reigning monarch was Aurangzêb Âlamgîr.

20. There are also some fragments of inscriptions, found at Hânsî, that for want of any characteristic indications, cannot be ascribed to a certain epoch, *e.g.* a portion of the so-called throne-verse (*Qorân*, Sura ii, 256) engraved on a sandstone that has found a place above the outer doorway of the courtyard of the mosque, a little west of the fort, or a part of the well-known *hadíth* about the building of mosques, on the well in the Dâk Bangla compound (size 8″ by 20″, one line).

BHAṬINḌA.

21. Bhaṭinḍa, the Bhatti's city, according to the very probable etymology of Mr. Garrick, p. 5, has always had a strong fort.[16] There is preserved a large cannon of Aurangzêb's time bearing two inscriptions:—

هو الغالب
در عهد ابوالظفر محی الدين محمد
اورنگ زيب بهادر عالم گير
بادشاه غازی توپ اورنگ شاهی
مرتب شد سنه يکهزار وهفتاد وسه هجري
باهتمام مريد فدوي باخلاص
معتمد خان فی سنه ۵ جلوس
مبارک رلا

[16] Bhaṭinḍa is mentioned in the *Áin-i Akbarí* amongst others as a place where Akbar often hunted leopards vol. I, 207, and near which camels were numerous, vol. I, p. 146.

"He (*God*) is the conqueror! In the time of *Abu'l Zafar Muhyi'ddîn* Muhammad Aurangzêb Bahâdur 'Âlamgîr, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*, the *Aurangshâh*-cannon was set up in A.H. 1073 (*began the 16th August, 1662*). By the efforts of the devoted and sincere subject Mu'tamid Khan, in the 5th year of the blessed reign."

در عمل متهراداس دلارامجی

. . . . توب . . . .

در قلعهٔ گوالیار مرتب شد

"During the office of Mathurâdâs Dilârâmjî........ the cannon has been placed in the fort of Gwâliâr."

The cannon, consequently, was placed at first at Gwâliâr, where Mu'tamid Khân was commandant from the 24th Jumâdî I, 1071.[17] Afterwards it was brought to Bhaṭinḍa.

Inscriptions from other cannons have been published by Major St. G. D. Showers,—Shâhjahân's gun *Jahânkushâ* by name, see *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, vol. XVI, (1847), p. 589,—and by Blochmann—a trophy gun formerly belonging to the Bengal Artillery, A.H. 1186 (*began 4th April, 1772*),—see *Proc. As. Soc. B.*, for November 1872, p. 169.[18]

ROHTAK.[19]

22. Over the *mihrâb* of the Âdîna mosque in the town of Rohtak are two lines, size 4′ 6″ by 1′ 2″; the letters partly are very much damaged:—

بتوفیق حضرت یزدانی درخدای . . . محمدی . . . . . بالمله مسلمانان . . . . . هاد[ی]حامی

ملت تعالی علا الدنیا والدین . . . سلاطین جهان

ناعب تجار ابوالظفر محمّد شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه . . . این مسجد مومنان و در . جای اهل ایمان

عمارت فرمود بتاریخ غرهٔ ماه رمضان سال هفتصد هشت از هجری بود

"Through the grace of the sublime God... *Alá uddunyâ waddîn*,.........of the kings of the world,........*Abu'l Muzaffar* Muhammad Shâh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom!—has deigned to build this mosque of the true believers and......place of the people of the faith. It was on the 1st Ramazân A.H. 708 (*12th February, 1309*)."

23. Over the outer archway of a small mosque in the fort of Rohtak, near the Dihlî Gate of the town is a rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of two lines, size 3′ 0¾″ by 8¼″, the right end of which is missing:—

بادشاه غازي سلطان السلاطين غياث الدنيا والدين سكندر زمان ابوالمظفر تغلق شاه السلطان

[خ]دایگانی محمد علی سلطانی غرهٔ ماه مبارک رمضان عم برکاته سال بر هفتصد بیست و چهار

"(*In the time*) of the *Bádishâh-i Ghází*, the king of kings, *Ghiyâth uddunyâ waddîn*, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar* Tughluq Shâh (*this mosque has been*

[17] See the particulars concerning this officer given by Blochmann from the *Ma'âthir-i 'Âlamgîrî* in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* for August 1874, p. 179.

[18] I have collected considerable materials respecting the artillery of the Moghuls, for an essay on their army and warfare, now in the press (E. J. Brill, Leiden).

[19] See *E. I*, vol. II, pp. 143 *et seq.*

built, through the grace of the Lord, by) Muhammad 'Alî Sultânî. On the first of the blessed month Ramazân,—May its blessings be general!—A. 724 (*22nd August, 1324*)."

This inscription is the second as yet published of Tughluq Shâh's reign (see Blochmann, *Proc. As. Soc. B.*, for August 1873, p. 157; A.H. 722, at Mahôbâ).

Perhaps the mosque was repaired in Bâbar's time; there is at least an inscription over the central archway (measuring 1′ 10″ by 1′ 1″) outside, that seems to mention such a fact, but it is too much injured to allow a decisive judgment. The first line is nearly altogether gone, also the beginning of the second and the whole third of the line are illegible; almost all dots are missing.

بسم [الله الرحمن الرح]يم . . . .

. . . . اين مسجد . . . . درعهد . . . . حضرت ظهيرالدين محمد بابر بادشاه غازى خلد الله ملكه

. . . . رمضان . . . . ثلثين وتسعماية . . . .

"This mosque............in the time of............His Majesty *Zahîr uddîn* Muhammad Bâbar, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*...............Ramazân......93."

The date, of course, must be between 932 and 937.

XXXV.—ŚRIDHARA'S DEVAPATTANA PRAŚASTI.

By Dr. G. Bühler and Vajeshankar G. Ozha.

The subjoined inscription is the same as that noticed by Colonel Tod in his *Travels in Western India*, p. 513 f. and by Mr. Postans in the *Journal Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 16 f. According to both these authors it was found at Devapattana or Somnâthpâṭan near Verâval on a pillar near the Qâzi's house. At present the slab on which it is incised is built into the wall of the fort, to the right of the great gate of the town. Both Colonel Tod and Mr. Postans give what is said to be a translation of the document, prepared, "with the assistance of a learned Jain priest," by Mr. Wathen, according to an eye-copy made by Râmdatt Krishṇadatt Purâṇî. Mr. Wathen's translation teems with the most extraordinary statements regarding the Chaulukya kings of Aṇhilvâḍ, which, however, fortunately have received little attention. The present edition has been prepared according to a rubbing by the late Pandit Girjâshankar Sâmaljî, which Mr. V. G. Ozhâ forwarded for publication to the first-named editor, together with a transcript,[1] a Gujarâtî translation and some explanatory notes in the same language.

The slab measures according to the rubbing 30 inches in breadth and 27 in length, a space of 5 inches having been left blank at the lower end. At the upper left-hand corner a piece has been broken off. To the right considerable portions of a good many

[1] This transcript seems to have been done according to the original on the stone, as it contains much that is not readable in the rubbing. All this, as well as a number of misreadings, has been given in the footnotes to the edition with the signature *V. G. O.*—[G. B.]

lines have been half or entirely effaced,[2] the injured spots becoming larger and larger towards the end of the inscription.

The workmanship is good. In the first line some of the *anusvâras* have been made highly ornamental, being surrounded by three semi-circles, to the uppermost of which a stroke resembling a *mâtrâ* is attached. At the end there are two signs of good omen, the second of which is a Svastika. The name of the first is not known to me. It consists of an oblong with two small circles at the top and one in the centre and a triangle attached below. The characters are ordinary Devanâgarî of the 13th century. It must be noted that *va* does duty for *ba* and *va*, and that the groups like *jjy*, *ttva*, *ddya* are invariably spelt *jy*, *tva*, and *dya*. In verse 45 we have the curious word *Gûrjarâtrâḥ* corresponding to the modern *Gujarât*. In my opinion it has been coined out of the latter just like *Suratrâṇa* out of *Sultan* and *Garjanaka* out of *Ghaznav*. *Gujarât* itself is probably a hybrid formation, the Arabic collective affix *ât*, being added to the name of the Gurjara or Gujar clan.

The contents of the inscription, which, with the exception of the first and last words, is throughout metrical, are as follows :—

(1) A *maṅgala*, verses 1-3, the first two being addressed to Śiva, identified with the supreme Brahma.

(2) A eulogy of the temple and town of Somanâtha, which the Moon founded in order to escape from the intolerable disease of consumption, verses 4-5.

(3) A eulogy of certain members of the Vastrâkula race and of the Chaulukya kings of Aṇhilvâḍ, verses 6-25.

(4) A eulogy of Śrîdhara, the representative of the Vastrâkula family in Vikrama Saṁvat 1273, who built several temples at Devapattana, verses 26-51.

(5) A eulogy of an ascetic, Vimalaśiva (?), who seems to have been the spiritual head of the Śaivas or priest of the temple, verses 52-57.

(6) A notice of the author of the poem, whose name is lost, a prayer for the duration of the new temples and a notice of their architect (name lost) verses 58-60 and the date.

The eulogy of the Chaulukya kings teaches us nothing new. They are all there from Mûlarâja I. to Bhîmadeva II. with the exception of Bhîmadeva I., whose name has been lost by a break in the first Pâda of verse 16. Their description is almost entirely conventional. The only historical fact mentioned (verse 23) is that Bhîmadeva II. built a *Someśvaramaṇḍapa*, or a hall connected with the temple of Śiva, which bore the name Meghadhvani. The description of the Vastrâkula family possesses greater interest. Verse 7 informs us that its Vedic gôtra was that of Śâṇḍilya, and that its home was Nagara, *i.e.* Vaḍnagar in northern Gujarât. To this race belonged Ûyâbhaṭṭa (verses 7-8) a pious astrologer, through whose benedictions king Mûla, *i.e.* Mûlaraja, I., enjoyed, untroubled by foes, for a long time his kingdom, which might raise envy in Indra's breast. Possibly this may mean that Ûyâbhatta was Mûlarâja's Joshi or court-astrologer. This man had three sons, Mâdhava, Lûla and Bhâbha, whom the king charged with the supervision of his charities and commissioned to look after the digging of square and round wells and tanks as well as after the erection of houses of

[2] Those letters, which are very faint or doubtful, have been enclosed between brackets.—[G. B.]

refuge, colleges, temples and alms-houses, gilt flagstaffs, arches, markets, towns, villages, drinking-fountains and halls (verses 9-10). King Châmuṇḍa continued to show them favour and bestowed "the village of Kanheśvara on the great councillor (*mahâmantrin*) Mâdhava," "his father's friend" (verse 12). The line of the Vastrâkulas was continued further through the offspring of Ûyâbhaṭṭa's second son, Lûla. The latter had a son, called Bhâbha or also Lûla(?) (verse 24), who was a friend of King Bhîmadeva I. Bhâbha-Lûla begat Śobha, "the dear friend of him who was called Jayasiṁha" (verse 25). His son Valla became an official (*sachiva*) under Kumârapâla (verse 25) and married Rohiṇî. "She bore to him Śrîdhara, who caused his race to unfold just as the moon makes the night-lotuses open their blossoms" (verse 26), and "was honoured among the officials of illustrious King Bhîma," *i.e.* of Bhîmadeva II. (verse 27). The poet then goes on to lavish the most extravagant praises on this person with which are mixed a few apparently historical statements. Verse 40 inform us that Śrîdhara was much married and had three wives, Sâvitrî, Lakshmî and Saubhâgyadevî. According to verse 42: "He quickly made again stable by the power of his *mantra* (*i.e.* his political wisdom or charms) the country, that had been shaken by the multitude of the [*impetuous*] war elephants of Mâlvâ resembling a forest of dark Tamâla trees, and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power."

From this statement it would appear that he somehow assisted his sovereign to get over the troubles with King Arjunavarman, who some time before A.D. 1216 effected the *bhaṅga* of Gujarât, and that he was governor of Devapattana. The latter point seems to be hinted at also in the next following verse, where it is asserted that "Śrîdhara the pride of the fort[3] made like to much grass the host of heroic Hammîra, that moved like the high rising waves of the ocean which on the dissolution of the world inundate the shores,—that smashed the hills by the impetus of the mere movement of its feet and that split in twain the circle of the earth."

"Heroic Hammîra" is probably one of the Musalman generals, who more than once attacked and temporarily conquered Gujarât during Bhîmadeva's reign. How great and important these successes in politics and war really were, must remain doubtful, as a little goes a long way with the composers of *Praśastis*. Verse 44 informs us that Śrîdhara built in Somnâthpâtan two temples, at Rohiṇisvâmin, sacred to Vishṇu, in memory of his mother and a temple of Śiva, called after his father Valla. The remaining verses are so badly mutilated that it is impossible to speak with any certainty as to their contents. The date Vikrama Saṁvat 1273, Vaiśâkha śudi 4 Friday corresponds, according to Professor Jacobi's Tables (*ante*, volume I, p. 403, ff.) to Friday, April 22, A.D. 1216.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. — — —: शिवाय ॥
मनोमन्थादिभूम्यंततत्वमालावलंबनं ।
उपास्महे परं तत्वं पंचकृत्यैककारणं ॥ १ [॥*][1]
वियद्वायुर्वह्निर्जलमवनिरिंदुर्दिनकर-
स्त्रिदाधारश्चेति त्रिभुवनमिदं यन्मयमभूत् ।
स वः श्रेयो देया-

[3] Or, possibly, "he whose pride was the fort."

Restore ॐ नमः शिवाय । Metre, Anushṭubh.

L. 2. — — — — रनाथ: सुरनदी
सरूपां बिभ्राण: शिरसि गिरिजाक्षेपविषय: ॥ २ [॥*5]
पुष्णातु स्फुरदभ्रविभ्रमभृत: कृष्णस्य वक्षस्थल-
प्रेंखत्कौस्तुभकांतिभि: कवचिता लक्ष्मीकटाक्षावलि: ।
या संभोगभरालसा तनुत-

„ 3. — — जन्यविन्यासभू-
र्दारिद्रद्रुमदावपावकशिखाकारानिशं व: श्रियं ॥ ३ [॥*][6]
श्रीसोमनाथायतनस्य रेखा भूमेरिवोर्द्धांगुलिरत्र भाति ।
अनन्यसाधारणशोभमेतत्पुरं पुरारेरिति सूचयंती ॥ ४ [॥*][7]
महीवदनपंकजं भुवन-

„ 4. — — भूषाविधि-
र्निधि: सकलसंपदां त्रिपुरवैरिण: सम्मतं ।
तदेतदतिदु:सहक्षयविनाशसिद्धौ पुरा
शशांकरचितं पुरं जयति वारिधे: सन्निधौ ॥ ५ [॥*][8]
अस्ति स्वस्तिमदंबुजासननिभैरध्यासितं यज्वभि-
र्धूमध्यामलिता-

„ 5. — लांबरतलं स्थानं त्रयीकेलिभू: ।
अभ्यर्थ्य द्विजपुंगवान्नगरमित्यर्द्धेंदुचूडामणि: ।
प्रादादष्टकुलान्वयापरचतु:षष्ट्यस्तथुष्टैश्च यत् ॥ ६ [॥*][9]
शांडिल्यात्योदयवंशाशकेतुर्गोत्रं ख्यातं नाम वस्त्राकुलं यत् ।
कथा-

„ 6. — द्वा देवयुस्तत्र जज्ञे दैवज्ञत्वं यस्य सान्वर्थमासीत् ॥ ७ [॥*][10]
यदीयाशीर्वादैरमरपतिकार्प्पण्यजनकं
भुनक्ति स्वायत्तं निहतरिपु राज्यं चिरतरं ।
निहत्य चापोत्कटानणहिलपुरे मूलनृपति:
प्रभुत्वं तत्पुत्रेष्वकृत सुकृतार्थव्यवसितं ॥ ८ [॥*][11]
गंगाप्रवाह-

„ 7. प्रतिमा बभूवुस्तस्यात्मजा माधवलूलभाभा: ।
ते मूलराजेन पुरस्कृताश्च भगीरथेनेव यशोऽवतंसा: ॥ ९ [॥*][12]
वापीकूपतडागकुट्टिममठप्रासादसत्राश्रयान्
सौवर्णध्वजतोरणापणपुरग्रामप्रपामंडपान् ।
कीर्त्तिश्रीसुकृतप्रदानरप-

[5] Metre Śikhariṇī.— Restore देवापगमसृण°.—[V. G. O.] °क्षेप-विषया erroneously.—[V. G. O.]

[6] Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.— Restore तनुवदि सौभग्य°.—[V. G. O

[7] Metre, Upajāti.—Read °वीतांशुभि°.

[8] Metre, Pṛithvī.—Restore सुचयमाप्त°.—[V. G. O.]

[9] Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Restore °जातविलासा°.—*Dele* stop after °चूडामणि:

[10] Metre, Śālinī.—Restore कथाऽभूत्;—कथा(थ)च erroneously —[V. G. O.

[11] Metre, Śikhariṇī.

[12] Metre, Upajāti.—*Dele* Avagraha in यशोवतंसा:

L. 8. त: श्रीमूलराजस्त्रिभि-
स्तैरश्वासनिभैर्व्यधापयदयं चौलुक्यचूडामणि: ॥ १० [॥*][13]
यद्यात्रासु तुरंगमोद्धुरखुरक्षुण्णक्षमामंडल-
क्षोदच्छन्नदिगंतमंवरमभूदेकातपत्राकृति ।
आशाकुंजरकर्णकोटरतटीरण्य-
,, 9. च्चगंडोपला-
न्भिंदान: पटहध्वनि: क्षितिधरश्रेणीषु वभ्राम च ॥ ११ [॥*][14]
तस्मिन्भूभुजि नाकनायकसभामध्यासिते भूपति:
प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालशैलकुलिशश्चामुंडराजो ऽ भवत्
प्रीत्या ग्रामवरं ददौ निजपितुर्मित्रा-
,, 10. य कन्हेश्वरं
य: श्रीमाधवनामधयकृतिने तस्मै महामंत्रिणे ॥ १२ [॥*][15]
यस्योत्तुंगतुरंगतांडवभव: पांशूत्कर: सैनिक:
स्व:सीमासु मरुद्गणाभयमहावप्रप्रकारोभवत् ।
शक्रेणासुर —[— कप्रशमनं दृष्ट्वातितुष्टा-
,, 11. त्मना
नि:शंकं निदधे शचीकुचतटे चेतश्चिरेण ध्रुवं ॥ १३ [॥*][16]
तस्यात्मजस्तदनु दुर्लभराजनामा
यस्यारिराजमकरध्वजशंकराख्या ।
पृथ्वीं वभार परिपंथि — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — णितभद्रपीठ: ॥ १४ [॥*][17]
तदनु तदनु-
,, 12. जोभूद्वल्लभो भूर्भुव:स्व-
स्त्रितयपठितकीर्त्तिर्मूर्त्तिमद्विक्रमश्री: ।
यदरिनृपपुरेषु स्थूलमुक्ताफलांका
मृगपतिपदपंक्तिर्लक्ष्यते चत्वरेषु ॥ १५ [॥*][18]
क्षोणीचक्रैकशक्रे — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — प्रेंखत्प्रतापप्रतिहतनि-
,, 13. खिलारातिराजन्यसैन्य: ।
तस्मिन् देवांगनानाविविडतरपरीरंभभाजि क्षितीशे
कर्ण: कीर्त्याभियातिर्भुवमभृत भुजे भोगिन्द्रस्मसरेण ॥ १६ [॥*][19]
तस्मिन्न — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — रभूज्जयसिंहदेव: ।

यस्य चपाक-

[13] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Read °नरपति: .—[V. G. O.]

[14] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Read °क्षुण्ण°.—[V. G. O.] कीतर° erroneously.—[V. G. O.]

[15] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.— कन्देश्वरे erroneously.—[V. G. O.]

[16] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—शक्रेणासुरशौटिक°.—[V. G. O.] शौटिक° to be read.

[17] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.—परिपंथिशिर:किरीटरत्नघृतिस्फुरित शोभित° [V. G. O.], which is against the metre.

[18] Metre, Mâlinî.—Read स्थूलमुक्ताफलांका.—[V. G. O.]

[19] Metre, Sragdharâ.—V. G. O. reads after °शक्रे [मृत — — — — — चंद्रकांते — — चे ।]. Read °भस्मरेण.—[V. G. O.]. The same corrects erroneously कर्णोनित्या°.

L. 14. रकप्रतिमल्लमूर्त्तिः
कीर्त्तिर्जगत्सु नरिनर्त्ति नटांगनेव ॥ १७ [॥*][20]
पाणौकृत्य जयश्रियं क्षितिभुजामग्रे समग्रां मही-
मेकच्छत्रपरिच्छदां विदधता वीरेण वि—रितः ।
येनारातिनृपा— — — — — — — — — वृढाभिर्भृशं
संधुक्ष्य क्षुभि-
„ 15. तौर्वसंनिभसमुत्क्षेपः प्रतापानलः ॥ १८ [॥*][21]
तस्मिन्नुपेंद्रत्वमनुप्रवृत्ते त्रैलोक्यरक्षाक्षमविक्रमांकः ॥
लोकंपृणैरात्मगुणैरलंघ्यः कुमारपालः प्रबभूव भूपः ॥ १९ ॥ *][22]
यदरि — — — — — — — — ास—ात-
प्रस्मरपटुकी-
„ 16. लालीढदिक्कः प्रतापः ।
कथयति घनफेनस्फारकल्लोललोलं
जलनिधिजलमद्याप्युत्पतिष्णु प्रकामं ॥ २० [॥ *][23]
आखंडलप्राङ्गणिके च तस्मिन् भुवं बभाराजयदेव — — ।
— — — — — — तत्प्रकांडानुवाप यो
„ 17. नैगमधर्मवृत्तान् ॥ २१ [२१*][24]
यत्खड्गधाराजलमग्ननानानृपेंद्रविक्रांतियशःप्रशस्तिः ।
बभ्राज तत्पुष्करमालिकेव श्रीमूलराजस्तदनूदियाय ॥ २२ [*][25]
[तस्यानुजन्मा जयति क्षितीशः]श्रीभीमदेवः प्रथितप्रतापः ;
अ-
„ 18. कारि सोमेश्वरमंडपोयं येनाऽत्र मेघध्वनिनामधेयः ॥ २३ [॥ *][26]
लूलात्मजः समजनिष्ट विशिष्टमान्यो
भाभाख्यया सुभटभीमनृपस्य मित्रं [।]
लूला — — — वजीवन — — — —
— — — — — पतिसभार्सवपूर्णचंद्रः ॥
„ 19. २४ [॥*।
तस्याभवद्भुवनमंडलमंडनाय
शोभाभिधः प्रियसुहृज्जयसिंहनाम्नः ।
यस्यात्मजः सचिवतामधिगम्य वल्लः
स[म्मान]यां सुचिरमास कुमारपालं ॥ २५ [॥ *][28]
अथोप — — — — — — — — हिणी-
सुमाभिवेशः कम-

[20] Metre, Vasantatilakâ. —V. G. O. reads after तस्मिन्न-[सप्तभुवनासि जय — — —]; read चपाकरकर.—[V. G. O.]

[21] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. —V. G. O. reads त्रिस्ता(स्मा)त्त्रिवः. नृपा .— — — — र— वि — — —'

[22] Metre, Upajâti.

[23] Metre, Mâlinî.—यदरिपुरेषु व्याघ्रविवासवात°.—[V. G. O.]

[24] Metre, Upajâti.—°राजयदेवभूपः । उच्चारयन्नूपवक्°.—[V. G. O.]

[25] Metre, Upajâti.

[26] Metre, Upajâti.—The first Pâda is very indistinct.

[27] Metre. Vasantatilakâ.—लूलाख[स्य]या तु भवजीवनपूर्वकुंभः श्रीभीमभूप°.—[V. G. O.] The same corrects लूलात्मजः to मूलात्मजः।

[28] Metre, first three Pâdas Vasantatilakâ. सोचर stands at the end of the inscription with the figure 19 added.

L. 20. लामिवाच्युत:।
अजायतास्यां कुलकैरवाकर-
प्रबोधक: श्रीधरनामचंद्रमा : २६ [॥ *][29]
क्षीरोदपूरपरिपांडुरपुण्यकीर्त्ति-
र्नीरोगमेष पुरु — — षमातनोति।
— — — — — — — — — — नमंत्रशक्ति:
श्रीभीमभू-
,, 21. पतिनियोगिजनैकमान्य: २७ [॥ *][30]
आशी:परंपरा सेयमूयाभट्टस्य तायते [।]
चौलुक्यवस्त्वाकुलयोराकल्पं प्रीतिरचता ॥ २८ [॥*][31]
कांत्या चंद्रति तेजसा — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — त्तानपदाब्जजत्यखि-
,, 22. लसंपत्त्या धनाध्यत्यति।
[वृत्त्या] सागरति प्रभावविधिना नित्यं विरंचत्यसौ
कीर्त्त्या रामति रूपसंदरतया कंदर्प्पति श्रीधर :॥ २९ [॥ *][32]
नि:सीमसं — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — गुणाभनिबद्ध:।
सौजन्यनी-
,, 23. रनिधिरुन्नतसत्वसीमा
जागर्त्ति चास्य हृदये पुरुष: पुराण:॥ ३० [॥ *][33]
श्रीधरोपि न वै कुंठ: सर्वज्ञोपि न नास्तिवित्।
ईश्वरोपि न कामारिरि — — — — — — — — [॥ ३१ ॥ *][34]
त[त्वानिशं विबुध]पादपकामधेनु-
मुख्या:स-
,, 24. मस्तजनवांछितदा भवंतु।
किंत्वस्य सत्यभयदानवशंवदत्व-
विस्मेरवक्त्रविनयप्रमुखा विशेषा:॥ ३२ [॥ *][35]
जंबालस्तुहिनायते [पिकततिः श्रीराजहंसायते]
[कालिंदी] — — दायते हरगल: क्षीरोदवेला-
,, 25. यते।
शौरि: सीरधरायते ऽ जनगिरि: प्रालेयशैलायते
यत्कीर्त्या सुपयस्यते च्छितिगवी राहु: शशांकायते॥ ३३ [*][36]
निर्माल्यं [चंद्रदेवो] — — — — — — — — — — — — —
क्षीरोद: पादशौचाम्-

[29] Metre, Vaṁśasthâ.—चचोपयेमे दयितां च रोहिणी.—[V. G. O.]

[30] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.—पुरुषायुषमा°,—भूपाखराजपरिगतजमंत्र°.—[V. G. O.]

[31] Metre, Anushṭubh, सेयंप्रयामूद्भवतायते (नव्याभूदिव दृश्यते).—[V. G. O.]

[32] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—मुक्तौत्तानपदा°.—[V. G. O.]

[33] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.—नि:सीमसंपदुदयैकनिधानवित्तरा-कल्पमानजननागुरु°.—[V. G. O.]

[34] Metre, Anushṭubh.—°रिंद्रोपि न च इवरा.—[V. G. O.]

[35] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[36] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—कालिंदी जलदायते.—[V. G. O.]

L. 26. तमचलपतिर्दंहसंवाहपंकः ।

उच्छिष्टं पांचजन्यं सुरसरिदमलस्वेदतोयोदयश्री-

रित्येवं यस्य कीर्त्तं स्वयमकृत नुतिं सोम — — — — [२४ *][37]

— — — — — — — — सीं त्रिलोकीमालोक्य

,, 27. संकीर्णनिवासमस्याः [*]

वेधा विलक्ष स्तुतिमाततान तवास्ति नान्या सदृशीति नूनं ॥ २५ [॥ *][38]

असौ वीरो दान्तः सुचरितपरिस्पंदसुभगः

— — — — — — परिणवगिरां कोपि सुकृती [।]

अमुं पूर्वं ज-

,, 28. न्यखिलगुणविस्तारमधुरं

नुनाव स्वच्छंदं विमलसिव ०ाल्मीकिरसकृत् ॥ २६ [॥ *][39]

यदीयगुणवर्णनश्रवणकौतुकोच्छेदया ।

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — गमा ।

मनः किमिव रज्यते-

,, 29. नुचितवंदिभिर्वंधस-

स्तदस्य कविमानिभिर्न च चरित्रमुद्योतते ॥ २७ [॥ *][40]

दिग्दंतावलकर्णतालविलसत्तत्कुंभरंगांगणे

यत्कीर्त्ति[र्मदमत्त — — — — — — — — — नृत्यति[। *]

रोदःकंदरपूरण-

,, 30. प्रणयिनो निःशंकमात्मभरि-

र्भिंदंती तमसां कुलं कलिमलप्रध्वंसबद्धोत्सवा ॥ २८ [॥*][41]

लोकालोकालवाला जलनिधिसलिलासिक्त[मुक्ता वहंती]

[शंभोर्मूर्द्धा]वलंबिन्यखिलगुणमयै-

,, 31. रंकुरैः कीर्त्तिवल्ली

यस्य प्रालेयभानुप्रावकचकुसुमोदारतारापरागै-

र्दिक्चक्रं व्यापयंती जयति फणिपतिप्रांशुमूला जगत्यां ॥ ३९ [॥*][42]

— — — — — सावित्रीलक्ष्मीसौभाग्यदेव्याख्याः [।*]

,, 32. इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाख्येया यद्वदीशस्य शक्तयः ॥ ४० [॥*][43]

ताभिर्भुवनवंद्याभिः संध्याभिरिव वासरः [।]

[श्रीधरः शोभते शश्वल्लोकव्याप्येकदीपकः ॥ ४१]

— — — [मालवतमाल]वनायमान-

सेनागज-

,, 33. प्रकरभंगुरितां भुवं यः [।*]

[भू]यः स्थिरां सपदि मंत्रबलेन कृत्वा

[37] Metre, Sragdharâ.—चद्रदेवी रघुपतिरचितः सेतुबंधः प्रवाली —[V. G. O.]; कीर्त्तं: - - - सोमनाथो ऽ तिप्रह— [V. G. O.]

[38] Metre, Upajâti.—(यत्कीर्त्यानाम्) हयसौ (सि) त्रिलोकीमालो°.—[V. G. O.] Read विलक्षः—

[39] Metre, Śikhariṇî.

[40] Metre, Pṛithvî.— — — कमल— — वाग्मी — — लयता — मिगमान्.—[V. G. O.] Read °मुद्द्योतते.

[41] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—°मत्त(वारणनिनादवसंपदा).—[V. G. O.]

[42] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[43] Metre, Anushṭubh (तस्य पत्न्यस्तु) सावित्री°.—[V. G. O.]

श्रीदेवपत्तनमपालयदात्मशक्त्या ॥ ४२ [॥*][44]
पलयजलधिवेलोल्लोलकल्लोललोलं
— — — — — — — — — — — — संपिष्टशैलं [।×]
दलितधरणि-
L. 34. चक्रं वीरहंमीरचक्रं
बहुतृणमकरोद्यः श्रीधरो दुर्गदर्पः ॥ ४३ [।*][45]
मातुः कैवल्यहेतोर्मुररिपुभवनं रोहिणीस्वामिनाम्ना
— कैशवाद्यः [।*]
नाम्ना ता-
„ 35. तस्य तद्वच्छिवभवनमपि — — — — — — — —
[धाम] श्रीमच्छिवस्य प्रतिहतदुरितं कारितं भूरिशोभं ॥ ४४ [॥*][46]
वल्लो दौवारिकोभूद — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — गूर्जराज्ञा निजनिपुण-
„ 36. गुणै. सूनुना —⏑— — — [।*]
[शैने[न्द्र] श्रीधरीयो न्द्र]रनगरपदे योजितस्तस्य नाम्ना
प्रासादः श्रीधरेणाप्ययमवनिजयः कारितः — — — [४५॥*][47]
— — — — — — — — — — — — धनस्तोमाद्यमत्कारिणः
„ 37. किंचिच्छ्रोनृपनायिकाभिरभित — —ी— — — — — — [।×]
गीर्वाणाधिपचा[पसा]दरमहारत्नस्फुरज्योतिषां -
नैते मेरुमहीधर — — — — — — — — — — — — [॥४६॥*][48]
ि— — — मा—द्विजवृद्धिभाजः
„ 38. समानदाया सगुणाः — — — [।*]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — माहेश्वरव्याकरणोपमानाः ॥ ४७ [।*][49]
— [।*]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — वैशेषिका इव ॥
„ 39. ॥४८ [॥ *][50]
चित्तवृत्ति — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [। *]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — सुनयो यथा ४९ [॥ *][51]
वि — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — र्गाः
सततविहित-
40. धूपोद्गतधा — — — — [। *]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — देते ॥ ५० [॥ *][52]
— — — — — — — [कथाश्रयाय मठं वि — — — — — — — — — — [।]
— चेतः ॥ ५१ [॥*][53]
षथ क-

[44] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.—चत्तानमालवत°.—[V. G. O.] Probably चत्ताव° to be read. °भंगुरितांबुदं य। सूर्यः स्थिरा(रं) erroneously—[V. G. O.]

[45] Metre, Mâlinî.—चरत्वधरत्वमालापातसंपिष्ट°—[V. G. O.]

[46] Metre, Sragdharâ.—नूनं— — — — — — — — — — मभितो मंदिरं कै°—[V. G. O];—°मपि — — — — — जयाख्यं [V. G. O.]

[47] Metre, Sragdharâ.—°भूदरिगिरि — — — — — — — — — दाक्षष्टा गुर्ज°—[V. G. O]; °गुणैः Om—[V. G. O.]; गुरुनाम्नाभिमम्यं कारितः शंकरस्य.—[V. G. O.]

[48] Metre, Sârdûlavikrîḍita °पद्मतधन° ; तः—क्रौयकुच्चांतरा °महीधरः ब्रमिद्धामामाकार — — [V. G. O.]

[49] Metre, Upajâti.—द्विजौघमभीभूषित°; तारका माहेश्वर° —[V. G. O.]

[50] Metre, Anushṭubh.—Beginning of first line, चायोद्या: केपिसुधा वैश्र°;—[V. G. O.]

[51] Metre, Anushṭubh.

[52] Metre, Mâlinî. विभवा ; भ्यवर्गाः घाराम°.—[V. G. O.]

[53] Metre, Trishṭubh—एषां सुसिद्धाय कथाश्रयाय मठं विधाय स्वपदेन यत्ता ।—[V. G. O.]

L. 41. थमवि दैवादागत: — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — श्रीधरेण [। *]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — जलधि — — — — — — — — — — — [॥ ५२ ॥ *][54]
— — — — — — — — — भूपालकुलसद्रु-
„ 42. द: [। *]
जीमूतवाहन — — — — — — — — — — — — [॥ ५३ ॥ *][55]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [। *]
— — — — — — पावनो यतिपति-
„ 43. यंस्यांह्रिपूजावि[धि:]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ॥ ५४ [।*][56]
श्री — — — — दूरे प्रसरपरिणतं — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — चर्चितकमतमहाव्याल-
, 44. संरंभसिंधु: [। *]
— —
— — — — [तदादिर्विमलशिवसुनि]र्ज्ञाननीयो [नवेंदु:] ॥ ५५ [॥ *][57]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — च पादप-
„ 45. द्मौ [।*]
अंगीकृता — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [॥ ५६ ॥ *][58]
— — — — — — — — — — — — —
[नि:शेषपार्षंडिमृणालषंड:]
[भक्त्यास्य तुष्ट: प्रतिपन्नदर्प्प:]
[प्रशस्तिमेतामयमुद्दधार] ॥ ५७ [॥ *][59]
याव-
„ 46. द्विष्णोरुरसि — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [। *]
[यावद्वाणी विहरतिवि] — — — — — — — — — —
ता — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ॥ [५७ [॥*][60]
[एते] — — — — वेन प्रासादा:
„ 47. सूत्रिता:शुभा: ।
लिखि — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [॥ ६० ॥ *]
श्रीमद्विक्रमनृपसंवत् १२७३ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ४ शुक्रे [नि:पा]दितमितिशिवमस्तु ॥ छ ॥
मंगलं महाश्री:॥

[54] °गत: (श्रीनिवासी); प्रविनृपतिमतं य: एंचितमत्र—(third pâda) ; मिवजलधि— [V. G. O.] Metre, Mâlinî

[55] Metre, Anushṭubh.—

[56] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. — — — — — — दर्पिपरि — — — सचिव: सुधी: सचिवा — — — कवीजित —[V. G. O.]

[57] Metre, Sragdharâ.— दन्द्रदूरे°; चर्चितमत°.—[V. G. O.]

[58] Metre, Vasantatilakâ ?—वीतचपादपद्मौ-[V. G.O.]

[59] Metre, Upajâti. At the end of pâda 1 प्रसूत—[V. G. O]

[60] Mandâkrántâ विहरति विधुर्वंशपिकांतराहंता — — — वचयमखिलं मंडयंती यमस्त—[V. G. O.]

XXXVI.—AŚOKA'S ROCK EDICTS ACCORDING TO THE GIRNAR, SHÂHBÂZGARHÎ, KÂLSÎ AND MANSEHRA VERSIONS.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the four full versions of the Rock Edicts the following materials have been used:—

(1) *Girnár*, a new most excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess during the working season 1887-1888, from which the accompanying facsimiles have been prepared.

(2) *Sháhbázgarhí*, a very fine estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in 1886,[1] and a second estampage (B) of Edicts XIII—XIV, prepared by him in 1888. Both have been collated afresh with the text, published formerly.

(3) *Mansehra*, an estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in March 1887,[2] as well as a second one (B) prepared by Ghulam Husain in 1889. The latter has been collated for all those passages where its state promised good results.

(4) *Kálsí*, an excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in October 1887, according to which the accompanying facsimile has been prepared. With respect to the latter it must be noted that the readings of the transcript occasionally, though rarely, differ. And it must be borne in mind that in difficult passages the reverse of the estampage has been consulted, where the letters appear in high relievo and where sometimes those superficially damaged on the obverse are perfectly plain. In the most important cases the discrepancies between the facsimile and the transcript have been pointed out in the notes.

The gain which the new collations yield for the texts is most considerable in the case of the Kâlsî version. There a good many alterations had to be made, which mostly however refer to very minute points, such as *á*-strokes, Anusvâras and the like. In some cases new word-forms have come out, but only very little that affects the sense. The new transcript gives for this version also the grouping of the words, indicating by short strokes between the words, those which have been written continuously by the scribe, and there are some cases where the grouping is important for the translation. Thus, in Edict V, l. 14, the position of the syllables *desaṁ-pi hápesati*, proves that we have to transliterate *deśam api hápayishyati*, not *deśam apihápayishyati*. Unfortunately the grouping becomes irregular in the more negligently written lower portions of the inscription where in some lines vertical strokes, sometimes placed wrongly, have been used to show which words belong together. Next, the new estampage B has furnished some valuable new readings for the thirteenth Edict of Shâhbâzgarhi version. Quite a number of new letters, not recognisable in the earlier estampage or not included owing to the shortness of the sheets, are readable on Ghulam Husain's squeeze B. of the Mansehra version. It is now perfectly certain that the Mansehra version is most closely related in its wording to that of Kâlsî.

[1] This was used for my German article in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 128ff.

[2] Also used for my German articles in the *Zeitsch. der D. M. Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 274, and XLIV, p. 702ff.

The new facsimiles of the Girnâr and Kâlsî versions, which give the letters in rather larger size than any others published before, are also very instructive for the palæography of the 3rd century B.C. Everybody who pays even slight attention to the alphabet, will now see that the Southern Maurya characters certainly do show a good many various forms, and among them cursive ones or such as are usually considered marks of later periods. Thus, an initial *a*, consisting of two verticals and a crossbar or of a curved line open to the left, and a vertical on the right connected by a crossbar, occurs occasionally in the Kâlsî inscription (see, *e.g.*, Ed. XIII. 2, l. 15 *pápotá me a*). The second form is observable also in the Indo-Skythic documents, and perhaps is the parent of the modern Devanâgarî *a* of Western India. Andhra forms are found in *ka*, which has the dagger-like form, (see, *e.g.*, Kâlsî Ed. IV, l. 11, *putá-cha kaṁ.*); in *chha*, which sometimes consists of two circles with a vertical line standing on the point of the junction (*e.g.*, Kâlsî Ed. V, l. 14, *kachhati*) in *ja*, which is angular (*e.g.*, Girnâr Edict IX, l. 1, *rájá*); in *ḍa*, which is round in *atapáśaṁḍe*, Kâlsî Ed. XII, l. 31, and occasionally shows acute angles in other words of the same line; in *ta*, which very commonly has a rounded left-hand limb, both in the Girnâr and in the Kâlsî inscriptions; in *va*, which is triangular in the superscribed *vijaye* Kâlsî Ed. XIII, 2, l. 13. As peculiarities of the vowel-notation commonly observed in the later inscriptions may be noted (1) *á*-strokes running upwards or downwards (see, *e.g.*, Kâlsî Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*, (2) *e*-strokes, slanting downwards, much like the modern *mátrás* (see, *e.g.*, Kâlsî Ed. XIII 1, l. 39, *śatabhága*, and Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*); and (3) a looped *o* in *no hutapuluvá*, (Kâlsî Ed. V, l. 14). Finally, the Anusvâra is occasionally placed above the letter to which it belongs, (see, *e.g.*, the first of *dhaṁmaṁ*, Kâlsî Ed. XII, l. 33, *dhaṁmamahámátá*, Kâlsî Ed. XII, l. 34), and it seems not improbable that the short strokes which sometimes (*e.g.*, in the third syllable of *sálavaḍhi*, Kâlsî Ed. XII, l. 34, and in the second syllable of *śatabhága*, Kâlsî Ed. XIII, 1, l. 39) are attached to the tops of the consonants, in reality are *serifs*. These points, to which others might be added, in my opinion leave no doubt that in Aśoka's times much more developed forms of the Southern alphabet were used in everyday life, which conclusion has an important bearing on the question whether the art of writing had then been newly introduced into India or had been cultivated for a long period. With respect to the Northern or Kharoshṭhî alphabet, it may also be safely asserted that its characters show numerous vacillations.[3]

TRANSCRIPTS.

EDICT I.

Girnár.

fyaṁ dhaṁmalipî devânaṁ priyena [1] Priyadasinâ râñâ lekhâpitâ [:] idha na kiṁ-[2]chi jîvaṁ ârabhitpâ prajûhitayvaṁ [3] na cha samâjo katayvo[.] Bahukaṁ hi dosaṁ [4] samâjamhi pasati

Sháhbázgarhí.

[A]ya[ṁ][4] dhramadipi devana priasa raño likhapitu[:] hida no kichi jive ara[bhi]t.[5] prayuhotave[6] no pi cha samaja kaṭa[va][7][.] [Ba]huka hi dosham sama. sa

[3] For the present I will only point to the introductions of my two articles in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 12 ff, and 276 ff, where some remarks on the Kharoshṭhî *lipi* have been published.

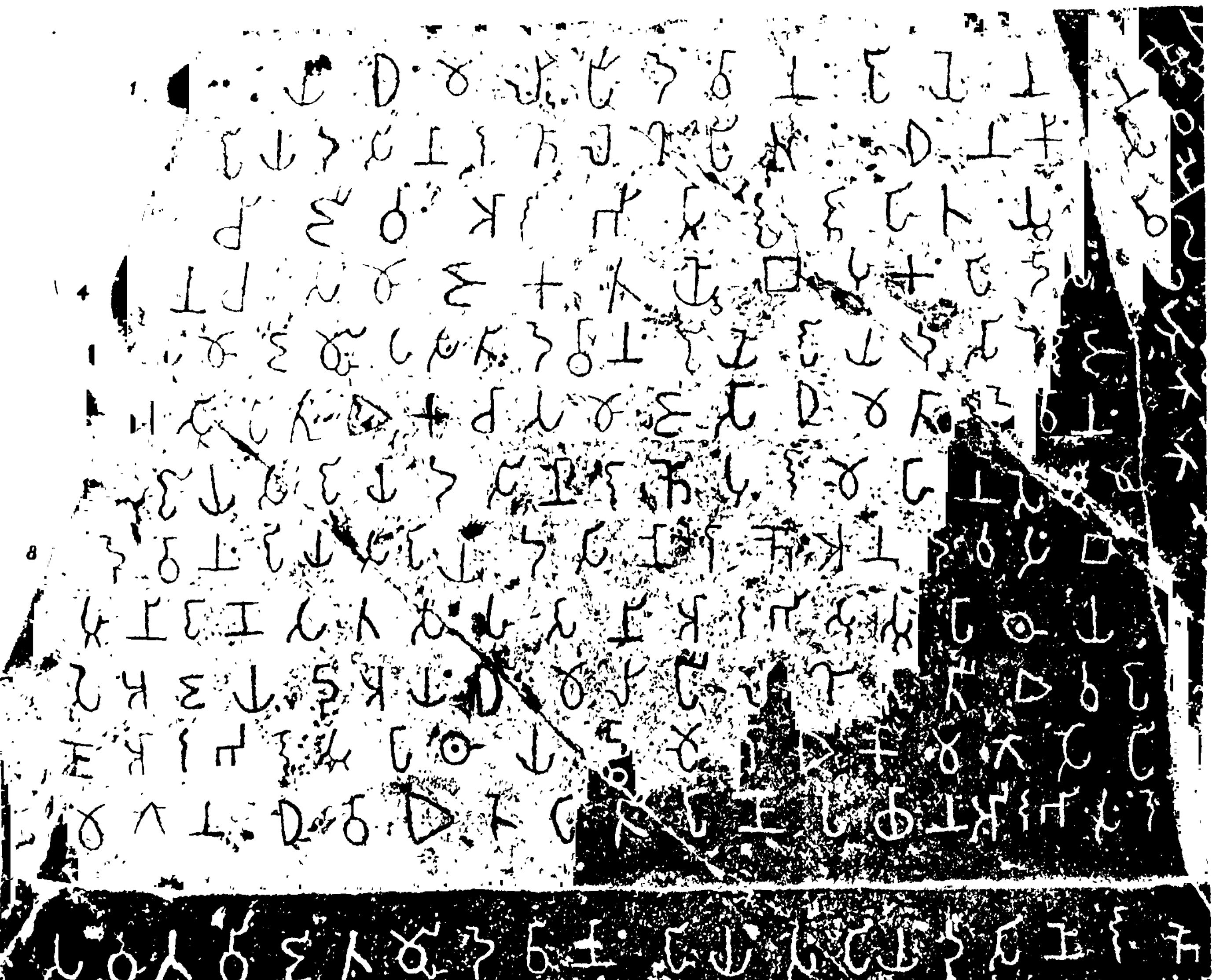
[4] The Anusvâra is probable according to the reverse, but not certain.

[5] Read *arabhitu*; the last vowel has been lost.

[6] The vowel of the second syllable has been placed too high but to read *ye* is not correct.

[7] Possibly *kraṭava*,

GIRNAR AŚOKA EDICTS: No. I.



J Burgess Fecit

Scale: 1-5th.

Girnâr.

devânaṁ priyo Priyadasi râjâ[.5] Asti pi tu ekachâ samâjâ sâdhumatâ devânaṁ [6] priyasa Priyadasino râño[.] Purâ mahânasamhi[10][7]devânaṁ priyasa Priyadasino râño anudivasaṁ ba-[8]hûni prâṇasatasahasrâni ârabhisu sûpâthâya[.9] Se aja yadâ ayaṁ dhammalipî[14] likhitâ tî eva prâ-[10]ṇâ[15] ârabhare sûpâthâya dvo morâ eko mago[.] So pi [11] mago na dhuvo[16][.] Ete pi trî prâṇâ pachhâ na ârabhisare[17].[12]

Shâhbâzgarhî.

devana priy[o] Priadraśi raya d.khati[5][.] Asti pi cha ekatie[9] samaye srestamati devana priasa Priadraśisa raño[.] Pura mahanasasi devanaṁ priasa Priadraśisa raño anudivaso bahuni pra[naśatasa]has[r]ani[11] a[rabb]i[yisu] su-[paṭhay]e[12][.] So ida[n]i yada a[ya][13] [2] dhramadipi likhita tada tra[yo] vo praṇa haṁñamti majura duvi 2 mrugo 1 [.] so pi mrugo no dhruvaṁ[.] Eta pi praṇatrayo pacha na arabhiśaṁti [.]

Mansehra.

Ay[i] [18] dhramadipi [de]vana [pri]yena [Pri]yadra-[śi]na[19] ra. na. ikhapita[:] hida no kichi jiv[e] arabhi[t.] pra[yu]-[1] [ho]taviye no pi cha sama[ja] kaṭaviya[.] Bahuka hi [dosha samajasa[22] deva]naṁ priye Pri[yadraśi ra]ja .kha. [.] Asti pi chu[2] [e]katiya samaja sa[dhu]ma[ta] devana priyasa [Pri]yadraśi[ne][24] rajine[.] Pura maha[nasa]si [devana] pri. sa Pri . . śisa ra-[3]jine anudiva. bahuni praṇaśa-[tasa]hasrani. a[ra].isu supa[th]raye[.] Se[i. ni][25] . . ayi dhrama[dipi li]khita ta[da] ti[ni] ye. praṇani a. bhi. ti du[v]e 2 maju-[4]ra eke 1 m[r]ige[.][27] Se]pi chu]mrige[28] no dhruvaṁ [.] [Etani] pi chu [tini praṇani pacha no arabhi . . [.]

Kâlsî.

Iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi devânaṁ-piyenâ Piyada-sin[â] lekh[it]â [:] hidâ nâ-kichhi[20] jive âlabhi[tu] pajohitaviye [1] no-pi-châ samâje kaṭaviye [.]Bahuk[â]-hi[21] dosâ samâjas[â][23] devânaṁ-piye Piyadasî lâjâ dakhati [.] Athi-pi-châ ekatiyâ sa[m]âja sâdh[u]matâ devânaṁ-piyasâ Piyadasis[â] lâjir [2] Pule-mahânasasi devânaṁ-piyasâ Piyadasisâ lajine anudivasaṁ bahuni pânasahasâni âlabhiyisu supaṭhây[e.] Se-idâni yadâ [iya]ṁ dhaṁmalipi lekhitâ tadâ tiṁni[26] yevâ pânâni âlabhi[ya]ṁti [3] duve majulâ eke mige[.] Se-pi-cha mige no-dhuve[.] Etâni pi-cha[29] tini pânâni no-âlabhiyisaṁti[.]

Edict II.

Girnâr.

Sarvata vijitamhi devânaṁ priyasa Priya-dasino[30] râño[1] evamapi prachaṁtesu yathâ Chodâ Pâdâ Satiyaputo Ketalaputo â Taṁba- [2] paṁṇî Aṁtiyako Yonarâjâ ye vâ pi tasa Aṁtiyakasa sâmîpaṁ[32] [3]

Shâhbâzgarhî.

Savratra vijite devanaṁ priyasa Priyadraśisa ye cha [a]ṁta[31] yatha [Cho]ḍa [3] Paṁḍiya Satiyaputra Keralaputra Taṁbapaṁni Aṁtiyokon nama Yonaraja ye cha aṁñe tasa Aṁtiyokasa samaṁta[ra]jano

[5] The top of the letter *da* has been destroyed and it is impossible to say whether the word was *dekhati* or *dakhati*.

[9] The obverse seems to show *akatie*, while the very thin *e*-stroke is visible on the reverse.

[10] The *sa* has a *serif* which makes it look like *se*. At the end of the line a second *mhi* has been scratched in.

[11] The second *ra*-stroke is not certain.

[12] Possibly *supaṭhraye*.

[13] Possibly *ayaṁ*.

[14] The long *î* is probable, but owing to an abrasion not absolutely certain.

[15] Owing to an abrasion the second *â*-stroke is somewhat abnormal.

[16] Possibly *dhûvo* is to be read.

[17] It is possible to read *ârabhisaṁre*, as there are two deep holes after *sa*. But both are probably accidental.

[18] The last vowel is uncertain, as the upper portion of the apparent *i*-stroke is abnormal and less deep than the lower one. Hence the reading may have been *ayo*.

[19] Only the right half of the *śa* of *Priyadrasina* is visible on the reverse.

[20] Possibly *na* or *no* to be read.

[21] Possibly *bahuka* to be read.

[22] *Dosha samajasa* is very indistinct.

[23] *Samâjasâ* is more probable than *samâjasi*.

[24] The last syllable of *Priyadraśine* is not certain; it may have been *sa*.

[25] *I. ni*, i.e. *idâni* is uncertain; the reading may be *a. n.* i.e. *adhuna*.

[26] The Anusvâra is at least probable.

[27] The *ra*-stroke of *mrige* is not quite certain.

[28] The *ma* has besides the *i*-stroke two little horizontal lines to the right and to the left, which, strictly interpreted, would give the nonsensical form *mruige*. The left one has probably been added by mistake.

[29] *Etâni-pi-cha* is distinct on the reverse of the impression.

[30] Possibly *Piyadasino* is to be read.

[31] Only the lower part of the first sign of *aṁta* has been preserved.

[32] The reverse of the impression shows distinctly that the last syllable is *paṁ*.

Girnâr.

râjâno sarvatra devânaṁ priyasa Priyadasino râño dve chikîchha katâ [4] manusachikîchhâ cha pasuchikîchhâ cha[.] Osudhâni cha yâni manusopagâni cha[34] [5] pasopagâni cha yata yata nâsti sarvatra hârâpitâni cha ropâpitâni cha[34] [6] mûlâni cha phalâni cha yata yata nâsti sarvatra hârâpitâni cha ropâpitâni cha[34] [.7] Paṁthesû kûpâ cha khânâpitâ vrachhâ cha ropâpitâ paribhogâya pasumanusânaṁ[.8]

Shâhbâzgarhî.

savratra[33] devanaṁ priyasa Priyadraśisa raño duvi 2[chiki]sa ki[tra] manuśa[chiki]sa . paśu[chiki]sa cha[.4] [Oshuḍh]ani[35] manuśopakani cha pa[śo]pakani cha yatra yatra nasti savatra har[o]pita[36] cha vuta cha kupa cha khanapita pratibhogaye paśu-manuśanaṁ[.]

Mansehra.

Sa.tra jitasi devana priya[sa Priya]draśisa rajine ye cha aṁta a[tha] [5] [Cho-ḍa] Pa[ṁ]ḍiya[39] Satiya[putr.] Keralaputr[e] . bapaṇi . tiyo[ke] nama[40] Yona. . ye cha . sa . . . . samaṁta raja . . vratra . . . . . . priyasa Priya[dra]śisa rajine [6] duve 2 chikisa kaṭa manuśachi[kisa cha] paśuchikisa cha[.] Osha[ḍhi]ni manu. . ka[ni cha] pa . .-ka[ni cha ya]tra yatra na . . vratra harapi[ta cha] ropapi[ta cha] [.7] [Eva]meva mulani cha phalani cha atra atra nasti . . tra harapita cha ro[papi]ta cha [.] Ma[geshu] ru[chha] . . . pita-[ku] . . . . . tani [pa]ṭibhogaye paśum[a]nuśana[43] [.8]

Kâlsî.

Savatâ[37] vijitasi devânaṁ-piyas[â] Piyadasi[sâ] lâjine ye-cha-aṁtâ athâ Chodâ Paṁ[ḍi]yâ Sâtiyaputo Kelalaputo[38] Taṁbapaṁni [4] [Aṁ]tiyoge-nâma Yonalâjâ ye-châ aṁne tasâ [Aṁ]tiyogasâ sâmaṁtâ lâjâno savatâ devânaṁ-pi[ya]sâ Piyadasisâ lâjine duve chikisakâ[41] kaṭâ manusachikisâ-châ pasuchikisâ-châ[.] Osadhân[i] manusopagâni-châ pasopagânicha a[ta]tâ nathi [5] savatâ hâlâpitâ-châ lopâpitâ-châ [.E]vamevâ mulâni-châ phalâni-châ ata[tâ] nathi savatâ hâlâpitâ-châ lopâpitâ-châ [.] Magesu lukhâni lopitâni udupânâni-châ[42] khânâpitâni paṭibhogâye pasumunisânaṁ [.]

EDICT III.

Girnâr.

Devânaṁ priyo Piyadasi râjâ evaṁ âha[:]dbâdasavâsâbhisitena mayâ idaṁ âñapitaṁ[:1] sarvata vijite mama yutâ cha râjûke cha prâdesike cha paṁchasu paṁchasu vâsesu anusaṁ-[2] yânaṁ niyâtu etâyeva athâya imâya dhaṁmânusasṭiya yathâ añâ-[3]ya pi kaṁmâya [:] sâdhu mâtari cha pitari cha susrûsâ mitâsaṁstutañâtînaṁ[47] bâmhaṇa-[4] samaṇânaṁ sâdhu

Shâhbâzgarhî.

Devanaṁ priyo Priyadraśi raja aha ti [:] [bada]-yavashabhisitena[44] . . . . . . sava.[5] vijite yuta rajuko pradeśik[e] pa[ṁcha]shu pa[ṁcha]shu 5 vash[e]shu anusaṁyanaṁ nik[r]amatu[45] etisa vo karaṇa imisa dhramanuśasti yatha[46] añaye pi kramaye [:] sadhu matapitushu suśrusha mit[r]asaṁst[u]taña-[ti]kanaṁ bramaṇa[śra]maṇa[naṁ] sa. pra. . .

[33] Possibly *savrathra* to be read, as there is a hook above the *ta*, which, however, looks very abnormal.

[34] At the end of each of the lines 5, 6 and 7 the word *cha* has been inserted as a correction.

[35] The first and the third signs of *oshuḍhani* are uncertain; likewise the vowel of the second.

[36] *Haropita* is the apparent reading, but the *o*-stroke may be accidental. The reading *harapita* has, in any case, to be restored.

[37] *Savatâ*, not *savata*, is the reading of the new impression.

[38] The reverse of the new impression makes the two *la* exceedingly probable. It confirms also the curious nominatives in *o*.

[39] The Anusvâra is doubtful.

[40] The first sign of *nama* has erroneously an upstroke to the right of the lower end.

[41] *Chikisakâ* is the distinct reading of the new impression (facsimile *ki*), which also shows that no other sign, but a hole, exists between *kâ* and *kaṭâ*.

[42] *Châ*, not *cha*, is the plain reading of the reverse of the impression.

[43] Possibly *paśumuniśana*.

[44] The first two signs of *badaya*° are indistinct, but the reading *baraya*° seems impossible. Possibly the correct form was *badaśa*°.

[45] The *ra*-stroke of *nikramatu* is not certain.

[46] The *tha* is somewhat abnormal, the upright line being slightly bent.

[47] Read *mitra*°. An *â*-stroke was probably not intended but in its stead the short upward-turned *ra*-stroke.

GIRNAR AŚOKA EDICTS: Nos. II AND III.

II

1

4

8

III

3

5

Scale 1-5th

J. BURGESS FECIT

Edict I.

Ed. II

Ed. V

J Burgess, fecit.

Scale: 3-10ths of original.

W Griggs, lith.

Girnâr.

dânaṁ prânânaṁ sâdhu anâraṁbho apavyayatâ apabhâṁḍatâ sâdhu[.5] Parisâ pi yute âñapayisati gaṇanâyaṁ hetuto cha vyaṁjanato cha[.6]

Shâhbâzgarhî.

[6] apavayata apabha[ṁ]ḍata[48] sadhu[.] Pari[pi][49] yuta[ni ga]ṇanasi anapeśaṁti hetuto cha vañanato cha[.]

Mansehra.

[De]vana priye [P]riyadraśi raja eva aha [:] duva[ḍa]śavashabhisetena[51] me ayaṁ [a]ṇapayi[t]e [:] savratra vijitasi [me]. ta raju. [pra]deśike . chashu paṁ[chashu] 5 vasheshu [9] anusaṁyanaṁ nikrama[ṁ]tu,[54] etaye[55] vaṁ athraye imaye dhramanuśastiye ya . aṁ anaye pi kramane [:] sa . matapi . shu suśru[sha][mi]trasaṁstuta-[10] ñatikanaṁ cha[59] bra[ma]ṇaśramananaṁ sadhu dane praṇana a . rabhe sadhu apa[va]yata[61] apabhaḍa[ta] sadhu[.] Parisha pi cha yutani gaṇanasi [aṇa]payiśati hetu[te] cha viya. [11] nate cha[.]

Kâlsî.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ [he]vaṁ[50]-âhâ [: 6] duvâḍasavasâbhisitena-me iyaṁ âṇapayite[:] savata vijitasi mama yutâ lajuke pâdesike paṁchasu paṁchasu vasesu anus[a]yânaṁ,[52] nikhamaṁtu etâye-vâ athâye imây[e],[53] dhaṁmanusathiyâ[56] yathâ aṁnâye-pi kaṁmâye [:] sâdhu [.7] mâtapitisu[57] sususâ[58] mitasaṁthutanâtikyânaṁ-châ baṁbhaṇasamaṇânaṁ-châ sâdhu dâne[60] pâṇânaṁ anâlaṁbh[e] sâdhu apaviyâtâ[61] apabhaṁḍatâ sâdhu [.] Palisâ-pi-cha yutâ[ni] gaṇanasi anapayisaṁti hetuvatâ-châ viyaṁjanat[e]-cha[.]

Edict IV.

Girnâr.

Atikâtaṁ aṁtaraṁ bahûni vâsasatâni vaḍhito eva prâṇâraṁbho vihiṁsâ cha bhûtânaṁ ñâtîsu [1] asaṁpratipatî brâmhaṇasramaṇâṇaṁ asaṁpratîpatî[66][.] Ta aja devânaṁ priyasa Priyadasino[66] râño [2] dhaṁmacharaṇena bherighoso aho dhaṁmaghoso vimânadasaṇâ cha hastidasaṇâ cha [3] agikhaṁdhâni cha aññâni cha diyvâni rûpâni dasayitpâ janaṁ[.] Yârise bahûhi vâsasatehi [4] na bhûtapuve târise aja vaḍhite devânaṁ priyasa Priyadasino râño dhaṁmânusasṭiyâ anâraṁ-[5] bho prâṇânaṁ avihîsâ[67] bhûtânaṁ ñâtînaṁ saṁpaṭipatî brahmaṇasamaṇânaṁ saṁpaṭipatî mâtari pitari [6] susrusâ thairasusrusâ[.] Esa añe cha bahuvidhe dhaṁma-

Shâhbâzgarhî.

Atikrataṁ aṁtaraṁ bahuni vashaśatani vaḍhito va praṇaraṁbho vihisa cha bhutanaṁ ñatinam [asa]ṁpa[ṭi]pati[63] śramaṇab[r]amaṇanaṁ] [asaṁpraṭi]-pati[64][.] [So aja devanaṁ] priyasa [Pri]ya[draśisa raño] [7] dhramacharaṇena bherig[h]osha aho dhramaghosha vimananaṁ draśanaṁ [ha]stino jotikaṁdhani añani cha divani[65] rupani draśayitu[69]janasa[.] Yadiśa[ṁ][70]bahuhi vashaśatehi na bhutapruve tadiśe aja vaḍhite devanaṁ priyasa Priyadraśisa raño dhraṁmanuśastiya[71] anaram-[bho] p[raṇanaṁ] avihisa bhutanaṁ ñatinaṁ sa[ṁpraṭipati bramaṇa]-[8] śramananaṁ saṁpaṭipati matapitushu [vuḍhanaṁ] suśrusha[.] E[ta]añam cha bahuvidha[ṁ]dhrama-

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[48] The Anusvâra is not certain.

[49] Read *parisha pi*.

[50] *Âhâ*, not *âha*, is the reading of the impression.

[51] The third letter of *duvaḍaśa*° is not certain and may have been *da* or an abnormal *ra*. Perhaps °*abhisitena* to be read.

[52] Possibly *anusaṁyânaṁ* to be read.

[53] Possibly *imâya* to be read.

[54] The Anusvâra is very probable, but not absolutely certain.

[55] The second sign is abnormal and might be read *tra*.

[56] Read *dhaṁmânusathiyâ*.

[57] The last syllable of *mâtapitisu* is distinct on the reverse.

[58] *Susuâ* alone is the possible reading to the reverse of the impression.

[59] *Cha* ought to stand, not before, but after *bramanaśramananaṁ*.

[60] *Dâne*, not *dânaṁ*, is the reading of the impression.

[61] The reverse of the impression decidedly speaks in favour of °*tâ*, not of °*ti*.

[62] The vowel of the third syllable is not certain.

[63] Only the lower portions of the first two signs are distinct; the fourth looks like *thi*.

[64] The first four signs are very indistinct. The same remark applies to the following bracketed words and syllables with exception of the vowel of *so*, of the word *aja* and of the last vowel of *raño*.

[65] The syllable *pa* has been inserted afterwards.

[66] The syllable *da* has been inserted afterwards.

[67] The syllable *hi* has been inserted afterwards.

[68] To the right of the lower end of *da* appears a curve, and the letter is probably the fore-runner of the later *da*, which looks like *tra*.

[69] The reading *daṁśayitu* is not impossible, but a combination of the *ra*-stroke with the upstroke on the left is more probable.

[70] The Anusvâra is not certain.

[71] The form *dhraṁma*°, which occurs also below Ed. X l. 21, seems to be owing to a mixture of the Northern *dhrama*° and the Mâgadhi *dhaṁma*°.

Girnâr.

charaṇe vaḍhite vaḍhayisati cheva devânaṁ priyo [7] Priyadasi râjâ dhaṁma[cha]raṇaṁ idaṁ[.] Putrâ cha potrâ cha prapotrâ cha devânaṁ priyasa Priyadasino râño [8] vaḍhayisaṁti idaṁ dhaṁmacharaṇaṁ âva saṁvaṭakapâ[.] Dhaṁmamhi sîlamhi tisṭaṁto dhaṁmaṁ anusâsisaṁti [.9] Esa hi seṣṭe kamme ya dhaṁmânusâsanaṁ [,] Dhaṁmacharaṇe pi na bhavati asîlasa [.] Ta imamhi athamhi [10] vaḍhî cha ahînî cha sâdhu[.] Etâya athâya idaṁ lekhâpitaṁ [:] imasa athasa vaḍhi yujaṁtu hîni cha[72] [11] mâ lochetayvâ[.] Dbâdasavâsâbhisitena devânaṁ priyena Priyadasinâ râñâ idaṁ lekhâpitaṁ[.12].

Shâhbâzgarhî.

charaṇaṁ vaḍhitaṁ vaḍhiśati chayo devanaṁ priyasa Priyadraśisa raño dhramacharano im. [.] Putra pi cha ku nataro cha pranatika cha devanaṁ priyasa Priyadraśisa ra[ño vaḍhe]śaṁti . ma[charanam imaṁ avakapaṁ dhra]me śi[le cha][73] [9] tistiti dhramaṁ anuśaśiśaṁti [.] Eta h[i sre]ṭh[aṁ] k[r]am[aṁ] ya[m][74] dhra[ma]n[u]śaśanaṁ [.] [Dhrama]charanaṁ pi cha na bhoti aśilasa [ ] So imisa athrasa vaḍhi ahini cha sadhu[ ] Etaye aṭhaye ima[ṁ] dipista [:] imisa athasa vadhi yujaṁt. hini cha ma luche[sh]u [l.] Ba[daya]vasha[bhi]sitena[75] devanaṁ priyena Priyadraśina raña [id]aṁ. naṁ[76] dipa[pi]taṁ [.]

Mansehra.

Atikr[a]taṁ[77] a[ṁ]ta[raṁ][78] bahuni vashaśani vaḍhite vaṁ praṇara[ṁbh]e vi[h]i[sa][79] cha bhutanaṁ ñatina asapa[t]ipati śramanabramaṇanaṁ asaṁpa[ṭi]pati[.12] Se aja devana priyasa Priyadraśine rane dhrama[cha]raṇena bherighoshe aho dhramagoshe[82] vimanadraśana hastine agikaṁdhani aña[ni cha] divani rupani draśeti janasa [.13] [A]diśe bahuhi [va]sha[śatehi na hu]tapruve tadiśe [aja]vaḍhite [de]vana priyasa Priyadraśine rajine dhramanuśastiya anarabhe prananaṁ avihisa bhutana ñatina [14] saṁpaṭipati ba[manaśramaṇana[ṁ] saṁpaṭipati matupitushu suśru[sha] vudhrana suśrusha[.] Eshe añe cha bahuvidhe dhramacharaṇe vaḍhrite[.]Vadhrayiśati yeva devana priye[15] Priyadraśi raja dhramacharana ima[.] Putra pi cha ku natare cha panatika devanaṁ priyasa Priyadraśine rajine pavaḍhayiśaṁti dhramacharana imaṁ ava kapaṁ dhrame śile [cha] [16] [ti]stitu [dhramaṁ] anuśaśisa[m]ti[92][.] Eshe hi sre[ṭh]e aṁ dhramanu[śa]śana[.] Dhramacharane[93] pi cha na hoti aśilasa[.] Se

Kâlsî.

Atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ bahuni vasasatâni va[ḍh]te-vâ pânâlaṁbhe vihisâ-châ bhutânaṁ nâtinaṁ[80] asaṁpaṭipati samanabaṁbhanânaṁ asaṁpaṭipati[.] Se-ajâ devânaṁ-piyasâ Piyadasine lâjine dhaṁmachalanenâ bheligho̊se aho dhaṁmaghose vimanadasanâ[81][9] [ha]thini agikaṁdhâni aṁnâni-châ divyâni lupâni dasayitu janasa[.] Âdis[e] bahuhi vasa[sa]tehi nâ-hutapuluve tâdise ajâ vaḍhite devânaṁ-piyasâ Piyadasine lâjine dhaṁmanusathiye[83] anâlaṁbhe pânânaṁ avihisâ bhutânam nâti[su][84][10]sampaṭipati baṁbhana[sa]manânaṁ saṁpaṭipati mâtâpitisu sususâ[.] Esha-châ[85] aṁne-châ bahuvidhe dhaṁmachala[n]e vaḍhite vaḍhiyisati-chevâ devânam-piye Piyadasi lâjâ[86] imaṁ dhaṁmachalanaṁ [.] Putâ-cha-kaṁ[87] natâle-châ pa[n][âti]kyâ-châ devânaṁ-piyasâ Piyadasine lâjine[11] [pa]vaḍhayisaṁti[88]-chev[a][89] dhaṁmachalanam i[ma]ṁ âvakapaṁ dhaṁmasi silasi-châ [chi]ṭhi[tu][90] dhaṁmaṁ anusâsisaṁti[.] Ese-hi seṭhe kaṁmaṁ[91] aṁ-dhaṁmânusâsanaṁ[.] Dhaṁmachalane-pi-châ no-hoti asilasâ[.] Se-

[72] It is impossible to read *châ*.

[73] The bracketed letters at the end of the line are very indistinct.

[74] The Anusvâras of this and of the two preceding words are uncertain.

[75] The second and third letters are not distinct; the fourth may have been *vra*.

[76] The first omitted sign looks somewhat like *chu*, *no* or *di*, but I am unable to find a suitable word. The Dhauli version has in the same place two illegible signs.

[77] Possibly *atikraṁtaṁ*.

[78] The two Anusvâras are not certain.

[79] The third sign of *vihisa* is not quite distinct and the reading *vihiṁsa* not absolutely impossible.

[80] Possibly *nâtinâ* to be read, but the abnormal shape of the apparent *â*-stroke points to its original form, an Anusvâra joined with the *na* by an exfoliation of the rock.

[81] Read *vimânadasanâ*.

[82] The unaspirated *ga* is very distinct.

[83] Read *dhaṁmânusathiye*.

[84] The new impression seems to offer *nâtisu*, instead of *nâtinaṁ*.

[85] *Esha-châ*, not *eshe-châ*, is the reading of the new impression.

[86] *Lâjâ* looks exactly like *lâṭâ*.

[87] *Kaṁ*, not *ka . . .*, is the distinct reading of the new impression.

[88] The additional *pa* is badly mutilated, but certain; compare also the Mansehra version.

[89] *Cheva*, not *eva*, seems to be the reading of the impression.

[90] The first badly mutilated syllable may have been *chi*; the second is, according to the reverse of the impression, distinctly *ṭhi*, not *ṭhaṁ*; the third seems to be *tu*. Compare the reading of the Mansehra version.

[91] *Kaṁmaṁ* is now more probable than °*me*.

[92] The Anusvâra is doubtful.

[93] The *ṇa* is abnormal, and similar to a *na*.

IV.

J Burgess, fecit

Scale 1-5th

Mansehra.

imasa athrasa vadh[r]i ahini cha sadhu[.]
Etaye[17] athraye i[maṁ] li[khi]te[:] e[ta]sa [a].
sa vadhra[94] yujaṁtu hini cha ma anu[lo]chayisu[95][.]
Duvadaśavashabhisitena devana priyena
Priyadraśina rajina iyaṁ[97] likhapite [.18]

Kâlsî.

imasâ athasâ vadhi ahini-châ sâdhu[.]
Etâye athâye i[ya]ṁ likhite[: 12]imasâ a[th]asâ
vadhi yujaṁtu hini-cha mâ-alochayisu[.]
Duvâḍasavaśâbhisitenâ devânaṁ-piyenâ
Piyadaśinâ[96] lâjinâ lekhitaṁ[.]

EDICT V.

Girnâr.

Devânaṁ priyo Piyadasi râjâ evaṁ âha[:]
kaḷâṇaṁ dukaraṁ[.] ye[2] a . . .[3] kalânesa[4]
so dukaraṁ karoti [.1] Ta mayâ bahu kalâṇaṁ
kataṁ[.] Ta mama putâ cha potrâ cha paraṁ
cha tena ya me apachaṁ âva saṁvaṭakapâ
anuvatisare tathâ [2] so sukataṁ
kâsati[.] Yo tu eta desaṁ pi hâpesati so
dukataṁ kâsati[.] Sukaraṁ hi pâpaṁ[.]
Atikâtaṁ aṁtaraṁ [3] na bhûtaprurvaṁ[9] dhaṁma-
mahâmâtâ nâma[.] Ta mayâ traidasavâsâbhisit. na
dhaṁmamahâmâtâ katâ[.] Te savapâsaṁ-
ḍesu vyâpatâ dhâmadhisṭânâya[14] [4] . . . . .
. . . . dhaṁmayutasa
cha Yona-Kaṁbo . Gaṁdhârânaṁ Risṭika-Petenikâ-
naṁ ye vâ pi aṁñe aparâtâ[.] Bhatamayesu va [5] .
. . . . [s.]khâya
dhaṁmayutânaṁ aparigodhâya vyâpatâ te[.]
Baṁdhanabadhasa[17] paṭividhânâya [6] . . . .
. . . . [pra]jâkatâ-
bhîkâresu vâ thairesu vâ vyâpatâ te [.] Pâṭalipute
cha bâhiresu cha [7] . . . .
. . . . .e vâ pi[23] me añe ñâtikâ
sarvata vyâpatâ te[.] Yo ayaṁ dhaṁmanisrito
ti va [8] . . . .
. . . . .e
dhaṁmahâmâtâ[.] Etâya[27] athâya ayaṁ dhaṁ-
malipî likhitâ [9] . . . .
. . . .

Shâhbâzgarhî.

Devana priyo Priyadraśi[1] raya evaṁ aha ti [:]
ka[lanaṁ] . ukaraṁ[.] Yo a . .[ro] ka[la]ṇasa
so dukaraṁ karoti[.] So maya bahu kalaṁ[5]
kiṭraṁ[.] Taṁ ma[ha] putra cha nataro cha paraṁ
cha t . .a[6] [ya] me apacha [a]chhaṁti avaka-
paṁ tathaṁ ye an .vatiśaṁti[7] te sukiṭ[r]aṁ
kashaṁti[.] Yo chu ato .[kaṁ pi hapeśati][8] so
[du]kaṭaṁ kashati[.] Papaṁ hi sukaraṁ[.] So
atik[raṁ]taṁ aṁtaraṁ na [bhu]tapruva dhrama-
mahamatra nama[.]So[tidaśavasha]bhisitena[10][11]
maya dhramamahamatra kit[r]a[11][.] Te savrap[r]-
ashaṁḍeshu[12] vapaṭ[a][13] dhramadhithanaye [cha]
dhramavaḍhiy[e] hidasukhaye cha dhramayutasa
Yona-Kaṁboya-Gaṁdharanaṁ Rastikanaṁ Pitini-
kanam ye va pi aparaṁta[.] Bhaṭama[ye]shu
bramanibheshu anatheshu v[u]ḍheshu[15] hitasukhaye
[dhra]may[u]tasa apalib[odhe][16] vapaṭa [te] [.12]
Baṁdhanabadhasa paṭividhanaye apa[li]bodhaye
mo[chhay]e[18] iyaṁ a[n]uba[dh]aṁ[19] prajava kiṭa-
bhikaro va mahalaka[20] va viyapaṭra[.] Ia[21] bahireshu
cha nagareshu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratunaṁ
cha me spasunaṁ[22] cha ye va pi aṁñe ñatika
savatra viyapuṭ[a][.] Y[aṁ[24]i]yaṁ dhramaniśrite
ti va dhramadhithan[e][25] ti va danas[a]yute[26] ti va
savatra vijite ma[ha] dhramayutasi viyapaṭa te
dhramamahamatra[ ] Etaye aṭhaye ay[aṁ]
dhramadipi dipist[a][25] [:] chirathitika
bhotu tatha cha praja[29] anuvatatu [.13]

[94] Read *vadhri*.

[95] Read *alochayisu*.

[96] The reading *Piyadaśinâ* is distinct also on the rubbing.

[97] The form of the Anusvâra is abnormal.

[1] The second *ra*-stroke of *Priyadraśi* is abnormal.

[2] Possibly *yo* to be restored, as there is an abrasion at the top of the *ya*

[3] The tails and tops of the lost letters are visible, and it is not difficult to see that the first was *di*.

[4] Read *kalânasa*.

[5] Read *kalaṇaṁ*.

[6] Read *tena*.

[7] Read *anuvatiśaṁti*.

[8] Read *evaṁ*; *kaṁ* and the following bracketed letters are very indistinct.

[9] Read *bhûtapûrvaṁ* or *purvaṁ*.

[10] The first and second letters are doubtful. The reading *tira*° or *toda* is possible.

[11] The *ra*-stroke is doubtful.

[12] The second *ra*-stroke is doubtful.

[13] Possibly *vapatra*.

[14] Read *dhamâdhisṭânâya*. The single *ma* is to be read as double.

[15] Possibly *vaḍheshu*.

[16] The last sign has apparently also an Anusvâra.

[17] The *na* has been added later as a correction.

[18] The second sign of *mochhaye* is not quite distinct.

[19] The last syllable of *anubadhaṁ* stands lower than the others.

[20] Possibly *mahalake*.

[21] Possibly *hia*.

[22] Regarding the first sign of *spasunam*, see the note to the German edition.

[23] Restore *ye vâ pi*. Before *e* there is only a vertical stroke, not a *na*.

[24] The vowel is not certain.

[25] The last vowel is not certain.

[26] The third vowel is not certain.

[27] The *ya* has been added later.

[28] The lower end of the last syllable has been destroyed.

[29] The *ra*-stroke is abnormal.

Mansehra.

[Devanaṁ]priye Priyadraśi raja evaṁ aha [:] kalaṇaṁ dukaraṁ[.] Ye adikare kayanasa se dukaram karoti[.] Taṁ maya bahu kayaṇe kaṭe[32][.] [Taṁ] ma[a][33] putra [cha] [19] natare[34] paraṁ cha tena ye apatiye me ava.paṁ tathaṁ anuva[t]iśati[35] se sukaṭa kashati[.] Ye chu atra deśa pi hapeśati se dukaṭa kashati[.20] Papehi nama supadare v[a][37][.] Se atikrataṁ aṁtaraṁ na bhutapruva dhrama-mahamatra nama[.] Se tredaśavashabhisitena maya dhramamahamatra kaṭa[.] Te savrapashaḍeshu[21] vapuṭa dhramadhithanaye cha dhramavadhriya hidasukhaye cha [dhra]mayutasa Yona-Kaṁboja-Ga[ṁ]dharanaṁ Raṭrakra-[40]Pitinikana ye va [p]i añe aparata[.] Bhaṭamaye-[22] shu bramaṇibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hidaṁsu[khay]e dhramayuta apalibodhaye viyapuṭa te[.] Badhanabadhasa paṭivi[dhana]ye apalibodhaye mochhaye[cha] iyaṁ[41][23] anubadha paja ti va kaṭabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapraṭa te[.] Hidaṁ bahireshu cha nagareshu savreshu [o]rodhaneshu[42] bhatana cha spasuna cha [24] ye va pi añe ñatike savratra viyapaṭa[.] E iyaṁ dhramaniśiti ti va dhramadhithane ti va danasaṁyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhramayutasi vapuṭa[te] [25] dhramamahamatra[.] Etaye athraye ayi dhramadipi likhita [:] chiraṭhitika hotu tathaṁ cha me praja anuvaṭatu[.]

Kâlsî.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ ahâ[30] [:] kayâne dukale[.] E-âdik[al]e[31] ka[yâ]nasâ se-dukalaṁ kaleti[.] Se-mamayâ bahu kayâne kaṭe[.] T[â-ma]-ma [pu]tâ-châ natâle-[châ 13] palaṁ-[châ] te[hi y]e- apatiye-me âvakapaṁ tathâ anuvaṭisaṁti se-sukaṭaṁ kachhaṁti[.] E-chu hetâ desaṁ-pi [hâ]pa-[y] isaṁti[36] se-dukaṭaṁ kachhati[.] Pâpe-hi-nâma supadâlaye[.] Se-atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no-hutapuluvâ dhaṁmamahâmâtâ-nâma[.] T[e]dasavasâbhisitenâ mama[yâ] dhaṁmamahâmâtâ [ka]ṭâ[.] Te-savapâsaṁḍesu viyâ[pa]ṭâ [14] dhaṁmâdhithânâye-châ dhammavaḍhiyâ hi[da]sukhâye-châ[38] dhammayutasâ Yona-Kaṁboja-Gaṁdhâ[lâ]naṁ[39] e-vâ-pi aṁne apalaṁtâ[.] Bhaṭamayesu baṁbhanibhesu anathesu vudhesu hidasukhâye dhaṁmayutâye apalibodhâye viyâpaṭâ-te[.] Baṁdhanabadhasâ paṭividhânâye apalibodhâye mokhâye-châ eyaṁ anuba[dhaṁ] pajâva-ti-vâ [15] [kaṭâbhikâ]le-ti-vâ mahâlake-ti-vâ viyâpaṭâ-te[.] Hidâ bâhilesu-châ na[ga]lesu savesu [olo]-dhanesu bhâtinaṁ-ch[a]-ne[43] bhagininâ[44] e-vâ-pi aṁne nâtikye savatâ viyâpaṭâ[.] E-iyaṁ dhaṁmanisite-ti-vâ dânasaṁyute-ti-vâ savatâ vijitasi mamâ dhaṁmayutasi viyâpaṭâ-te dhaṁmamahâmâtâ[.] Etâye aṭhâye[45] [16] [i]yaṁ dhaṁmalipi lekhitâ [:] chilathitikyâ hotu [ta]thâ-ch[a]-me pa[jâ] anuvata[ṁ]tu[.]

EDICT VI.

Girnâr.

Devânaṁ pri[46] . . si râjâ evaṁ âha [:] atikrâtaṁ aṁtaraṁ [1] na bhûtapurva sava . la[49] athakaṁme va paṭivedanâ vâ[.] Ta mayâ evaṁ kataṁ [2] save kâle bhuṁjamânasa

Shâhbâzagrhi.

Devanaṁ priyo Priyad[ra]śi[47] raya eva[ṁ] aha ti [:] atik[ra]taṁ[48] aṁtaraṁ na .[bhuta]pruvaṁ savraṁ kalaṁ athakramaṁ va paṭivedana va[.] Taṁ maya evaṁ kiṭaṁ [:] savraṁ kalaṁ aśamana-

30 The new impression gives distinctly *ahâ* for *âhâ*.

31 The reverse of the impression gives *âdikale*, which is supported by the reading of Mansehra *adikare*.

32 Possibly *kaṭi* to be read.

33 Only the foot of the second sign of *maa* has been preserved.

34 Possibly *natari* to be read.

35 Possibly *anuvaṭiśati* to be read.

36 The impression has the Anusvâra distinctly, which must probably be deleted.

37 There is a stroke above *va* which, however, seems not to be a real *e*-stroke, but an accidental scratch.

38 The impression seems to offer *hida*°, with a badly blurred *da* instead of *hita*°, and *châ* instead of *vâ*.

39 The impression shows no distinct letters, but merely scratches, between °*yutasâ* and *Yona*°.

40 Read *Rastika*, the second letter has not been written completely.

41 *Cha* is much defaced and looks like *che* or *je*; the Anusvâra of *iyaṁ* is not certain.

42 The first letter is much disfigured by several scratches and looks nearly like a deformed *cha*.

43 The impression offers distinctly *ne* (i.e. *naḥ*) instead *na*, and according to the reverse *cha* is more probable than *chu*.

44 *Bhagininâ* is more probable than °*naṁ*.

45 The lingual of *aṭhâye* is plain both in the rubbing and on the impression.

46 Only the lower portions of the first letters are distinct.

47 Possibly *Priyadaṁśi*, but see the notes to the German edition.

48 The *ra*-stroke is doubtful.

49 The tops of *rva*, *va* and *la* are gone. Restore °*rvaṁ savaṁ kâlaṁ*.

J BURGESS FECIT

Scale

Girnár.

me orodhanamhi gabhâgâramhi vachamhi va [3] vinîtamhi cha uyânesu cha savatra paṭivedakâ[49] stitâ athe me janasa [4] paṭivedetha iti[.] Sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi[.] Ya cha kiṁchi mukhato[5] âñapayâmi svayaṁ dâpakaṁ vâ srâvâpakaṁ vâ ya vâ puna mahâmâtresu [6] âchâyika[53] âropitaṁ bhavati tâya athâya vivâdo nijhatî va saṁto parisâyaṁ [7]

ânaṁtaraṁ paṭivedetayvaṁ[59] me sarvatra sarve kâle[.] Evaṁ mayâ âñapitaṁ[.] Nâsti hi me toso[8] usṭânamhi athasaṁtîraṇâya va[.] Katayvamate hi me sarvalokahitaṁ[.9] Tasa cha puna esa mûle usṭânaṁ cha athasaṁtîraṇâ cha[.] Nâsti hi kaṁmataraṁ [10] sarvalokahitatpâ[.] Ya cha kiṁchi parâkramâmi ahaṁ[,] kiṁti [?] bhûtânaṁ ânaṁṇaṁ gachheyaṁ[11] idha cha nâni sukhâpayâmi paratrâ cha svagaṁ ârâdhayaṁtu[.] Ta etâya athâya [12] ayaṁ dhaṁmalipî lekhâpitâ[,] kiṁti [?] chiraṁ tisṭeya iti tathâ cha me putrâ potâ cha prapotrâ cha [13] anuvataràṁ[64] savalokahitâya[.] Dukaraṁ tu idaṁ añata agena pârâkramena[.14]

Shahbázgarhí.

sa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi[51] savratra paṭrivedaka aṭhaṁ janasa paṭ[r]ivedetu me savatra cha janasa aṭhra karomi[.] Yaṁ pi [cha] kichi mukhato aṇapayami [ahaṁ da]pakaṁ va śravakaṁ va yaṁ va pana[52] mahamatranaṁ v[o[54] achay]ika a . pitaṁ[55] bhoti taye aṭhaye vivade va ni[jha]ti[56] va saṁtaṁ parishaye anaṁtariyena praṭivedetavo me[14]savatra[57]cha aṭhaṁ janasa karomi a[haṁ] [.] Yaṁ cha ki [chi][58] mukhato aṇapemi ahaṁ dapakaṁ va śravaka va ya va pana mahamatranaṁ achayikaṁ aropitaṁ bhoti taye aṭhaye vivade saṁtaṁ nijhati[60] va parishaye anaṁtariyena paṭrivedetavo me savatra sav[r]aṁ kalaṁ[.] Evaṁ aṇapitaṁ maya[.] Nasti hi me tosho uṭhanasi aṭhasaṁtiraṇaye cha[.] Kaṭavamataṁ hi me sav[r]alokahitaṁ [.] Tasa cha mulaṁ et[ra] uthanaṁ aṭhasaṁtiraṇa cha[.] Na[sti] hi kramataraṁ[15]s[r]avalokahite[na][61][.] Yaṁ cha kichi parakramami [;] kiti [?] bhutanaṁ anaṇiyaṁ vracheyaṁ ia cha [sha] sukhayami paratra cha spagaṁ[62] aradhetu[.] Etaye aṭhaye ayi dhrama[63] dipista [:] chirathitika bhotu tatha cha me putra nataro parakramaṁtu savalokahitaye [.] [D]ukara[ṁ] tu[kho] imaṁ aṁñatra agre[65] parakramena[.16]

Mansehra.

Devana[ṁ] priye Priyadraśi raja eva[ṁ][66] aha [:] atikraṁtaṁ aṁtaraṁ[26]n[o][67]hutapruve savraṁ kala athrak[rama][68] va paṭivedana va[.] Ta maya evaṁ kiṭaṁ []: savrakalaṁ aśatasa me orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi[71] vinitaspi uyanaspi savratra pa[ṭ]i[veda]ka athra janasa [27] paṭivedetu me savratra cha janasa athra karomi ahaṁ[.] Yaṁ pi kichi mukhati aṇapemi ahaṁ dapakaṁ va śravakaṁ va yaṁ va puna mahamatrehi

Kálsí.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ hevaṁ-âhâ [:] atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no-hutapuluve savaṁ kâlaṁ aṭhakaṁme-vâ[69] [paṭ] ivedanâ vâ [.] Se-ma[ma]yâ hevaṁ kaṭe [:] savaṁ kâlaṁ adam[a]nasâ-me[70][18] olodhanasi gabhâgâlasi vachasi vini[tasi uyânasi savatâ paṭivedakâ] aṭhaṁ janasâ [paṭi]vedeṁtu me[72][.] Savatâ[73] janasâ aṭhaṁ kachhâmi hakaṁ[.] Yaṁ pi châ [kichhi mukha]te âṇa[payâ]mi hakaṁ[74] dâ[pakaṁ]-vâ [sâvakaṁ vâ] ye-vâ-punâ

[50] Below *ṭi* stands a *u*-stroke.

[51] The final sign is probably intended for *spi* ;—see the notes to the German edition of the Mansehra text.

[52] Possibly *puna* to be read.

[53] Possibly *âchâyikaṁ* or *°ke* to be restored, as there are two large abrasions on both sides of the *ka*.

[54] The vowel of *vo* is very indistinct.

[55] Complete *aropitaṁ*.

[56] The *jha* is indistinct.

[57] The passage from *savatra* down to *parisha* has been repeated by mistake.

[58] It looks, as if another sign had stood between *ki* and *chi*.

[59] A remnant of *va* below the *ya* is visible.

[60] The stroke indicating the aspiration of *jha* is indistinct.

[61] The *ra*-stroke of *srava°* is not quite certain.

[62] The initial sign of this word shows the same form as in *orodhanaspi*, above l. 14, and seems to be intended for *spa*.

[63] Possibly *ayo* to be read ; read *dhramadipi*.

[64] Read *anuvateraṁ*.

[65] Read *agrena*.

[66] The Anusvâras of *devânaṁ* and *evaṁ* are not quite distinct.

[67] The vowel is doubtful.

[68] Possibly *kaṁma* to be read.

[69] The lingual in *aṭha°* is more probable than the dental.

[70] The new impression shows a tolerably distinct *me* at the end of line 17, and only scratches at the beginning of line 18. In the third syllable of *adamanasâ* a short *a* is more probable than *mâ*.

[71] The last sign of this word and the next two show the abnormal form, which probably stands for *spi*.

[72] No letters seem to have been lost between *me* and *savatâ*.

[73] At least one syllable, probably *cha*, has been lost after *savatâ*.

[74] *Hakaṁ*, not *sakaṁ*, is the reading of the new impression.

Mansehra.

achayike aropita hoti[28] taye athraye vivade nijhat va saṁta parishaye a[naṁ]taliyena pativelitaviye me savratra savra kala[.] Eva[ṁ] aṇapita maya[.] Nasti hi me toshe u[ṭhanasi] athrasaṁtiraṇaye cha[.29] Kaṭaviyamate hi me savralokahite[.] Tasa chu [puna] eshe mule uṭhane athrasatirana cha[.] Nasti hi kramatara savralokahitena[.] Yaṁ cha [ki]chi para[kra]mami ahaṁ [;] kiti [?] bhutanaṁ [30] aṇaṇiyaṁ yehaṁ ia cha sha sukhayami paratra cha spagraṁ[81] aradhetu ti[.] Se etaye athraye iyaṁ dhramadipi likhita [:] chirathitikaṁ hotu tathaṁ cha me putra [nata]re para[k]ramaṁte[80] savra-[31] lokahitaye[.] Dukare chu kho añatra agrena parakramena[.]

Kâlsî.

mahâmâtehi[18]atiyâyike[â. pitaṁ]hoti tâyeṭhâye vivâde nijhati-vâ[75] saṁtaṁ palisâye anaṁtaliyenâ paṭi . . . viye me savatâ savaṁ kâlaṁ hevaṁ ânapayite mamayâ[.] Nathi-hi-me dose-va uṭhânasâ aṭhasaṁtilanâye]-châ[.] Kaṭ[a]viyamute[76]-hi-me savalokahite[.] [Tasâ-punâ[77] es[e]-mule uṭhâne[19] aṭhasaṁtilanâ-[ch]â[.] Nathi-hi kaṁmatalâ sava-[loka]hitenâ[.] Yaṁ-cha-kichi palakamâmi hakaṁ [;] kiti [?] bhutânaṁ [a]naniyaṁ yehaṁ hida-chakâni sukhâyâmi palata-châ[78] svagaṁ âlâdhayitu[79][.] Se-etâyeṭhâye iyaṁ dhamalipi lekhitâ[.] Chilaṭhitikyâ hotu tathâ cha me putadâle palakamâtu savalokahitâ[ye] [.20] Dukale-ch[a][81] iyaṁ anata agenâ palakamenâ[.]

EDICT VII.

Girnâr.

Devânaṁ piyo Piyadasi râjâ sarvata ichhati save pâsaṁḍâ vaseyu[.] Save te sayamaṁ cha [1] bhâvasudhiṁ cha ichhati[.] Jano tu uchâvachachhaṁdo uchâvacharâgo[.] Te sarvaṁ va kâsaṁti ekadesaṁ va kasaṁti[.2] Vipule[83] tu pi dâne yasa nâsti sayame bhâvasudhitâ va kataṁñatâ va daḍhabhatitâ cha nichâ bâdhaṁ [.3]

Shâhbâzgarhî.

Devanaṁ priyo Priyaśi[82] raja savatra ichhati savre [1] prashaṁḍa vaseyu[.] Savre hi te sayama bhavaśudhi cha ichhaṁti[.2] Jano chu uchavuchachhaṁdo uchavucharago[.] Te savraṁ va ekadeśaṁ va [3] pi kashaṁti[.] Vipule pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-[4]śudhi kitrañata diḍhabhatita niche paḍhaṁ [.5]

Mansehra.

Deva[na priye] Priyadraśi raja savratra ichhati savra pashaḍa vaseyu[.] Savre hi te sayama bhavaśudhi [cha] [32] ichhaṁti[.] Jane chu uchavuchachade uchavucharage[.] Te savraṁ ekadeśaṁ va pi kashati[.] Vipule pi chu dane yasa nasti sayame bhavaśuti kiṭanata dridhrabhatita[89] cha [33] niche baḍhaṁ[.]

Kâlsî.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ [sa]vatâ [i]chhati[.] sav[a pâ]saṁḍa vas[e]vu[.][84] Save-hi-te sayamaṁ bhâvasudhi-châ[85] ichhaṁti[.] Jane-chu uchâvuchâchhaṁde[86] uchâvuchalâge[.] Te-savaṁ ekadesaṁ-pi kachhaṁti[.] Vipule-pi-chu dâ[na[aṁ][87] asâ nathi [21] sayame bhâvasudh[i] kiṭanâtâ[88] diḍhabhatitâ-châ niche-bâḍhaṁ[.]

EDICT VIII.

Girnâr.

Atikâtaṁ aṁtaraṁ râjâno vihârayâtâṁ ñayâsu[.] Eta magavyâ aññâni cha etârisani[1][91] abhîramakâni ahuṁsu[.] So

Shâhbâzgarhî.

Atikratnaṁ[90] aṁtaraṁ devanaṁ priya viharayatra nama nikramishu[.] Atra mrugaya añani cha [h]ediśani a[bhi]ramani abhavasu[92] [.] So

[75] *Nijhati*, not *nikati*, is the distinct reading of the reverse of the impression.

[76] The absence of the Anusvâra and the reading *imute* are certain from the reverse of the impression.

[77] *Tasâ* is more probable than *tasa*.

[78] *Palata*, not *palatâ*, is distinct.

[79] Read *âlâdhayaṁtu*.

[80] Read *parakramaṁtu*.

[81] Possibly *chu*.

[81] The initial *sa* is again abnormal and the sign must be read *spa*.

[82] Read *Priyadraśi*.

[83] The apparent second *u*-stroke which makes the word look like *vipûle* is, to judge from the impression, an accidental scratch.

[84] The short final of [*pâ*]*saṁḍa* seems certain, as there is no stroke or abrasion to the right of the *ḍa*.

[85] *Châ*, not *cha*, is distinct.

[86] The impression shows everywhere distinctly *uchâvucha*, not *uchâvacha*.

[87] *Dânaṁ* is, according to the reverse of the impression, more probable than *dâne*.

[88] According to the impression the reading is *kiṭanâtâ*, for which *kiṭanatâ* must be read.

[89] One of the *ra*-strokes in *driḍhra*° is superfluous, and ought to be removed. The form was probably *diḍhra*°, i.e. *dirḍha*.

[90] This stands for *atikrantaṁ* just like *savra* for *sarva*.

[91] Read *etârisâni*.

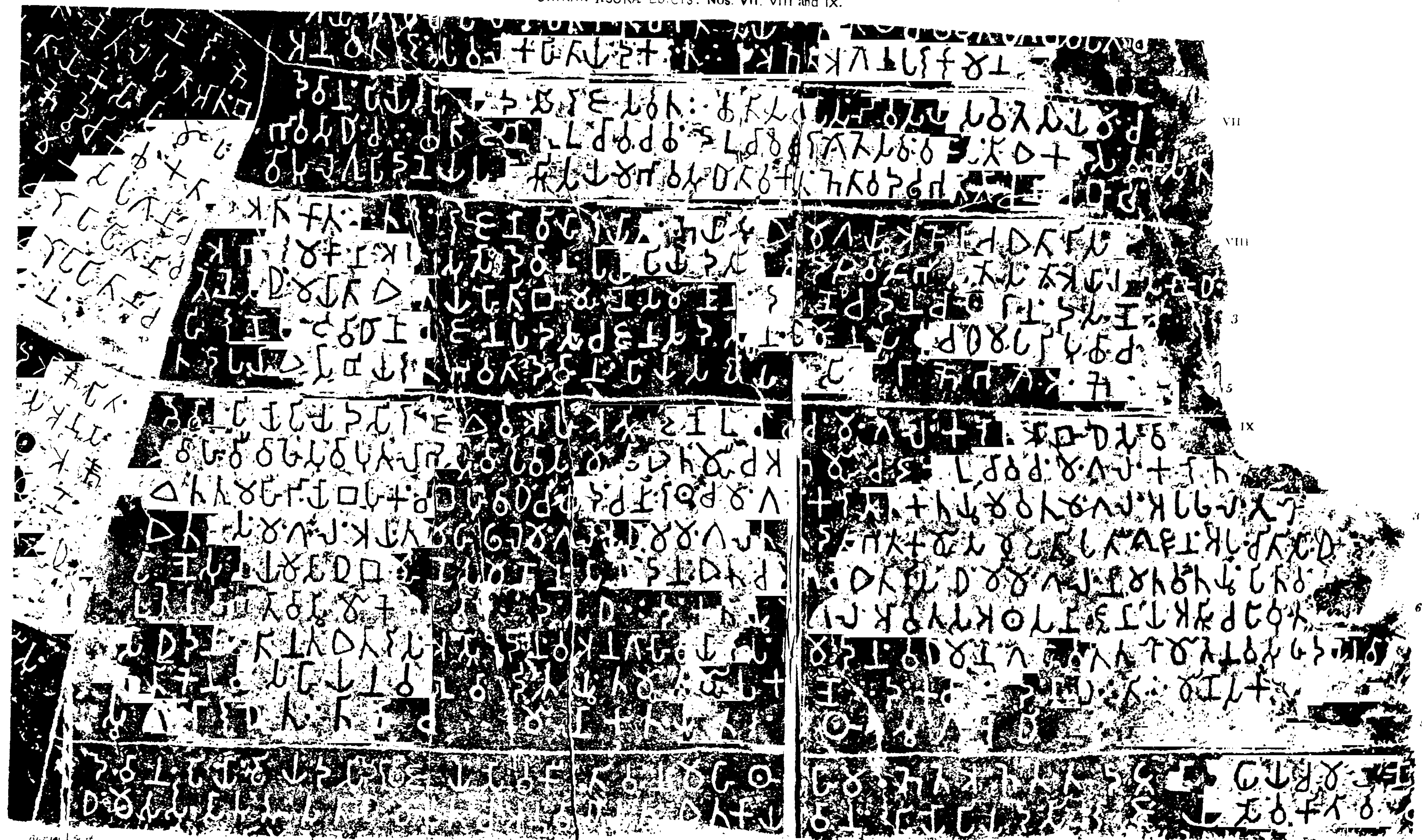
[92] The second vowel is not quite distinct, and the reading *abhuvasu* is perhaps possible.

AŚOKA INSCRIPTION AT KÂLSI—(II) SOUTH FACE, LOWER HALF, EDICTS VII–XII (FIRST PART).



Scale : 3-10ths of original

W. Griggs, lith.


VII
VIII
3
5
IX
3
6
9

Girnâr.

devânaṁ piyo Piyadasi râjâ dasavasâbhisito. saṁto ayâya saṁbodhiṁ[94] [.2] Tenesâ dhaṁmayâtâ[.] Etayaṁ[95] hoti bâmhaṇasamaṇânaṁ dasaṇe cha dâne cha thairânaṁ dasaṇe cha [3] hiraṁṇapaṭividhâno cha jânapadasa cha jânasa[98] dasanaṁ dhaṁmânusasti cha dhamapaṟipuchhâ cha[4.] Tadopayâ esâ bhuya rati bhavati devânaṁ piyasa Priyadasino râño bhâge aṁñe [5.]

Shâhbâzgarhî.

devanaṁ priyo Priyadrasi[95] raja daśavashabhisito satonikramisabodhi[ṁ][96] [.] Tenamdr[a][97] dhramayatra[.] Atra iyaṁ hoti [:] śramanabramananaṁ draśane danaṁ vu[dhra]naṁ draśane[98] [h]i[ra]ña paṭividha[ne] cha [jana]padasa janasa draśanaṁ dhramanuśasti dhramapa[ri]puchha cha[.] Tatopayaṁ esh[a][1] bhuye rati hoti devanaṁ priyasa Priyadraśisa raño bhag[i[2] a]ṁñi[17.]

Mansehra.

Atikrataṁ aṁtaraṁ devana priya viharayatra nama nikramishu[.] I[ha][3] mrigaviya añani cha ediśani abhiramani husu[.] Se devana priye Priyadraśi [34] raja[6] daśavashabhisite saṁtaṁ nikrami saṁbodhi[.] Tenad[aṁ][7] dhramayadra[.] Atra iya hoti [:] śramanabramaṇana draśane dane cha vadhrana draśane [cha] hiñapaṭividha[ne[11] cha] [35] janapadasa janasa draśane dhramanuśasti cha dhramaparipuchha cha[.] Tatopaya eshe bhuye rati ho[t]i devana Priyasa Priyadraśisa [36] rajine bhag[e] [14] aṇe [37]

Kâlsî.

Atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalam devânaṁ-piyâ vihâlayâtaṁ. nâma nikhamisu[.] Hidâ migaviyâ aṁnâni-châ[4] hedisân[i] abhilâmâu[i] husu[5][.] Devânam-piye Piyadasi lâjâ dasavasâbhisite saṁtaṁ[8] nikami[th]â[9] saṁbodhi [.22] Tenatâ dhaṁmayâtâ[.] [He]tâ iyaṁ hoti samanabaṁbhanânaṁ dasane-châ dâne-cha vudhânam dasane-cha hilaṁnapaṭividhâne-châ jânapada-â janasâ[10] dasane dhaṁmanusathi-châ[12] dhamapalipuchhâ-cha[13][.] Tatopayâ ese bhuye lâti hoti devânaṁ-piyasâ Piyadasisâ lâjine bhâge amne [.23]

Edict IX.

Girnâr.

Devânaṁ piyo Priyadasi râjâ evaṁ âha [:] asti jano uchâvachaṁ maṁgalaṁ karote âbâdhesu vâ [1] âvâhavîvâhesu vâ putralâbhesu vâ pravâsaṁmhi vâ [. Etamhî cha añamhi cha jano uchâvachaṁ maṁgalaṁ karote [.2] Eta tu mahiḍâyo bahukaṁ cha bahuvidhaṁ cha chhudaṁ cha nirathaṁ cha maṁgalaṁ karote[.] Ta katayvameva tu maṁgalaṁ[.] Apaphalaṁ tu kho [3] etarisaṁ[18] maṁgalaṁ[.] Ayaṁ tu mahâphale maṁgale ya dhaṁmamaṁgale[.] Tata dâsabhatakamhi samyapratipatî gurûnaṁ apachiti s[â]dhu [4] pânesu sayamo sâdhu bamhaṇasamaṇânaṁ sâdhu dânaṁ[.] Eta cha aña cha etârisaṁ dhaṁmamaṁgalaṁ nâma[ ]

Shâhbâzgarhî.

Devanaṁ priyo Priyadrasi raya evaṁ aha ti [:] jano uchavuchaṁ maṁgalaṁ karoti abadhe avahe vivahe pajupadane pravase[.] Etaye añaye [cha] ediśiy[15]. ja[n]o [ba][16] maṁgalaṁ karoti[.] Atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidhaṁ cha putika[m] cha nirathriyam cha maṁgalaṁ ka[rotne][17][.] So kaṭavo [cha kh]o maṁgala[.] Apaphalaṁ tu kho etaṁ[ ] Imaṁ [tu] kho mahaphala ye mamamaṁgala[ṁ][19] [.18] [A]tra ima [:] dasabhaṭakasa sammapraṭipati garuna apachiti prananam saṁyama śramaṇabramaṇana dana[.] Etaṁ añam cha dhramamaṁgalaṁ nama[.]

[93] The *dra* looks very much like *daṁ*.

[94] The impression makes the second Anusvâra very probable.

[95] *Etayaṁ* stands for *Eta iyaṁ*. According to the analogy *yename* for *yena ime*, etc.;—see E. Muller: *Simplified Pali Grammar*, p. 60.

[96] The Anusvâra is doubtful.

[97] Possibly *tenadra* to be read.

[98] Read *janasa*.

[99] The *dra* looks very much like *daṁ*.

[1] Possibly *eshe* to be read.

[2] The upper part of the *i*-stroke is very faint.

[3] Possibly *ia* is to be read.

[4] *Châ*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression.

[5] The impression shows no Anusvâra.

[6] This looks like *rajaṁ*.

[7] Possibly *tenadra* is to be read.

[8] The obverse of the impression seems to give *sate*, but the reverse shows *saṁtaṁ* to be the right reading.

[9] Possibly *nikhamithâ* to be read.

[10] The impression shows no *cha* after *janasâ*, only superficial scratches.

[11] Read *hirañapaṭividhane*.

[12] Read *dhaṁmânusathi*.

[13] There is no Anusvâra in *dhamapalipuchhâ*.

[14] Possibly the reading may have been *bhagi*.

[15] Read *ediśiye*.

[16] Read *bahu*; only the lower half of the first letter has been preserved; the second has been omitted.

[17] *Karotne* stands for *karonte*.

[18] For *etârisam*.

[19] Read *dhramamaṁgalaṁ*.

Girnâr.

Ta vatayvaṁ pitâ va [5] putena vâ bhâtrâ vâ svâmikena vâ [:] idaṁ sâdhu idaṁ katayvaṁ maṁgalaṁ âva tasa athasa nisṭânâya[.] Asti cha pi vutaṁ [:6] Sâdhu

danaṁ[22] iti[.] Na tu etârisaṁ asti dânaṁ va anagaho[23] va yârisaṁ dhaṁmadânam va dhammânugaho va[.] Ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena vâ [7] ñatikena[28] va sahâyana[29] va ovâditayvaṁ tamhi tamhi pakarane[:] idaṁ kachaṁ idaṁ sâdha[32] iti iminâ sakaṁ[33] [8] svagaṁ ârâdhetu iti[.] Ki cha iminâ katayvataraṁ yathâ svagâradhi[.9]

Shâhbâzgarhî.

So vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi [spa]mikena[20] pi mi[tra]saṁstutena ava prativeśiyena[:] imaṁ sadhu imaṁ kaṭavo [maṁ]galaṁ yava tasa aṭhasa nivuṭiya[.] Nivuṭaspi[21] va pana [19] imaṁ ke[sha] [?] Ye hi et[ra]ke[24] magale sa[ṁ]śayike taṁ[.] Siya vo taṁ aṭhaṁ niv[a]ṭey[a][25] ti[,] siya pana ialokach[e][26] vo tithe [.] Iya[27]puna dhramamagalaṁ akalikaṁ[.] Yadi p[u]na[30] taṁ aṭhaṁ na nivaṭe [h]ia[31][,] [a]tha paratra anaṁtaṁ puñaṁ prasavati[.] Haṁche p[u]na[34] [a]thaṁ nivaṭe ti tato ubhayasa ladhaṁ bhoti iha cha so aṭho paratra cha anaṁtaṁ puñam prasavati tena dhramaṁgalena[35] [.20]

Mansehra.

Devana priye Priyadraśi raja evaṁ aha [:] jane uchavucha[ṁ[36] ma]gala[ṁ][37] karoti [1] abadh[a]si ava[ha]si vivahasi prajopadaye pravasaspi[38] [.] Etaye añaye cha [edi]śa[ye[41] ja]ne [2] bahu maṁgalaṁ [ka]roti[.] A[tra] tu balika janika bahu cha bahuvidh[a][45] cha khud[a][46] cha nirathriya cha magala[ṁ][47] karoti[.] Se ka . vi . cha kho [3] [ma]gale[.] Apaphale chu kho e[she][.] Iyaṁ chu kho mahaphale y[e] dhramamaṁgale[.] Atra iyaṁ [:] dasabhaṭakasi samyapaṭipati guru[na apa]chiti [4 pranana sa[ya]me śramaṇabramaṇana [dane][.] Eshe aṇe cha ediśe dhramamagale nama[.] Se vataviy[e]pit[u]na[54] pi putrena pi bhatuna pi spamikena . [5] mitrasaṁstute[na a[va paṭiveśiyena pi [:] iyaṁ sadhu iy[aṁ][55] kaṭaviye magale ava tasa athrasa nivu[ṭ]iya[.]

Kâlsî.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ âhâ [:] jane uchâvuchaṁ[39] maṁgalaṁ [kal]eti [.] Âbâdhasi avâhasi vivâhasi pajopadâye[40] pavâsasi etâye aṁnâye-châ edisâye jane bahu magalaṁ kaleti[.] Heta-chu abakajani[yo][42] bahu-châ bahuvidhaṁ-châ khudâ[43]-châ nilathiyâṁ-châ[44] magalaṁ kalaṁti[48] [.24] Se-kaṭavi-cheva-kho[49] maṁgale[.] Apaphale-vu-kho es[e] Iyaṁ-chu-kho mahâphale ye-dhaṁmamagale[.] He[tâ][50] iyaṁ dâsabhaṭakasi samyâpaṭipâti-gulunâ[51] apachiti pâ . ânaṁ sayame samanabaṁbhanânaṁ dâne[.] Ese aṁne-châ hedise taṁ-dhaṁmamagale-nâmâ[52][.] Se-vataviye pitinâ-pi putenapi[53] bhâtinâ-pi suvâmiken[â]-pi mitasaṁthutenâ âva-paṭivesiyenâ-pi [:25] iyaṁ sâdhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye [ma]gale âva-tasâ athasâ nivutiyâ[56][.]

[20] The first letter, which is badly damaged, seems to have been one of the abnormal signs, occurring Ed. VI in *orodhanaspi* and so forth, and is probably meant for *spa*.

[21] The last sign is the same as in *orodhanaspi* and so forth,

[22] Read *dânaṁ*.

[23] Probably a mistake for *anugaho*.

[24] The *ra*-stroke is not quite certain.

[25] The second and fourth vowels are not quite distinct, and one might possibly read *nivuṭeyeti*.

[26] The last vowel is not quite certain.

[27] The two signs of this word stand the one above the other.

[28] Read *ñâtikena*.

[29] Read *sahâyena*.

[30] Possibly *pana* to be read.

[31] Possibly *ia* to be read.

[32] Read *sâdhu*.

[33] The Anusvâra of *sakaṁ* is at least very probable.

[34] Possibly *pana* to be read.

[35] Read *dhramamaṁgalena*.

[36] The Anusvâra is uncertain.

[37] The Anusvâra is uncertain.

[38] Thus distinct in B, instead of *pravasasi*.

[39] The *vu* in the third syllable is distinct.

[40] The lower stroke is nearly straight and *pajopadâne* a possible reading, but see the Mansehra version.

[41] The first and last syllables of *edisâye* are very indistinct.

[42] This is the reading of the reverse, distinct except in the last syllable.

[43] *Khudâ*, not *khudaṁ*, is the reading of the impression.

[44] Read *nilathiyâ* or °*yaṁ*.

[45] Possibly *bahuvidhe* to be read.

[46] Possibly *khude* to be read.

[47] The Anusvâra is uncertain.

[48] *Kalaṁti*, not *kaleti*, is distinct.

[49] Read *kaṭaviye*.

[50] The existence of this word is certain, the quantity of the last syllable doubtful.

[51] *Gulunâ* not °*naṁ*, is the reading of the impression.

[52] *Nâmâ*, not *nâma*, is the reading of the impression.

[53] *Putena*, not *putenâ*, is the reading of the impression.

[54] Possibly *pitina* to be read.

[55] The *ya* has besides the Anusvâra an apparent *e*-stroke, which must be accidental.

[56] The third syllable of *nivutiyâ* is superficially damaged. The reverse leaves no doubt regarding the reading.

X

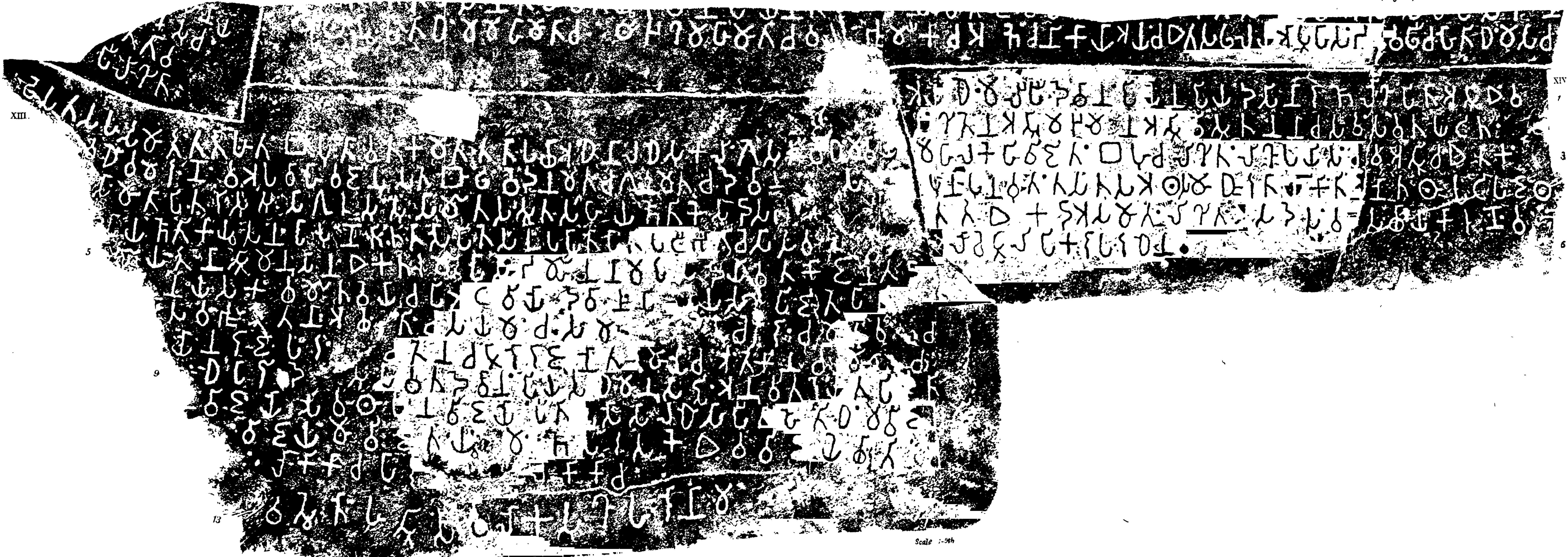
XI

XII

XIV

J Burgess, Fecit.

Scale: 1-5th



J. Burgess sculp.

Mansehra.

Nivutasi va puna ima k[e]sh[a]miti [?] E hi [a]trake[58] ma . . [6] śaśayike[59] se[.] [Si]ya [va] ta[ṁ] athraṁ nivaṭeya[,] siya pana no i[ha]ch[a]loki[cha][62] vase[.] Iyaṁ puna dhrama-magal[e] akalike[.] Hache pi taṁ athraṁ na nivaṭ[e] ti [hida] [a . paratra . . . [7] an[aṁ]taṁ puñaṁ[64] prasavati[.] Hache [puna taṁ a].ra nivaṭe ti hida tato ubhayasa [va la]dhe [ho]ti hida cha se athre paratra cha ana[ṁ]ta[ṁ][70] punaṁ prasa[va]ti tena dhramagalena[71][.8]

Kâlsi.

Imaṁ ka[tha]m-iti [?] E-h ivale[57] magale saṁsayikye-se [hoti][60][.] Siyâ-va-taṁ aṭhaṁ[61] nivaṭeyâ siyâ-punâ-no hidalokike-cha-vase[.] Iyaṁ-punâ dhaṁmamagale akâlikye[.] Haṁche-pi taṁ-athaṁ no-niṭe-ti hida aṭhaṁ[63] palata anaṁtaṁ-punâ pavasati[65][.] Haṁche-punâ-taṁ aṭhaṁ nivate-ti hida[66] tato[67] ubhaye[68].[26] [la]dhe hoti hida-châ[69] se-aṭhe palatâ-châ anaṁtaṁ-puṁnaṁ pasavati teuâ dhaṁmamagalenâ[.]

Edict X.

Girnâr.

Devânaṁ priyo Priydasi râjâ[72] yaso va kîti va na mahâthâvahâ maṁñate añata tadâtpano dighâya cha

me jano [1] dhaṁmasusrusâ[73] susrusatâṁ dhaṁma-vutaṁ cha anuvidhiyatâṁ[.] Etakâya devânaṁ piyo Piyadasi râjâ yaso va kiti va ichhati[.2] Yaṁ tu kiṁchi parâkamate devânaṁ Piya-dasi[76] râjâ ta savaṁ pâratrikâya[;] kiṁti [?] sakale appaparisrave asa[.] Esa tu parisrave ya apuṁñaṁ[77][.3] Dukaraṁ tu kho etaṁ chhudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra agena parâkamena[79] savaṁ parichajitpâ[.] Eta tu kho usatena dukaraṁ [4]

Shâhbâzgarhi.

Devana priye Priyadraśi raya yaso va kiṭri va no mahaṭhavaha mañati añatra yo pi yaśo kitri va ichhati tadattaye[74] ayatiya cha [jan]e dhramasuśrasha[75] suśrushatu me ti dhraṁmavu-taṁ cha anuvi[dhiyatu] [.] Etakaye devanaṁ priye Priyadraśi raya yaśo va kitri va [21] [ichha]ti[.] Yaṁ tu kiḍhi parakramati devanaṁ priyo Priya-draśi raya taṁ savraṁ paratrikaye va [;] kiti [?] sa[kale][78] aparisrave siya ti[.] Eshe tu parisrave yaṁ apuñaṁ[.] Dukaraṁ t[u] kho eshe khudra-kena vagrena usaṭena va añatra agrena parakramena savaṁ paritijitu[.] Etaṁ chu usaṭe[80] . . . . . . [22].

Mansehra.

. . . [8] priye Pri . draśi raja yaso va kiṭi va n[a] mahathravahaṁ mañati anatra yaṁ pi ya[śo va] kiṭi va ichhati tadattaye[83] ayatiy[a][84] cha jane dhramasuśrusha su . [sha]tu me ti

Kâlsî.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadashâ[81] lâjâ yasho-vâ kiti-va no-mahathâvâ[82] manati anatâ yaṁ-pi yaso vâ kiti-vâ ichhati tadatvâye ayatiye-châ jane dhaṁmasusushâ susushâtu-me-ti[85]

[57] This may be read *ichale*.

[58] Possibly *etrake* or *etake* according to B., which also shows the *ma*.

[59] This is plain in B.

[60] The existence of this word, which is not found in the closely corresponding Mansehra version, is very doubtful.

[61] The lingual of *aṭhaṁ* is plain in the impression both here and in the next sentences.

[62] This may also be read *ihache loki cha* or *ihachalokike*.

[63] Read *nivaṭe-ti* and *atha*.

[64] Thus according to B.

[65] Read *pasavati*, as suggested by M. Senart.

[66] *Hida*, not *hidâ*, is the distinct reading of the impression.

[67] *Tato*, not *tatâ*, is the reading of the impression, though the *e*-stroke is short (compare Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi.)

[68] *Ubhaye* is distinct on the reverse, but the following omitted syllable is very doubtful. It looks most like an original *saṁ* or *nâṁ*. I would conjecture *ubhayesaṁ* in accordance with the Mansehra and Shâhbazgârhi versions.

[69] *Hida*, not *hidâ* is the reading of the impression.

[70] The two Anusvâras are probable, but not certain.

[71] Read *dhramamagalena*.

[72] The syllable *de* has been inserted between *si* and *râ* and the syllable *râ* between *râ* and *jâ*.

[73] The apparent Anusvâra after *sru* is too irregular in shape to be read. It is probably due to a flaw in the rock.

[74] Regarding the sign see the remarks to the German edition. It is, of course, possible to read *tadatmaye* or *tadatraye*.

[75] Read *dhramasuśrusha*.

[76] Restore *priyo* before Priyadasi.

[77] The Anusvâra is faintly visible on the impression.

[78] The *ka* has been added as a correction.

[79] Possibly *parâkramena* to be read, as the top of the *ka* is slightly bent towards the right.

[80] The conclusion of the edict is missing and seems not to have been incised.

[81] Read *Piyadasi*.

[82] Possibly *mahathâvahâ* to be restored.

[83] It is, of course, possible to read *tadatmaye* or *tadatraye*.

[84] Possibly *ayatiye* is to be read.

[85] A Vedic imperative.

Mansehra.

. . [9] [taṁ] a[nu]vidhiyatu ti[.] Etakaye devana priye Priyadra[śi] raja yaśo va kiti va ichhati[.] [E tu] kichi parakrama . i devana priye Priya[dra]śi [raja taṁ]savraṁ para[trikaye va] [;] [kiti] [?] . . . [10][a]paparisave siya ti ti[91][.] Eshe tu parisave e[apu]ña[ṁ] [.] Dukaraṁ chu [kho] eshe khudrakena va vagre[na usa]ṭena va a[ña]tra a[gre]na parakramena savraṁ pariti . tu[.] E . [tu kho] usatena va duka[ra] [.]

Kâlsî.

dhaṁmavataṁ-vâ anuvidhiyatu-ti[.] Etakâye devânaṁ piye Piyadasi[27] lâjâ yasho-vâ[86] kiti-vâ ichha[87][.] Aṁ-châ-kichhi-lakamati[88] devânaṁ-piye Piyadashi[89] lajâ[90] ta shavaṁ pâlatikyâye-vâ [;] kiti [?] Sakale apapalâshave shiyâ-ti-ti[92][.] Eshe-chu-palisave[93] e-apuṁne[.] Dukale-chu-kho eshe khudakena-vâ vagena ushuṭena-vâ[94] anat[a][95] agenâ palakamenâ shavaṁ palitiditu[.] He[ta]-chu-kho [28] ushatena-vâ dukale[.]

Edict XI.

Girnâr.

Devânaṁ priyo Piyadasi râjâ evaṁ âha [:] nâsti etârisaṁ dânaṁ yârisaṁ dhaṁmadânaṁ dhaṁmasaṁstavo vâ dhaṁmasaṁvibhâgo va dhaṁmasaṁbadho va [.1] Tata idaṁ bhavati dâsabhatakaṁhi samyapratipatî mâtari pitari sâdhu susrusâ mitasastutañâtikânaṁ bâmhanasamanânaṁ sâdhu dânaṁ [2] prâṇânaṁ anâraṁbho sâdhu[.] Eta vatayvaṁ pitâ va putrena va bhâtâ va mitasastutañâtikena va âva paṭivesiyehi [:] idaṁ sâdhu idaṁ katayvaṁ[.3] So tathâ[97] karu iloka chasa âradho hoti parata cha aṁnaṁtaṁ[98] puṁñaṁ bhavati tena dhaṁmadânena[4]

Shâhbâzgarhî.

Devanaṁ priyo Priyadraśi raya evaṁ aha ti [:] nasti ediśaṁ danaṁ yadiśaṁ dhramadanaṁ dhramasaṁstave dhramasaṁvibhago [dhra]masaṁbaṁdho[.] Tatra etaṁ [:] dasabhaṭakanaṁ sammapraṭipati matapitushu suśrusha mitrasaṁstutañatikanaṁ śramaṇabramaṇanaṁ [23] danaṁ praṇanaṁ anaraṁbho [.] Etaṁ vatavo pituna[96] pi putrena pi bhratuna pi [sa]mikena pi mitrasaṁstutena ava prativeśiyena [:] [i]maṁ sadhu imaṁ kaṭavo [.] So tatha karaṁtaṁ ialoka[ṁ][99] cha aradheti paratra cha anataṁ puñaṁ prasavati [24] [te]na dhramadanena [.25]

Mansehra.

. . . [pri]ye Priyadraśi raja evaṁ aha [:] nasti . diśe dane adiśe dhramadane dhramasa . ve dhra]masa[ṁ)vibhage[5] dhrama . . dhe [I.] Tatra e . e [:] dasa[bha]ṭa . sa sa[mya]saṁpaṭipati[6] ma tapitushu . . . . . [12] saṁstutañatikana sramaṇabramaṇana dane praṇana anaraṁbhe[.] Eshe vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhatuna pi spami . . pi mitrasaṁstutena ava pativeśiyena . [:13] iyaṁ sadhu iyaṁ krataviye [.] Se ta[tha] karaṁtaṁ hida . ka cha[10] ra lhe .i . ratra cha a. taṁ puṇaṁ pra-avati . . [dhra]madanena [.14]

Kâlsî.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadashi lâjâ hevaṁ hâ[1] [:] nathi hedishe dâne [â]dishaṁ[2] dhaṁmadâne I dhaṁmashaṁvibhage[3] I dhaṁmashaṁbadhe[4] I [.] Tat[a] eshe [:] [dâshabhaṭakashi I shamyâpaṭipati mâtâpitishu I shushushâ I mitashaṁthutanâ[ti]kyânaṁ samanabaṁbhanânaṁ dâne [29] pâṇânaṁ anâlaṁbhe [.] Eshe vataviye pitinâ-pi pute-pi[7] bhâtinâ-pi [sh]avâmikyena-pi[8] mitaśaṁthutânâ[9] avâ paṭivesiyenâ [:] iyaṁ sâdhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye [.] Śe tathâ kalaṁta hidalokikye cha kaṁ âladhe hoti palata-cha anaṁta[11] puṁnâ paśavati tenâ dhaṁmadânenâ [.]

[86] *Yasho*, not *yaśo*, is the reading of the impression.

[87] Read *ichhati.*

[88] Read *palakamati.*

[89] *Piyadashi*, not °*si*, is the reading of the impression.

[90] Read *lâjâ.*

[91] *Siya ti ti* is also the reading of the Kâlsî version. It stands for *iti'ti*, which occasionally occurs also in Sanskrit.

[92] Read *apapalishave ; shiyâ*, not *siyâ*, is the reading.

[93] *Eshe*, not *ese*, is the reading of the impression here and in the next sentence.

[94] The *u*-stroke is distinct.

[95] A short final is more probable than a long one.

[96] This looks like *pitûna*, with two *u*-strokes.

[97] The two apparent *â*-strokes after *ta* are due to fissures in the rock.

[98] Probably *anaṁtaṁ.*

[99] This may possibly be *hialoka*

[1] Read *âhâ.*

[2] Possibly *adishaṁ* to be read.

[3] *Dhaṁmashaṁvibhage*, not °*vibhâge*, is the distinct reading.

[4] The impression shows no Anusvâra in °*badhe.*

[5] The Anusvâra is uncertain.

[6] Possibly *samma*° is to be read.

[7] Read *putenâ-pi.*

[8] Read *shuvâmikyenâ.*

[9] Read *mitaśaṁthutenâ* ; the *ta* stands below the line. There is no *pi* after this word.

[10] Possibly a sign (*ku?*) may have stood between *cha* and *aradhe.i.*

[11] Possibly *anata* to be read

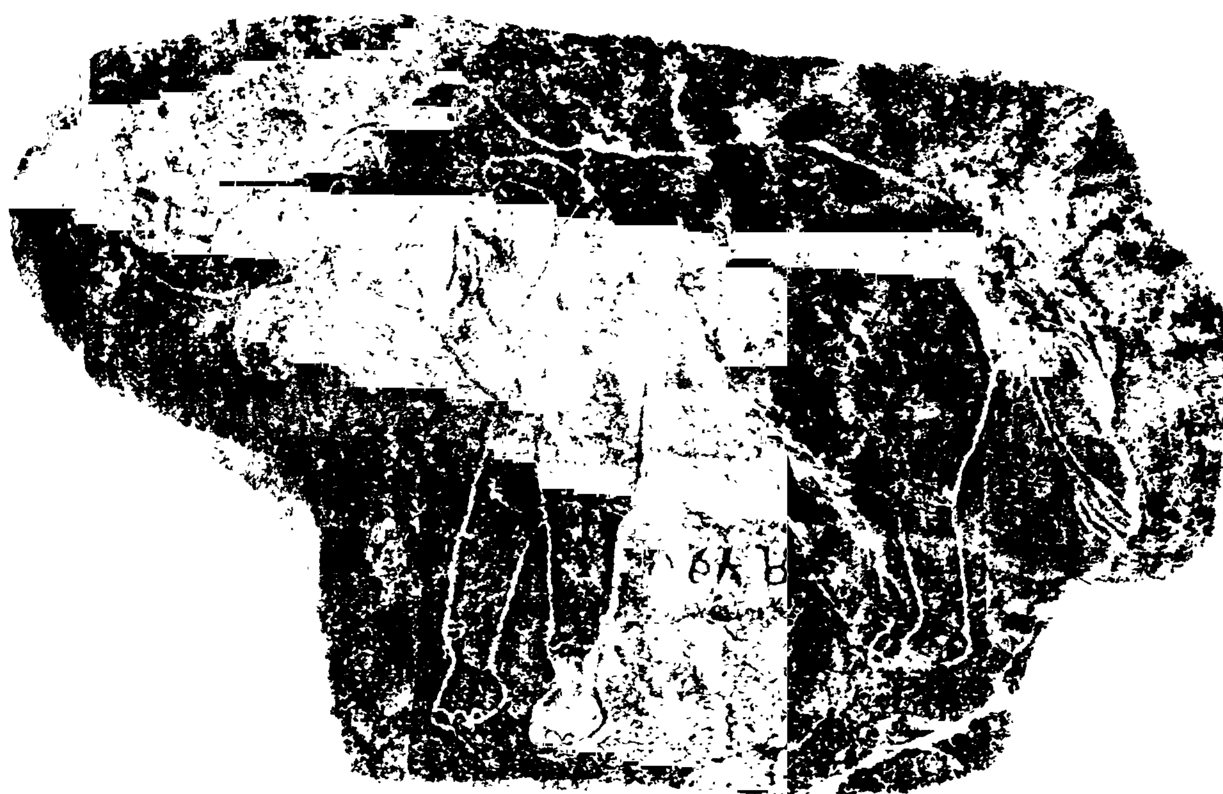
Ed XIII contd

Ed XIV

J Burgess, fecit

Scale: 3-10ths of origin

KÂLSI AŚOKA INSCRIPTION,—(IV) ON EAST END OF THE STONE.



Edict XII.

Girnâr.

Devânaṁ piye Piyadasi râjâ savapâsaṁdâni cha[11] pavajitâni[12] cha gharastâni[13] cha pûjayati dânena cha vividhâya cha pûjâya pûjayati ne [.1] Na tu tathâ dânaṁ va pûjâ va devânaṁ piyo maṁñate yathâ kiti[?] sâravaḍhî asa savapâsaṁḍânaṁ [.] Sâravaḍhî[15] tu bahuvidhâ [.2] Tasa tasa[16] tu idaṁ mûlaṁ ya vachiguti [;] kiṁti [?] âtpapâsaṁḍapûjâ va parapâsaṁḍagarahâ[17] va no bhave apakaraṇamhi lahukâ va asa [3] tamhi tamhi prakarane[.] Pûjetayâ[19] tu eva parapâsaṁḍâ tena tana[20] prakaraṇena [.] Evaṁ karuṁ âtpapâsaṁḍaṁ cha vaḍhayati parapâsaṁḍasa cha upakaroti [.4] Tadaṁñathâ karoto âtpapâsaṁḍaṁ cha chhaṇati parapâsaṁḍasa cha pi apakaroti[.] Yo hi kochi âtpapâsaṁḍaṁ pûjayati parapâsaṁḍam vâ garahati [5] savaṁ âtpapâsaḍabhatiyâ [;] kiṁti [?] âtpapâsaṁḍaṁ dîpayema iti so cha puna tatha karâto[22] âtpapâsaṁḍaṁ bâḍhataraṁ upahanâti [.] Ta samavâyo eva sâdhu [; 6] kiṁti [?] aṁñamaṁñasa dhaṁmaṁ srunâru cha sususera cha [.] Evaṁ hi devânaṁ piyasa ichhâ [:] kiṁti[24] [?] savapâsaṁḍâ bahusrutâ cha asu kalâṇâgamâ cha asu[. 7] Ye cha tatra tate[25] prasaṁnâ tehi vatayvaṁ [·] devânaṁ piyo no tathâ dânaṁ va pûjâ va maṁñate yathâ kiṁti[?] sâravaḍhî asa sarvapâsaḍânaṁ bahakâ[26] cha[.] Etâya [8] athâ vyâpatâ dhaṁmamahâmâtâ cha ithîjhakhamahâmâtâ cha vachabhûmîkâ cha añe cha[27] nikâyâ[.] Ayaṁ[28] cha etasa phala ya âtpapâsaṁḍavaḍhî cha hoti dhaṁmasa cha dîpanâ[9]

Shâhbâzgarhi.

Devanaṁ priyo Priyadraśi raya savra prashaṁḍani pravrajita[14] graha[ṭha]ni cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye[.] No chu tatha dana[ṁ] va puja va [1] devanaṁ priyo mañati yatha kiti[?] salavaḍhi siya savraprashaṁḍana[ṁ] [.] Salav[a]ḍhi tu bahuvidha[.] Tasa tu iyo mula yaṁ vachaguti [; 2] kiti[?] ataprashaṁḍapuja va parapashaṁḍagarana[18] va no siya aprakaraṇasi [,] lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[ṇ]e[.] Pujetaviya va chu paraprashaṁ-[3] [da] tena tena [a]karena[21][.] Evaṁ kara[ṁ]taṁ [a]taprashaṁḍaṁ vaḍheti paraprashaṁḍasa pi cha upakaroti[.] Tada añatha ka[rata cha] ataprashaṁḍaṁ [4] chhaṇati paraprashaṁḍasa cha apakaroti[.] Yo hi k[o]chi ataprashaḍaṁ pujeti paraprash[a]ḍa garahati savre ataprashaḍabhatiya va[;] kiti [? 5] ataprashaṁḍaṁ dipayami ti[,] so cha puna tatha karaṁtaṁ so cha puna tatha kaṛataṁ[22] baḍhataraṁ upahaṁti ataprashaḍaṁ[.] So sayame vo sadhu[;] kiti[?] añamañasa dhramo [6] śruneyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti[.] Evaṁ hi devanaṁ priyasa ichha[:] kiti[?] savraprashaṁḍa bahuśruta cha kala[ṇa]gama cha siyasu[.] Ye cha tatra tatra[7] prasana teshaṁ vatavo[:] devanaṁ priyo na tatha danaṁ va puja va mañati yatha kiti[?] salavaḍhi siya ti savraprashaḍanaṁ bahuka cha[.] Etaye a . . [8] vapaṭa [dhra]mama[ha]matra i[stridhi]yachhamahamatra vachabhumika añe cha nikaye[.] Imaṁ cha etisa phalaṁ yaṁ ataprashaḍavaḍhi [bhoti]. [9] dhramasa cha dipana[. 10]

Mansehra.

Devana priye Priyadraśi raja savra prashaḍani pravrajitani gahathani cha pujeti danena vividhay[e][25] cha pujaya[.] No [chu] tatha dana va puja va[1] devanaṁ priye mañati atha kiti [?] salavaḍhi siya savrapashaḍana ti[.]

Kâlsi

Devânâ-piye-Piyadashi [30] lâjâ shavâ pâshaṁḍani[23] pavajitâni gahathâni vâ pujeti-dânena-vividhena[24]-cha-[pujâ]ye [.] No-chu-tathâ[26] dâne-vâ pujâ-vâ devânaṁ-piye manati athâ kita[27] [?] Sâlavaḍhi śiyâ-ti śavapâśaṁḍânaṁ[28] [.]

[11] Dele *cha*.

[12] Possibly *pravajitâni* to be read.

[13] Possibly *gharistâni* to be read.

[14] *Pravrajita*, first read by M. Senart, stands according to a direct photograph above the line, just before *grahaṭhani*.

[15] The apparent *â*-stroke after *ra* is probably an accidental scratch or a *serif*.

[16] The first *ta* and the second *sa* of *tasa tasa* have been obliterated, as the sense requires.

[17] The syllable *saṁ* has been added as a correction.

[18] Read °*garaha*.

[19] Probably a mistake for *pujetayvâ*.

[20] Read *tena tena*.

[21] Dr. Burgess' new *facsimile* shows more distinctly than the older materials this reading My former reading *prakaraṇena* is impossible; so is M. Senart's *pakarena*.

[22] Read *karoto*.

[23] *Dele* the repeated words

[24] The syllable *ti* has been inverted as a correction.

[25] Possibly the reading was *tatra tatra*.

[26] Read *bahukâ*.

[27] The word *cha* has been added as a correction.

[28] The letter *a* has been added as a correction.

[22] Only the right half of the *anusvâra* is distinct.

[23] Read *pâshaṁḍâni*.

[24] Meant for *vividhâye*.

[25] Possibly *vividhaya* to be read.

[26] *Chu*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression.

[27] Possibly *kiti* to be restored.

[28] *Naṁ* stands, as a correction, above the line.

Mansehra.

Salavrudhi[30] tu bahuvidha[.] Tasa chu iyaṁ mule aṁ vachaguti [; 2] kiti [?] ataprashada-puja va parapashadagaraha va no siva apakaraṇasi[,] lahuka va siya tasi [ta]si pakaraṇasi[.] Pujetaviya va chu paraprashaḍa tena tena [3] akarena[.] Evaṁ karataṁ atmapashaḍa[37] badhaṁ vaḍhayati parapashaḍasa pi cha upakaroti[.] Tadañathaṁ karataṁ atmapashaḍa cha chhaṇati parapashaḍasa pi cha[4] apakaroti[.] Ye hi kechi atmapashaḍa pujeti parapashaḍa va garahati[,] savre atmapashaḍabhatiya va [;] kiti [?] atmapashaḍa dipay[a]ma[40] ti[.] . . puna tatha karataṁ [5] badhaṁtaraṁ upaha[na]ti[41] atma-pashaḍa[.] Se samavaye v[a] sadhu [;] kiti [?] anamaṇasa dhramaṁ śruṇey[u] cha suśrusheyu cha ti[.] E[v]aṁ hi devana[ṁ] priyasa ichha [;] kiti[?] savrapashaḍa bahuśruta cha [6] kayaṇagama cha haveyu ti[.] E cha tatra tatra prasana tehi vataviye [:] devana priye n[o ta]tha dana[ṁ] va pujaṁ va maṇati atha kiti [?] salavaḍhi siya savrapashaḍa[na][7] [bahu]ka cha[.] Etaye athraye vapuṭa dhramamahamatra istrij[h]achhamaha-matra[44] vrachabhumika añe cha nikaya[.] Iyaṁ cha etisa phale [8] yaṁ atmapashaḍavaḍhi cha bhoti dhramasa cha dipana[.]

Kâlsi.

Śâlavaḍhi-nâ bahuvidhâ[29] [.] Tasa-chu iyaṁ-mule [a]-vachaguti [;] kiti [?] ta atapâśaṁḍe pujâ[31] palapâśaṁḍa-galahâ-va[32] no śayâ[33] [31] apakalanaśi lahakâ-vâ[34] śiyâ taśi-taśi-pakalanaśi[35] [.] Pujetaviya chu palapâśaḍâ tena-tena akâlana[36][.] Hevaṁ kalata atapaśaḍâ bâḍhaṁ vaḍhiyati palapâśaḍa-pi-vâ upakaleti[.] Tadâ-aṁnathâ[38] kalata atapâśaḍa-cha chhanati palapaśaḍa pi-vâ apakaleti[.] Ye-hi kechha atapâśaḍa punati[39] [32] palapâshaḍa-vâ |ga[la]hati | shave atapâshaṁ[ḍa]bhatiyâ-vâ[;] kiti | [?] Atapâshaṁḍa | dipayema she-cha-punâ tathâ | kalaṁtaṁ | bâḍhatale | upahaṁti | ata-pâshaṁḍashi | [.] Samavâye-va shâdhu[;] kiti | [?] aṁnamaṁnashâdhaṁmaṁ |shuneyu-châ| shushusheyu châ-ti | [.] Hevaṁ-hi devânaṁ-piyashâ-ichhâ[:] kiti[?33] Savapâshaṁḍa| bahushutâ-châ kayânâgâ cha|[42] huveyu-ti | [.] E-va-tata-tatâ | pashaṁna| te-[hi] vataviye |[:] devânâ-piye-no-tathâ | dânaṁ-vâ pujâ-vâ | maṁnati | athâ-kiti[:] shâlavaḍhi śiyâ shavapâshaṁḍatiṁ[43] | bahukâ-châ | [.] Etâyâṭhâye viyâpaṭâ dhaṁmamahâmâtâ | ithidhiyakhamahâ-mâtâ| vachabhumikyâ|ane-vâ-nikâ[yâ] [34] Iyaṁ cha-etishâ | phale | yaṁ atapâshaṁḍavaḍhi-châ | hoti dhamasha-châ-dipanâ[.]

EDICT XIII.

Girnâr.

. . . .
. . . .
. . . . dhe satasahasra-mâtraṁ tatrâ hataṁ bahutâvatakaṁ mataṁ[.] Tatâ pachhâ adhanâ[46] ladhesu Kaliṁgesu tîvo dhaṁmavây[o] [1] . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . vadho va maraṇaṁ va apavâho va janasa[.] Ta[ṁ]bâḍhaṁ vedanamataṁ cha g[u]rumataṁ cha devâ[na]ṁ . . [sa] [2] . . . . .

Shahbâzgarhî.

A[stava]sha[45] abhisita[sa de]vana priasa Priadra-śi[sa] raño Ka[liga vijita.] [Diyadha]matre [praṇaśatasa]hasre yetato apavudhe śatasahasra-[ma]tre tatra hate bahu[tavatake] muṭe[. 1] Tato [pa]chha adhuna ladheshu [Kaliṁgeshu] tivre dhrama[palanaṁ][47] dhrama[ka]mata dhra-manuśasti cha devana pri[ya]sa[.] So asti anuso-chan[aṁ] devana priyasa vijinit[u][48] [Ka]liṁga-[ni][. 2] Avijitam hi [viji]naman[i ye]tatra vadh[o][49] va [ma]raṇaṁ va apava[ho] va jana-sa[.] Taṁ badhaṁ vedaniyamataṁ gurumataṁ cha devanaṁ priyasa[.] Imaṁ pi chu[50] tato

[29] Read *tu* for *nâ*. *Vi* stands above the line. In the next sentence *chu*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression.

[30] Regarding the third sign of this word see the note to the German edition.

[31] Thus corrected by the scribe from *ta apâśaṁḍe-vâ puja*; *dele* first *ta* and change *ḍe* to *ḍa*.

[32] Thus corrected by the scribe from *vâ tâ nâ anagalahâ vâ*.

[33] Read *śiyâ*.

[34] Read *lahukâ*.

[35] The *śa* of the first *taśi* is imperfect.

[36] Read *âkâlena*.

[37] It is, of course, possible to read here and in the sequel instead of *atma°*, *atra°* or *atta°*.

[38] *Dâ* stands above the line.

[39] Read *pujeti*.

[40] Possibly *dipayema* to be read, if it may be assumed that the *e*-stroke can stand at the top of *ya*.

[41] The *na* is a little indistinct and seems to be a correction as it has been put quite close to the following letter.

[42] Read *kayânâgamâ*.

[43] Read *shavapâshaṁḍânaṁ*.

[44] Possibly *istrijachha°* to be read; at all events the stroke denoting the aspiration is very faint and short.

[45] *Sta* is probable according to B.

[46] Read *adhunâ*.

[47] The last three letters are not recognisable in B.

[48] Possibly *vijiniti* in B.

[49] Thus B. instead of *vadhe*.

[50] Thus B. for *ima pi cha*.

Girnár.

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . sâ mâtâpitari susu[m]sâ gurususûsâ mitasaṁstuta-sahâyañâtikesu dâsa[bha] .
. [3] . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . [h]âyañâtikâ vyasanaṁ prâpuṇati[.] Tatra so pi tesaṁ upaghâto hoti[.] Paṭîbhâgo chesâ sa[va] . . [sâu.]
. . . .
. . . . [4] [mh]i yatra nâsti manusânaṁ ekataramhi pâsaṁḍamhi na nâma prasâ[d]o[.] Yâvatako jan . tadâ [5] . . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . na ya sakaṁ chhamitave[.]. Yâ cha pi aṭaviyo devânaṁ priyasa pijite pâti [6][58] . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . savabhûtânaṁ achhatiṁ cha sayamaṁ cha samacherâṁ cha mâdavaṁ cha [7] . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . . Yonarâjâ paraṁ cha tena chatpâro râjâno Turamâyo cha Aṁtekinâ[60] cha Magâ cha [8]
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . ṁdha-P[i]riṁdesu savata devânaṁ piyasa dhaṁmânusasṭiṁ anuvatare[.] Yata pi dûti[61] [9] . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . . . vijayo savathâ puna vijayo pîtiraso so[.] Ladhâ sâ pîtî hoti dhaṁmavîjayamhi [10]
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . . ṁ vijayaṁ mâ vijetayvaṁ mañâ[63][;] sarasake eva vijaye chhâti[ṁ] cha [11]

Sháhbázgarhí.

gurumata . ram [deva]naṁ priyasa[.] Tatra h[i] [3] vasaṁti bramaṇa va śramaṇa va aṁñe va prashaṁḍa gra[ha]tha va yesu vihita[51] esha agrabhu[ṭi][52] suśrusha matapitushu suśrusha gurunaṁ suśrusha [mitra]saṁstutasahaya-[4] ñatikeshu [da]sabha[ṭa]kanaṁ sammapratipati diḍha[bhatita][.] Teshaṁ tatra bhoti apagratho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇaṁ[.] Yesh. va pi saṁvihitanaṁ [ne]ho avipraḥino e[te]sha [mi]trasaṁstutasahayañatika vasana [5] prapuṇati[.] Tatra taṁ pi tesha vo apagratho bhoti[.] Pratibhagaṁ cha etaṁ savraṁ manuśanaṁ[53] gurumataṁ cha devanaṁ priyasa[.] Nasti cha ekataraspi [54] pi [55] prashaṁḍaspi na nama[56] prasado[.] So yamatro [jano]tadaKalige hato cha muṭ[o] cha apavuḍh[o]cha[ra]to [6] śatabhage[57] va sahasrabhagaṁ va aja gurumataṁ vo devanaṁ priyasa[.] Yo pi cha apakareya ti chhamitaviyamate vo devanaṁ priyasa yaṁ śako chhamanaye[.] Ya pi cha aṭavi devanaṁ priyasa [vi]jite bhoti ta pi anuneti anunij[h]ape ti[;] anutape pi cha p[r]abhave devanaṁ priyasa[.] Vuchati tesha[:] kiti[?] avatrapeyu na cha haṁñeyasu[.] Ichhati hi devanaṁ priyo savrabhutana achhati saṁyamaṁ samachariyaṁ rabhasiye[.] Eshe cha mu[kha]mute[59] vijaye devanaṁ priyasa yo dhramavijayo[;] so cha puna ladho devanaṁ priyasa iha cha sa[vre]shu cha aṁteshu [8] a shashu pi yojanaśa[te]shu yatra Aṁtiyoko nama Yonaraja paraṁ cha tena Aṁtiyokena chature 4 rajani Turamaye nama Aṁtikini nama Maka nama Alikasudaro nama[,] nicha Choḍa Paṁḍa ava Taṁbapaṁniya evameva Hidaraja[.] Visha-Vajri-Yona-Kaṁboyeshu Nabhake Na[bhi]tina [9] Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Aṁdhra-Puli[de]shu savatra devanaṁ priyasa dhramanuśasti anuvaṭaṁti[.] Yatra pi devanaṁ priyasa duta na vrachaṁti te pi śru[tu] devanaṁ priyasa dhramavuṭaṁ vidhenaṁ dhramanuśasti dhramaṁ [an]uvidhiyaṁti anuvidhiyiśaṁti cha[.] Yo [cha] ladhe etakena bhoti savatra vijayo sa[vatra puna] [10] vijayo pritiraso so[.] Ladha [bhoti] priti dhramavijayaspi[.][62] Lahuka tu kho sa priti[.] Paratrikameva mabaphala meñati devanaṁ priyo[.] Etaye cha aṭhaye ayo dhramadipi [di]pista[;] kiti[?] putra papotra me asu navaṁ vijayaṁ ma vijetavi[ya]ṁ mañishu [;] .ka . yo[64] vijaye [chhaṁ]ti cha lahudaṁ[ḍa]-

[51] Possibly *vihitaṁ* according to B.

[52] This is probably according to B., instead of °*bhuti*.

[53] Thus both A. and B.

[54] Thus B. plainly for *ekatare*.

[55] Looks like *pri*.

[56] Thus plainly B., instead of *prashaṁḍe jana nama*.

[57] Thus both A. and B., instead of °*bhago*.

[58] Read *hoti*. With *pijite* for *vijite* compare Pali *pajâpati* for *prajâvati*.

[59] Possibly *mukhyamute* according to B.

[60] Possibly *Aṁtekini* to be read.

[61] Read *dûtâ*.

[62] Thus B. plainly for °*vijayasi*.

[63] Read *mañaṁtu*.

[64] Not legible with certainty in B., where the first syllable looks like *spra*.

Girnâr.

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. ilokikâ cha paralokikâ cha[.12]

Kâlsî.

Aṭhavashâ I bhisita I shâ devânaṁ piyasha Piyadashine ; lâjine I Kaligyâ vijitâ I [.] Diyaḍhaṁ[â]te I pânashatashahaśe I yetaphâ apavuḍhe I śatashahashamâte I tata hate I bahutâvaṁtake I vâ maṭe [.] Tatâ [pa]chhâ I adhunâ ladheshu I Kaligyeshu I tive I dhaṁmavâye [35] dhaṁmakâmatâ I dhaṁmânushathi châ I devânaṁ piyashâ I [.] She athi anushaye I devânaṁ piya[shâ] I vijinitu I Kaligyâni I [.] Avijitaṁ hi I vijinamane I etatâ I vadhaṁ vâ I malane vâ I apavahe vâ I janashâ I [.] She bâḍha I vedaniyamute I gulumute châ I devânaṁ piyashâ I [.] Iyaṁ pi chu I tato I galumatatale I devânaṁ piyashâ I [. 36] [Sa]vatâ I vashati baṁbhanà va shama vâ[68] ane vâ pâśaṁḍa gihithâ vâ yeśu vihitâ esha ag[a]bh[uta]shushushâ I matâpitishushushâ[69] galushusha[70] mitashaṁthutashahâyanâtikeshu dâśabha[ta]kashi shamyâpaṭipati diḍhabhatitâ[.] Teshaṁ tatâ hoti [u]pagbâte vâ vadhe vâ abhilatânaṁ vâ vinikhamane [37] Yesh[aṁ] vâ pi [sha]ṁvihitânaṁ shinehe avipahine etânaṁ mitaśaṁthutashahâyanâtikya[71] viyashane pâpunâti[.] Tata she pi [tâ]nameva upagbâte hoti[.] Paṭibhâge châ esha shava manu.[naṁ] gulumate châ devânaṁ piyashâ [.] Nathi châ she janapade yatâ nathi ime nikâyâ ânaṁtâ yenesha [38] baṁhmane châ shamane châ nathi châ kuvâ pi janapadashi [ya]tâ nathi manushânaṁ I ekatalashi pi I pâshaḍashi I no nâma pasbâde I [.] She âvatake jane I tadâ Kaliṁgeshu [la] . shu hate cha I maṭe châ I apavuḍhe châ ; tatâ shatebhâge[72] vâ I shahashabhâge vâ I aja gulumate vâ I devânaṁ piyashâ [39]

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

neyu[.] Ichha . . . .[3] shavabhu . . . . .rayama shamachaliyaṁ madava ti[.] Iyaṁ vu mu . . . . [4] devânaṁ piyeshâ[73] ye dhaṁmavijaye[;] she cha punâ ladhe devânaṁ pi . . . [da] cha [5] shaveshu cha

Shâhbâzgarhî.

taṁ[65] cha rochetu taṁ e[va] vija maña.[66] [11] yo dhramavijayo[.] So hidalokiko paralokiko[.] Savra cha nirati bhotu ya [s]ramarati[.] Sa hi hidalokika paralokika[.12]

Mansehra.

. . . .
. . . . [Kaliga] . . . . ya .
. . praṇaśa . . . .
. . . .
[1][67] pachha adhuna la[dhe]shu Ka[lige]shu .
. . . .
ma[nuśa] . cha . . . .
. . . .
. . . . [2] . . . . .
. . [a[pava]he va jana] . . Se . . .
vedaniyama . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . [3] . . . esha agrabhu . suśrusha matapishu [suśrusha] gurusuśrusha mi . s[aṁstu] . . . .
. . . .
[4] . va [abhi . . naṁ] va vinikramaṇe[.] Yeshaṁ va [pi] saṁvi . . naṁ sinehe aviprahi[ne e]ta . mitrasaṁ
. . . . [5] . . . .
. . . . savraṁ manuśanaṁ gurumate cha [deva]naṁ priyasa[.] Nasti cha se janapade ya[tra] nasti ime nikaya a . . yenesha [bramaṇa cha śra[ma] . . .
pi [jana . . si] . . . . [6] no nama prasade [.] Se yavatake jane tada Kaligeshu [hate cha] . . . . [a]pavudhe cha [tata] śatabhage va sahasrabhage aja guruma . e . va . priyasa[.] . .
. . . . ka . . . mitavi [7] .
. . . .
. . . . [Ya]pi cha aṭavi devanaṁ priyasa vijitasi [h]oti [ta] pi anunayati anu[n]i [jha]paye ti[;] anu[ta]pe pi cha prabhave deva[naṁ] priyasa[.] Vuchati [teshaṁ] . . . .
. . . .
vanaṁ pri[ye] [8] . . . .
. . . .
. . . . mute vijaye [de]vanaṁ priyasa ye dhramavijaye[,] [se cha puna ladhe de]vanaṁ priyasa hida cha savreshu cha

---

[65] The last *Anusvâra* seems certain according to B.

[66] Read *vijayaṁ manaṁtu*.

[67] It i not certain, especially in the beginning, where the lines really end.

[68] Read *shamanâ*.

[69] Read *mâtâ°*.

[70] Read *galushushushâ*.

[71] The *nâ* of *nâtikya* stands above the line, and is indistinct.

[72] Read *shatabhâge*.

[73] Read *piyashâ*.

Kâlsî.

[ateshu a shashu [p]i yojanashateshu at[a][74] Atiyoga nâma Yona- . . palaṁ châ tenâ [6] Aṁtiyogenâ chatâli 4 lajâne[75] Tulamaye nâma Aṁtekine[76] n[â]ma Makâ nâ-[7] ma Alikyashudale nâma[,] nichaṁ Choḍa-Paṁḍiyâ avaṁ Taṁbapaṁniyâ hevameva hevamevâ[77] [8] [Hi]dalâjâ[.] Viśa-Vaji-Yona-Kaṁbojeshu Nâbhake[78] Nâbhapaṁtishu Bhoja-Pitinikye[shu] [9] Adha-P.l[a]deshu shavatâ devânaṁ pi[ya]shâ dhaṁmânushathi anuvataṁti[.] Y[a]ta[80] pi dutâ [10] devânaṁ piyasâ no yaṁti te pi sutu devânaṁ piyaṁya[81] [dhaṁ]mavutaṁ vidhanaṁ [11] dhaṁmânusathi dhaṁmaṁ anuvidhiyaṁti anuvidhiyisaṁti châ[.] Ye se [la]dhe [12] etakenâ hoti savatâ [vija]ye[82] pitilase se[.] Gadhâ sâ hoti piti piti dhaṁmavijaya-[13]shi[.] Lahukâ vu kho sâ piti[.] Pâlaṁtikyameve[83] mahaphalâ maṁnaṁ[ti] devenaṁ pine[84] [.14] Etâye châ aṭhâye iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi likhitâ[;]kiti[?] putâ pâpotâ me a.[85] [15] navaṁ vijaya ma vijayaṁtaviya manishu[.] Shay[a]kashi no[86] vijayashi khaṁti châ lahu-[16] daṁḍatâ châ lochetu tameva châ vijayaṁ manatu ye dhaṁmavijaye[.] She hidalokikyapalalo-[, 17] ki.ye[87][.] Shavâ cha nilati hotu uyâmalati[.] Shâ [h]i hidaloki[k]apalalokikyâ[. 18]

Mansehra.

aṁteshu a shashu pi y . . . t . shu . . . yok . nama . na . . [9] . . . .
. . . .
. . . . [Maka nama] Alikasu[dare] nama[ni]chaṁ cha Choḍa-Paṁḍiya a Taṁbapaṁniya evameva . . raja[.] Visha-Vaj[ri]-Yona-K. . shu [Nabha]ke[79] [Na]bhapaṁtishu-.oja-Pitini. shu Aṁdha-P. . . . .[10]
. . . .
. . . . [na priyasa] no y . ti te pi śrutu devanaṁ priyasa dhramavutaṁ vidhanaṁ dhramanuśasti dhraṁmaṁ anuvidhiyaṁti anuvidhi[yisaṁti cha][.] Y . . . . . takena [hoti vija.]
. . . .[11]
. . . .
. priye[.] [Etaye] ath[ra]ye iyaṁ dhrama . . likhita [;] kiti[?] putra prapotra me a . nava .
. . . . [12]
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . [lokike][.] Savra cha nirati hotu ya[s]rama[rati][.] Sa[hi hida]lokika paralokika[.]

Edict XIV.

Girnâr.

Ayaṁ dhaṁmalipî devânaṁ priyena Priyadasinâ râñâ lekhâpitâ asti eva [1] saṁkhitena asti majhamena asti vistatana[89][.] Na cha sarvaṁ sarvata ghaṭitam [2] Mahâlake hi vijitaṁ bahu cha likhitaṁ likhâpayisaṁ cheva [.] Asti cha eta kaṁ [3] puna puna vutaṁ tasa tasa athasa[91] mâdhûratâya [;] kiṁti [?] jano tathâ paṭipajetha[.4] Tatra ekadâ asamâtaṁ likhitaṁ asa desaṁ va sachhâya kâranaṁ va[5] alochetpâ lipikarâparadhena[92] va [. 6].

Shâhbâzgarhi.

Ayo[88] dhramadipi devanaṁ priyena Priśina[90] raña dipapito asti vo saṁkhitena asti yo vistriṭena[.] Na hi savratra [so] savre ghaṭiti[.] Mahalake hi vijite bahu cha likhite likhapeśami cheva[.] Asti cha atra puna puna [la]pitaṁ tasa tasa [aṭha]sa madhuriyaye [y]e[na] ja[na] tatha [13] pratipajeya ti[.] So siya va atra kichi asamataṁ likhitaṁ deśaṁ va saṁkhaye karaṇa va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena[. 14]

Kâlsî.

Iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi devânaṁ piyenâ Piyadashinâ lajinâ likhâpitâ athi yeva sukhi-[19] tenâ athi majhimenâ athi vithaṭenâ[.] No hi savatâ save ghaṭite[93][.] Mahâlake hi vi-[20] jite

[74] The apparent *e*-stroke in the second syllable is accidental.
[75] Read *lâjâne*.
[76] The last syllable is perfectly distinct on the reverse.
[77] Dele *hevameva*.
[78] The last vowel is distinct on the reverse.
[79] The older impression reads [*Nabha*]*ka*.
[80] The apparent *â*-stroke in the first syllable is accidental.
[81] Read *piyasa*.
[82] *Vijaye* stands above the line, the *vi* is triangular, the *ja* badly formed.
[83] Read °*meva*.
[84] Read *maṁnati devânaṁ piye*.
[85] Restore *asu*.
[86] Probably *shayakashakashi yo* (*i.e.* [*e*]*vo* for *eva*) to be read.
[87] Probably °*kikye* to be read.
[88] *Ayo* according to B.
[89] Read *vistatena*.
[90] Read *Priyadrasina*.
[91] The syllable *sa* has been added as a correction.
[92] Probably a mistake for *lipikarâparâdhena*.
[93] The syllable *ṭi* stands above the line.

Kâlsi.

bahu cha likhite lekhâpeśâmi cheva nikyaṁ [.] Athi châ heta punaṁpuna lapi-[21] te tashâ tashâ athashâ madhuliyâye yena jane tathâ paṭipajeyâ [.] She shiyâ[94] ata kichhi a-[22]samati likhite dishâ vâ shaṁkheye kâlanaṁ vâ alochayitu lipikalapalâdhena vâ [.23]

TRANSLATION OF THE SHÂHBAZGARHÎ VERSION.[1]

EDICT I.

This religious edict has been incised by order of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods:—No animal may be slaughtered and offered here as a burnt-sacrifice; nor shall any festive assembly be held; for King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in festive assemblies. There are, however, also some *kinds of* festive assemblies considered most excellent by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods.

Formerly many hundred thousand animals were slaughtered daily in the kitchen of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, in order to *prepare* curries. Now, when this religious edict is incised, only three animals are slain *daily*, two (2) peacocks *and* one (1) deer; the deer, however, not even regularly. But in future even these three animals will *no longer* be slaughtered.

EDICT II.

Everywhere in the empire of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, as well as *among those nations and princes* that are *his* neighbours, such as the Choḍas, the Paṁḍiyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputa, Taṁbapaṁnî, the Yona king, called Aṁtiyoka as well as *among those* who are the vassal-kings of that Aṁtiyoka,—everywhere King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, has founded two (2) *kinds of* hospitals, both hospitals for men and hospitals for animals. Everywhere where herbs wholesome for men and wholesome for animals are not found, they have been imported and sown by *the king's* order. And wells have been dug by his order for the enjoyment of men and beasts.[3]

EDICT III.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—*When I had been* anointed twelve years [this *following* order was given by me]:—"Everywhere in my empire both *my* loyal Rajukas[4] and vassals shall go forth on a tour every five years,—the reason of this

[94] *Shi* stands above the line.

[1] The subjoined translation of Edicts I—X, XIV differs only slightly, as the text requires, from that given, *Arch. Survey, South Ind.*, vol. I, p. 121ff. The translation of Edict XII has been taken over almost unaltered from the first volume of this Journal, p. 19f. The translation of Edict XIII is based on my German rendering in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 172f. The few notes given here mostly contain matter not given in my former articles on these inscriptions.

[2] The Choḍas are the Cholas of Kâñchî; the Paṁḍiyas are the Pâṇḍyas of the extreme south; the Satiyaputa is probably the king of the Satvats; the Keralaputa, the king of Kerala or Malabâr. Taṁbapaṁnî, or Tâmraparṇî, is Ceylon, the Yonas are the Yavanas or Greeks, and Antiyoka is Antiochos II (see below Edict XIII).

[3] Two sentences had been left out, and the last has been mutilated (see the Dhauli version).

[4] *Rajuka*, in Pali *rajjuka*, literally, "rope-holder," means "Revenue Settlement officer;"—see the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLVII, p. 466f.

is the preaching the sacred law—as also for other business, (saying):—Meritorious is the obedience towards mother and father[meritorious is the liberality]towards friends, acquaintances, and relatives, towards Brahmans and ascetics; [meritorious is the abstention from killing living creatures], meritorious is the abstention from reviling heterodox *men*. Moreover, *the teachers and ascetics of all* schools will inculcate *what is* befitting at divine service, both according to the letter and according to the spirit."

EDICT IV.

A long period, many hundreds of years, have passed, *during which* the slaughter of animals, the cruel treatment of created beings, the unbecoming behaviour towards relatives *and* the unbecoming behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans have only increased. But now, in consequence of the fulfilment of the sacred law by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, the sound of drums,[5] or rather the sound of the law, *has been heard*, while the sight of cars of the gods,[6] elephants, and other heavenly spectacles were exhibited to the people. As has not happened formerly in many centuries, even so have grown now through the god-beloved King Priyadarśin's preaching of the law the non-destruction of animals, the good treatment of living creatures, the decorous behaviour towards relatives, the decorous behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans, the obedience towards parents, *the obedience* towards the aged. Thus, and in many other ways, the fulfilment of the sacred law has grown, and King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow *still more*. Moreover, the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow until the end of time, *and* will preach the sacred law, abiding by the sacred law and by virtuous conduct; for that is the best work, *viz.* the preaching of the sacred law; but the fulfilment of the sacred law is not *possible* for a man destitute of virtuous conduct. The growth of this very matter and its non-diminution are meritorious. For this purpose, *viz. that* they may cause the growth of this matter and may not permit its diminution, this *edict* has been written. This *edict* has been written by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, when he had been anointed twelve years.

EDICT V.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—Good *works* are difficult of performance. He who is the originator[7] of good *works* does something difficult of performance. Now much good has been done by me. *If* then, my sons and my grandsons and those *among* my descendants who *may come* after them until the end of time, will thus follow *my example*, they will do *what is* meritorious. But he who will give up even a portion of these *virtuous acts* will commit sin, for sin is easily committed.

Now a long period has passed, *and* the *officials* called the Overseers of the Sacred Law have formerly not existed. Now, when I had been anointed thirteen years, I appointed Overseers of the Sacred Law. They are busy among all sects with watching over the sacred law, with the growth of the sacred law, and with the welfare and happiness of *my*

[5] Compare *Jâtaka*, iv, 269-76 : *dhammabheriṁ charâpesi*.
[6] Compare Fa Hian's account (Beal, p. 106.) of religious processions at Patnâ.
[7] The word *adikara—âdikala* has been completely preserved in the Mansehra and Kâlsi versions alone.

loyal *subjects, as also* among the Yonas, Kaṁboyas, Gaṁdhâras, Rastikas, Pitinikas,[8] and *all* other *nations* which are my neighbours. Among *my* hired servants, among Brahmans and Vaiśyas, among the unprotected and among the aged, they are busy with the welfare and happiness, with the removal of obstacles among my loyal ones. With the prevention of *unjust* imprisonment and of *unjust* corporal punishment, with the removal of obstacles and with loosening bonds, for these purposes they are busy, *considering* that *there is* a *numerous* progeny, or that *the person concerned* has been overwhelmed by misfortune, or that he *is* aged. Here, and in all the outlying towns, they are everywhere busy in all the harems of my brothers and sisters, and among my other relatives. These Overseers of the Sacred Law are busy with what concerns the Sacred Law, with watching over the Sacred Law, and with what is connected with *pious* gifts, in my whole loyal empire. This religious edict has been written for the following purposes, *viz.* that it may endure for a long time, and that my subjects may act accordingly.

EDICT VI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—A long period has elapsed, *during which* formerly the despatch of business and the hearing of the informers have not regularly taken place. Now I have made *the following arrangement, that* the informers may report to me the concerns of the people at any time, while I dine, in *my* harem, in *my* private rooms, in the latrine, in *my* carriages, and in *my* pleasure-garden and everywhere I despatch the business of the people. Moreover, if, with respect to anything which I order by *word of* mouth to be given or to be obeyed as a command, or which as a pressing *matter* is entrusted to my officials, a dispute or a fraud happens in the committee *of any caste or sect*, I have given orders that it shall be brought forthwith to my cognisance in any place and at any time; for I am never satisfied with *my* exertions and with the despatch of business. For I consider the welfare of all people as something for which I must work. But the root of that is exertion[9] and the despatch of business. There is no more important work than *to secure* the welfare of all. And what is the purpose of every effort which I make? It is that I may discharge the debt *which I owe* to the creatures, that I may make some happy in this world, and that they may gain heaven in the next. This religious edict has been written for the following purpose, that it may endure for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may thus exert themselves for the welfare of all men. But that is difficult *to carry out* without the utmost exertion.

EDICT VII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires that adherents of creeds of all kinds may dwell everywhere; for they all seek after self-control and purity of mind. But men *possess* various desires and various likings. They will put in practice either the whole or a part only *of what they profess.* But self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm attachment are laudable in a lowly man,[10] to whom even great liberality is impossible.

[8] The Rastikas I identify with the Ṛishtikas, a southern nation. The Pitinikas, or Pitenikas, probably had their seats in the same districts.

[9] Compare *Mahâbhârata*, XII. 56, 14 and 38, 14, where *utthâna* "exertion" is prescribed for kings and declared to be the root of all good government.

[10] The form *nichâ* in the Girnâr version instead of *niche*, may be explained as a contraction of *nichâya* i.e. *nichâya*; compare Pillar Edict iv, note on *nijhapayitâ*.

Edict VIII.

A long period has elapsed, *during which* the beloved of the gods used to go forth on so-called pleasure-tours.[11] On such *occasions* the chase and other similar amusements used to be *pursued*. Now, when King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, had been anointed ten years, he went forth *in search* after true knowledge. Owing to this *event*, religious tours *have become a regular institution* here *in my empire*. On that *occasion* the following happens, *viz.* the reception of, and almsgiving to, Brahmans and ascetics, the reception of the aged, the distribution of gold, the reception of the people of the provinces, the preaching of the Sacred Law and inquiries concerning the Sacred Law. *It is thus that*, in exchange *for past pleasures*, King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, since then enjoys the pleasures *which* these *virtuous actions procure*.

Edict IX.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—The people performs various auspicious rites in misfortunes, at marriages of sons and daughters,[12] on the birth of sons, at *the time of* starting on a journey. On these and similar occasions the people perform many auspicious rites. But at such *times* the women perform many and various despicable and useless rites. Now, auspicious rites ought indeed to be performed. But rites of this description produce no results. But the following, the auspicious rite, *which consists in the fulfilment of* the Sacred Law, produces, indeed, great results.[13] That includes kindness towards slaves and servants, reverence towards venerable persons, self-control with respect to living creatures, liberality towards ascetics and Brahmans. These and other similar *virtuous actions are* called the auspicious rites of the Sacred Law. Now a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, ought to speak *as follows*:—"This is meritorious; this auspicious rite must be practised until the *desired* aim is attained." To the success of which *auspicious rites does* this *refer*? For every worldly auspicious rite is doubtful. It may be that it accomplishes the *desired* object; but it may be that it remains even in this world. But that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law acts without reference to time. If it does not secure here the *desired* object, it yet produces endless merit in the next world. But, if it secures the *desired* object both are gained; here that *desired* object, and endless merit is produced[14] in the next world through that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law.

Edict X.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, does not think that glory and fame bring much profit, except that he desires glory and fame *with the view* that at present and in the future the people may practise obedience to the Sacred Law, and that they observe the duties of the Sacred Law. For this *purpose* King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires glory and fame. But all the efforts of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, are made with reference to the *results* for a future life. How so? *It is his wish* that all may be free from danger. Now the danger is sin. But assuredly the thing is difficult

[11] The word *vihârayâtrâ* occurs in the sense of "pleasure-tour" in Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacharita*, III, 3, and *passim*

[12] For the use of *âvâho* and *vivâho* compare the *Ambattha Sutta* 2·1 (*Dighanikâya*, vol. I, p. 99).

[13] Compare the beginning of the Jaina Daśavaikâlika Sûtra, —*dhammo maṅgalam ukkaṭṭhaṁ*, etc.

[14] Compare *Jâtakas*, IV, 239, 9, *mahantaṁ puññaṁ pasavâmiti*.

to accomplish, whether for the low or for the great, except by the greatest exertion and by the renouncing everything. But it is [most difficult] for the great.

Edict XI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"There is no such gift as the almsgiving of the law, *nor anything like* the intimacy through the law, the charitable gift of the law *and* the connection through the law.[15] This *law* includes the good treatment of slaves and servants, obedience towards parents, liberality towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, ascetics and Brahmans, *and* the non-destruction of living creatures. *Therefore* a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, or a friend and acquaintance, or even a neighbour ought to give advice on this matter, *saying* :—" This is meritorious; this ought to be done." He who acts thus both gains this world and produces for himself endless merit in the next through this almsgiving of the sacred law.

Edict XII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, honours men of all creeds, both ascetics and householders, by gifts and honours of various kinds. But the Beloved of the gods thinks not so *much* of gifts and honours as of what?—that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds. But the increase of essentials *may happen* in various ways. But this is its root, *viz.* guarding one's speech—how so? "Honouring one's own creed and blaming other creeds shall not be in unimportant points, or it shall be moderate with respect to this or that important point." But other creeds must even be honoured for this or that reason. Acting thus, one exalts one's creed and benefits also the other creeds. Acting differently, one hurts one's own creed and injures the other creeds. How so? For he who honours his own creed and blames all other creeds out of reverence for his own creed *thinking* "I promote *thereby the interests of* my own creed," however, acting thus, injures his own creed exceedingly. Hence self-restraint[16] alone *is* commendable. How so? "They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it."[17] For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods. What ?—" that men of all creeds shall have heard much and shall possess holy doctrines. And to those who adhere to this or that *faith* it must be said: "The Beloved of the gods thinks not so *much* of gifts and honours as of what ?—" that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds and a large one." For this end are working the Overseers of the Sacred Law, the Superintendents of women, the *Vachabhûmikas*[18] and other bodies *of officials*. And this is its result, *viz.* the exaltation of one's own creed and the promotion *of the interests* of the law.

Edict XIII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, being anointed eight years, conquered *the country of* Kaliṅga. One hundred and fifty thousand souls were carried away thence, one

[15] Compare *Ittivuttaka*, p. 98 (Windisch), where most of the terms used in this Edict occur, as well as the general views.

[16] The reading of the other three versions *samavâya* "concord, harmony" is better than *sayamo* "self-restraint," *i.e.* with respect to opponents.

[17] Or, possibly, [they shall obey (*it as* far as *it is worthy to be obeyed*).]

[18] As the Mansehra version offers *Vrachabhûmika*, the term may mean either "Overseers of the latrines," or (*vraja-bhûmika*) "Overseers of cowpens," see *Kâmasûtra*, p. 290, l. 1 (Durgâprasâda).

hundred thousand were slain, *and* many times as many died. Afterwards, now that Kaliṅga has been conquered, *are found* with the Beloved of the gods a zealous protection of the Sacred Law, a *zealous* love for the Sacred Law, a *zealous* teaching of the Sacred Law. That is the repentance of the Beloved of the gods on account of his conquest of Kaliṅga; for when an unconquered country is being conquered[19] there *happens* both a slaying and a dying, and a carrying-off of the people. That appears very painful and regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. But the following appears to the Beloved of the gods still more regrettable than that; for there dwell Brahmans, or ascetics, or men of other creeds, or householders, among whom the following is practised, *viz.* obedience towards the first-born (?), obedience towards parents, obedience towards venerable persons, becoming behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, slaves and servants, and firm attachment. Such *men* suffer there injury or destruction, or forcible separation from their beloved ones. Or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those who themselves are well protected, *but* whose affection is undiminished. Then even that misfortune becomes an injury just for those *unhurt ones.* All this *falls* severally on men, and appears regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. And *men* have faith not merely in a single creed.[20]

Even one hundredth or one thousandth part of those men who were slain, died, or were carried off during the conquest of Kaliṅga, now appears to the Beloved of the gods *a matter* of deepest regret. Even, if *a man* does *him* an injury, the Beloved of the gods holds that all that can be borne should be borne. Even on *the inhabitants of* the forests, found in the empire of the Beloved of the gods he takes compassion, *if he is told that* he should destroy them successively,—and the Beloved of the gods possesses power to torment *them.* Unto them it is said—what? "Let them shun *doing evil,* and they shall not be killed;" for the Beloved of the gods desires for all beings freedom from injury, self-restraint, impartiality and joyfulness.

But this conquest the Beloved of the gods holds the chiefest, *viz.* the conquest through the Sacred Law. And that conquest has been made by the Beloved of the gods both here *in his empire* and over all his neighbours, even as far as six hundred *yojanas,* where the King of the Yonas, called Aṁtiyoka *dwells,* and beyond this Aṁtiyoka, *where* the four (4) Kings *dwell, viz.,* he called Turamaya, he called Aṁtikini, he called Maka, *and* he called Alikasudara[21] *further* in the south, *where* the Choḍas and Paṁḍas *dwell* as far as Taṁbapamni, likewise *where* the Hida-king *dwells.* Among the Viśas, Vajris,[22] Yonas, Kamboyas, in Nâbhaka of the Nâbhitis, among the Bhojas, the Pitinikas, the Aṁdhras, and Pulidas—everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the gods with respect to the Sacred Law. Even those to whom the messengers of the Beloved of the gods do not go, follow the Sacred Law, as soon as they have

[19] For the construction compare the reading of the MSS. A and B in the passage *Jâtaka,* III, p. 275:—*Senako nâma rajjaṁ kârento Bodhisatto Sakkattaṁ kâresi.*

[20] The King means to say that on the occasion of conquests many creeds suffer, as there is no country where the people are contented with one only. The Kâlsî version, with which that of Girnâr seems to have agreed, is more explicit, as it says: "And there is no country where there are not found these countless congregations into which these Brahmans and ascetics *are divided.* And there is nowhere a country where the people have faith in one creed alone."

[21] According to Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde,* Bd. II, p. 254 f. the five Yona or Greek kings named are Antiochos II., king of Syria (died 247 B.C.), Ptolemaios II., king of Egypt (died 246 B.C.), Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia (died 239 B.C.), Magas, king of Cyrene (died 258 B.C.), Alexander, king of Epirus (died between 262 and 258 B.C.).

[22] The Visas are probably the Bais Rajputs, the Vajris the Vrijis of Eastern India.

heard of the orders of the Beloved of the gods, issued in accordance with the Sacred Law, and his teaching of the Sacred Law, and they will follow it in future.

And the conquest which thereby has been made everywhere—a conquest made everywhere—yields a feeling of joy. But this joy is indeed only *something* small. The Beloved of the gods esteems as precious only that which refers to the next world.

And this religious edict has been written for the following purpose. Why? "In order that my sons and grandsons *as many as* they may be, may not think a new conquest desirable, in order that on *the occasion of* a conquest, only possible by the sword,[23] they may find pleasure in mildness and gentleness, and in order that they may deem a conquest through the sacred law alone a *real* conquest. That yields bliss in this world and in the next. All their joy be the joy in exertion; for, that yields bliss in this world and in the next.

Edict XIV.

These religious edicts[24] have been written by order of King Priyadaśin, beloved of the gods, *under a form*, whether abridged, or expanded. For not everything is suitable in every place. For my empire is large, and much has been written, and I shall write *still more.* Certain *sentences* have been repeated over and over again because of the sweetness of their import. And for what purpose *has that been done? It is with the intention* that the people may act thus. But it may be that something has been written here incompletely, be it on account of the space, be it on account of some reason to be *specially* determined, or through a mistake of the writer.

XXXVII.—A COLLECTION OF SANADS OF MOGHUL EMPERORS.

By Paul Horn, Ph.D., Strassburg.

Mr. H. Blochmann remarks in his translation of the *Âîn-i-Akbarî* that the 19th chapter of the second book on the *Sayûrghâls* is one of the most interesting in Abul Fazl's whole work. The collection of seventy *sanads* discussed here may therefore claim some interest[1] as almost all of them refer to the grant of such rent-free lands, and thus illustrate the formalities and usages of the institution in the most instructive manner, even if they fail to furnish much valuable historical information.

The general points concerning the granting of *Sayûrghâls* being well known, I shall restrict myself, after a few short remarks as to the age and origin of the *sanads*, to hint at some details that arise from their study, giving as specimens the text of three of them with translation. They belong chiefly to the *pargana* of Batâla (spelt Batâlah or Batâlâ, and perhaps in the oldest of the documents Watâlah) in the Panjâb, only a small number being from other cities or districts as Akbarâbâd, Jalâlâbâd, Bîâh, Chamâri, Dâbhâwâla, and Patîhaibatpûr. Occasionally we find mention of such villages a Bhagwânpûr, Faizuddînpûr, Harpûr, Kartârpûr, Rahîmâbâd, Rasûlpûr

[23] The translation gives a free rendering of the Girnâr reading, *sarasake eva*, literally "only possible by arrows."

[24] The word *dhramadipi* or *dhammalipi* has here to be taken in a collective sense; compare the use of *Smṛiti, Sruti* and similar terms in Sanskrit.

[1] These sanads were obtained by Mr C. J. Rodgers, of the Archæological Survey in the Panjâb, and by the Government of India were ordered to be distributed among the British, Calcutta, Lahore and Lakhnau Museums.

and Shâhjahânpûr, belonging to the *pargana* of Batâla, or Pâdishâhpûr *alias* Kalânkhurdpûr, belonging to Patîhaibatpûr, or with localities in Batâla as the *masjid-i-jâmi'-i kalân* 'the large jâmi-mosque' and the *maḥalla-i qâẓî Isma'îl Muhammad* 'the quarter of judge Ism'ail Muhammad.' The sanads were written under the rule of the Emperors Bâbar, Jahângîr, Shâhjahân, Aurangzêb, Shâh 'Âlam, Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Shâh, Ahmad Shâh, and Tîmûr Shâh.

Among all the names of the persons on whom lands were conferred through these papers only a very few belong to important men. They are almost all small people, mostly women who scarcely would be found in the chronicles, not even the Shaikhs and Qâẓîs that sometimes appear. No assignation of grounds to one person reaches a hundred *bîg'has*, an allowance that Badâuni (vol. III, p. 205) states as too mean for a learned man, and in most cases the grants vary between 10 and 12 bîg'has or something more, except rare grants of 40, 60 or 70 to Shaikhs, or once to a wife of such a pious man. The *bîg'ha* is defined as a *jarîb-i shastgazî, i.e.* 60 *gaz* long and by 60 broad;[3] if fractions of *bîg'has* occur we find *biswas*, but no *biswânsas*. It was not customary, as appears from these sanads generally to execute a separate document for every single little allotment, but to take together several persons in one party. Sometimes an order extends even to several parties, the amounts of the property of individuals not being specified in the text. But the statements in question are given on the back, written in *siyâqat*-characters. Also, the individual members of each party are not enumerated in the text, but only one as a representative followed by the words *wa ghairuhu, wa ghairuhâ*, or seldom *wa jamâ'atuhu*, with or without the added *shurakâ-i* (for men and women), viz., *sharîkahâ-i farmân*. A farmân, *e.g.*, generally concerns *musammât Maulânâ Khaṭîb wa ghairuhu*, and afterwards we learn that these others were Maulânâ Hâmid, Maulânâ Ahmad, and Maulânâ Ya'qûb; or it is about *musammât Daulat Khâtûn wa ghairuhâ*, and on the back we find the other names Rahmat Khâtûn, Bîbî Aima, Bîbî Fâtima, and Maryam Khâtûn, all written without diacritrical points and in very cursive characters, the representative person pointed at only by a *mushâr ilaihi*. A farmân of a first grant of lands naturally always prescribes the measurement and boundaries (*paimûdan u chak bastan*) of the new territory, a superfluous business if the grounds were already in the possession of somebody and if therefore the matter was only a re-investment. In this case in the beginning the date of the first grant is always mentioned. We seldom read that the donations took place at different times (*batawârîkh u sanîn-i mukhtalifa*).

For a rent-free fee the Chagatai word *sayûrghâl* is only once used, *viz.*, in the oldest sanad of Bâbar's time, and the Arabic *aima* seldom occurs; generally the Arabic-Persian *madad-i-ma'âsh* is used. If an owner has died it can be transferred to his heir, and so we find grounds that have been for some centuries in the possession of the same family. Likewise the heir succeeds to the testator in case of the latter undertaking at an advanced age the pilgrimage to Makka and Madîna. Once the grant is renewed because one of two parties has died, the other being alive. In the new *farmân* therefore the dead person is replaced by his heirs and the lands are granted anew to those and the old surviving possessors, quite on the former conditions. A *sanad* of Shâhjahân's reign mentions

[3] *Cf.* Col. H. S. Jarrett's note in his translation of the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, vol. II, p. 61, and the 10th chapter, p. 62. We learn from Badâunî (vol. II, p. 206) that the salary of a commander of twenty, lowest rank of an officer in the Moghul army, was equivalent to the revenues of a thousand *bîg'has*.

an order that restricted the right of the heirs in the *Śúba* of Lâhôr to part of the property of the testators in *sayúrghál*-land, *viz.*, to 58 *bíg'has* 8 *biswas;* in one case the number of 107 *bíg'has* 8 *biswas* is diminished therefore by 49 *bíg'has* that were again made domain lands (*kháliśa sharífa*), and the rest was handed to the heirs. This may be one of the many tricks invented by the *śadrs* and *qázís*—who, as Abul Fazl says, wear a turban (as a sign of respectability), but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves, but fall short in sense—in order to injure people if they did not prefer even open force.

If a person gets a fee for the first time, it is always stated that he was a worthy one and could not gain his livelihood by other means, the latter formula also occurring in the re-instatement of a former possessor or on the succession of his heir. The former owners of these sanads therefore must be reckoned amongst the third class of men that lands were bestowed upon (*Áín-i Ákbarí*, vol. I, p. 198)—I may mention here that *sayúrghâls* are conferred on certain persons even in the so-called '*Institutes of Amír Tímúr,*' (see Davy-White's edition pp. 235, 305). Besides, it was to be proved by credible witnesses that the people in question were alive, a function mostly performed by two Shaikhs, at Batâla often by the *mudarras* of the *jámi'*-mosque and the *mufti.* Before the sanad could be written a memorandum or a *yáddásht-i wáqi'a* was to be presented, and such papers are sometimes specially mentioned.

It is often said that the owners of a rent-free fee are to be 'assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire.' This was also the common benevolent phrase for persons that were discharged from the service in the Moghul empire (conf. *'Álamgír-náma*, p. 594).

In Akbar's time the rule followed in conferring land was, that all *sayúrghál*-lands should consist of one-half of tilled land and one-half capable of cultivation; in these sanads only land of the latter kind is granted (*zamín-i uftáda-i lá'iq-i-zirá'at*) and sometimes *banjar*-land, *i.e.*, such as has been uncultivated for five years or more (*Áín-i-Akbarí*, vol. I., p. 297).

Of course a certain order is observed in putting the seals on these *farmánhá-i thabtí* —such were issued for conferring *sayúrghâls* according to the *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. I, p. 194—as in all Muhammadan public documents; naturally with some differences under various kings. The sanad of Bâbar's time renewing the grant of a village with a revenue of 5,000 copper tankas (*i.e.*, 250 rupees) to Qâzî Jalâl, judge of Batâla, in A.H. 933, has been signed only with the emperor's own seal—round the middle field bearing the words *Zahíruddîn Muhammad Bábar* and the date 928, in five panels the names of his ancestors to Amîr Tîmûr have been inscribed. Likewise the documents bestowing a first *sayúrghál*, besides the *tughrá*, bear only the seals of the emperors, *viz.*, Jahângîr—a square, round the centre the names of his forefathers inscribed in circles, and in the four extreme corners four names of Allâh; 'Âlamgîr—a square exactly like that of Jahângîr's, only larger; and one with the seal of prince Aurangzêb before his accession to the throne, dated the 6th *Jumádi'l awwal* 1069 (30th January 1659), the *julús* being on the 24th *Ramazán* (the 15th June) of the same year. The seal of the king's son is a round one and contains the words *Muhammad Aurangzêb Bahádur Ghází thání-i Śáhib-qirán thání.*[3] These sanads are all on paper about 33 inches by 17 (but the margins are

[3] See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II., p. 147, note 23.—A drawing of Aurangzêb's imperial seal is to be found in Sir Thomas Roe's account of his residence at the court of the Great Moghul (*cf. Histoire générale des voyages* Paris 1746 *seq.* vol. xi, p. 57.)

now all more or less cut and torn off), and are handsomely written in fair *ta'líq*, except Bâbar's one (that measures 13 by 7½ inches, and is in very cursive characters). In Akbar's and Jahângîr's time we find the *Iláhí* era exclusively used, while later it is seldom mentioned, but that of the Hijra is employed.

There are also some sanads granting *sayúrghâls* sealed only by officials, and not by the emperor himself, whose name however is read on the seals of the latter.[4] The size of these sanads is considerably smaller than that of the monarch's; it varies between 16 to 20 inches by about 8¼ inches; the writing generally is very irregular. Sometimes the *Ṣadr ul-ṣudúr* commands the performance of an imperial *farmán* and gives orders for the assigned lands to be surveyed; such sanads in 'Âlamgîr's time bear only the seal of the functionary named, whereas under Jahângîr and Shâh 'Alam the seals also of the *Díwán* or of the *Khân Khânân* were affixed. In Farrukh Siyar's reign in these cases the Qâzî's seal takes the first place accompanied by those of different lower officials and private people. If the matter is a re-investment, as in most cases, we always find two seals.

There occur as sealing *Ṣadr ul-ṣudúr's*:

Rizawî Bukhârî, 24th year of 'Âlamgîr (who died in the same year,—conf. *Ma'áthir-i 'Álamgírí*, p. (207) and *Ma'áthir ul-Umará*, vol. II, pp. 308, 309);

Sharîf Khân, 25th year of 'Âlamgîr (who was elevated to this dignity in the same year,—conf. *Ma'áthir-i 'Álamgíri*, p. 219);

Asad Khân, 15th and 32nd years of 'Âlamgîr (with the dates 1081, 14 and 1088, 20 on his seals), *i.e.*, Âṣaf uddaula Jumlat ul-Mulk Asad Khân. He is styled *Tarkhán* in another farmân (16th year); and

Amjad Khân *Ṣadr Jahán*, 49th year of Shâh 'Âlam.

Not bearing the title of *Ṣadr ul-ṣudúr* on their seals, as also Asad Khân does not, but in that function, appear:

Siyâdat Khân, 38th year of 'Âlamgîr (with the date 1096, 28 on his seal, in which year he, Sayyid Oghlan, received this title, *cf. Ma'áthir ul-Umará*, vol. II. p. 495);

Amîn Khân Bahâdur, 47th year of 'Âlamgîr (with the date 1113, 46 on his seal); and

Amîr ul-Umarâ, 48th year of 'Âlamgîr (with the date 1113, 45 on his seal).

In the re-investment-documents we find two seals: that of the *Díwán* (*-i qul*) and that of the *Ṣadr*, but generally without titles. That one of them must belong to the *Díwán* is (besides *Áín-i-Akbarí*, vol. I, p. 195, line 6 *et seq.*) shown in a sanad of the 50th year of 'Âlamgîr which bears Hâfiz Khân's seal, who in that year became *Díwán* of Lâhôr,—till then having been in the service of Gauharârâi Bêgum, younger sister of the emperor (*Ma'áthir-i' Álamgírí*, p. 513). The same document has also the seal of Mîr Khwâja Shâh, who is here exceptionally styled *Ṣadr*. The dates of the entries of the sanads in the registers of the *ṣadárat* and the *díwán* (*-i-sa'ádat*) are always noted, the latter falling one or more weeks later than the first. The *ṣadr's* seal is placed outside the text in the vertical fold on the right, that of the *Díwán* is a little higher up, above the text itself and under a single line containing the name of the reigning

[4] The same was also the case during the Sassanian period (cf. *Mittcilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft IV, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, herausgegeben von Paul Horn und Georg Steindorff, Berlin, 1891, p. 28.) The Sassanian high functionaries did not seal with the portrait of the king, but often with his name.

king (on the margin the monarch who had first granted the fee is shortly mentioned with his *post-mortem*-title). The following *Dîwâns* and *Śadrs* appear together:

Śâbir 'Alî and Sayyid Ahmad, 11th and 13th years of Jahângîr,

Diyânat Khân and Nizâmuddîn Hasan Qâdirî, 23rd year of 'Âlamgîr (the first with the date 1084, 17 on his seal);[5]

'Abd Ilâhyâr ul-Husainî and Aslam Khânazâd, 33rd year of 'Âlamgîr (with the dates 1089, 21, *viz.*, 1093, 27 on the seals);

Mîr Ahmad Khân and Aslam Khânazâd, 37th year of 'Alamgîr (the latter with the date 1094, 27 on his seal);

Abû (?) Kâzim and 'Abd ul-Bâqî, 44th year of 'Âlamgîr (with the dates 32, *viz.*, 1110, 42 on the seals);

Sa'âdatmand Khân and Sayyid Ashraf Khân, 3rd year of Shâh 'Âlam (with the dates 1120, *viz.*, 1119, 1 on the seals);

Sa'âdatmand Khân and Khwâja Futûh, 2nd year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the engraved 'first year' on his seal, as also in the following case);

Fazl 'Alî Khân and Khwâja Futûh, 4th and 5th years of Farrukh Siyar;

Ziyâ uddîn Muhammad Khân and Futûh Khân, 7th year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the date 'third year' on his seal);

Sayyid Shahâmat Khân and Mîr Muhammad Śâlih, 5th and 8th years of Muhammad Shâh (with the dates 1133, *viz.*, 1134 and 1135 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahâmat Khân and Sayyid 'Azîz Khân, 10th year of Muhammad Shâh (with the dates 1138, *viz.* 1139, 9 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahâmat Khân and Sayyid Mîrakshâh Khân, 14th year of Muhammad Shâh (the latter with the date 1142, 12 on his seal);

Sayyid Shahâmat Khân and Sayyid Sultân Husain Khân Mausawî, 15th year of Muhammad Shâh (with the date 1138, *viz.*, 1145, 15 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahâmat Khân and Mîr Muhyi'ddín Mausawî, 18th year of Muhammad Shâh (with the dates 1138, *viz.* 1148 on the seals); and

Sayyid Shahâmat Khân and Khwâja Iślâh Khân, 19th year of Muhammad Shâh (with the dates 1138, *viz.*, 1149, 19 on the seals).

With one seal only (on the right) the same documents have been sealed in the 25th year of Muhammad Shâh (Sayyid Mîrak Khân, 1153, 22), in the 2nd year of Ahmad Shâh (Shamshêrbêg Khân Khânazâd, 1161, 1), and in the first year of Tîmûr Shâh (Dâwar Khân Śadr ul-śudûr). Except the farmâns sealed with the personal seals of the emperors a *tughrá* has but seldom been added the drawing of which is then always very poor and artless.

Even the higher functionaries did not employ a new seal every year, that is to say, they did not alter the date. We often find seals therefore with years that considerably differ from those of the sanads themselves.

On some signets the possessors are styled *muríd* or *muríd-i pádisháh*, a title introduced by Akbar.

[5] Nizâmuddîn Hasan Qâdirî occurs as *Śadr ul-śudûr* also in the text of some sanads from 'Âlamgîr's 22nd year. The Qâdirîs were a darwêsh order. Nineteen principles of theirs are enumerated in the Berlin Persian manuscript, *Petermann, No. 721*, (*cf.* Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No. 233, 2, p. 276).—Khânazâds were a sort of pages educated at the imperial court (cf. *Ma'âthir ul-Umarâ*, vol. I, p. 797).

There are also some private documents in this collection of sanads, the most interesting of which concern the sale and purchase of lands. We learn from them the value of arable lands in the *pargana* of Batâla, *viz.*, 251 rupees for 100 *bîg'has*, 20 rupees for 5 *bîg'has*, 42 rupees for 15 *bîg'has* 17 *biswas*, 122 rupees 8 annas for 35 *bîg'has banjar*-land, and 60 rupees for 20 *bîg'has zamîn-i bârânî*, the price of the *bîg'ha* varying therefore between $2\frac{1}{3}$ and 4 rupees. The sales took place under the rule of Muhammad and Ahmad Shâh, the rupees and the annas being specified as *'âlamgîrî*. In Shâh 'Âlam's time once *Buhlûlîs* or *Dâm-i 'âlâmgîrî's* are mentioned. One-half of the fixed amount is always paid on account. As is customary in Christian countries by illiterates to draw a cross instead of the signature, we find a circle once adopted for this purpose by a woman obliged to sign the document about the sale of her grounds. These papers bear the seal of the *Qâzî* as of the competent official and the signatures and seals of a number of witnesses. Judges of Batâla were according to our sanads:—

Qâzî Arjumand in the year 1115 (2), the seal with the date 1112; Qâzî 'Atâ Ullâh, son of 'Azîm Ullâh, 1139, on the seal 1120; Qâzî Ahlîyat Ullâh, 1141, on the seal 1138; Qâzî Mîr Muhammad, 1141, 1147, and 1161, and

Walî Muhammad, son of the dismissed Qâzî Hibat Ullâh, 'who, as his father extended the hand of oppression and tyranny over the inhabitants,' and for this reason, in the second year of Shâh 'Âlam's reign, the citizens presented a petition that he should be deposed and be replaced by their former just Qâzî Ghulâm Muhammad, whose seal with the date 48 appears on documents from 'Âlamgîr's 49th year. I am not sure if this request was entirely successful, at all events in A. H. 1120, 1125, and 1126 the desired Ghulâm Muhammad was not judge, but Muhammad Walî Ullâh, who is perhaps identical with the unjust Walî Muhammad.

In the 16th year of Muhammad Shâh Mîr Muhammad, son of Mîr Muhammad Qâim, was appointed judge of Batâla, as successor of Amânat Ullâh, and he was confirmed in this office after Ahmad Shâh's accession to the throne. The documents bear the seals of Mîr Muhy'iddîn Khânazâd, 1118, and Shamshêrbêg Khân Khânazâd, 1161. That Jalâl was Qâzî of Batâla in A.H. 933 has already been mentioned.

Finally there are a few other sanads, *e.g.*, one concerning the grant of a daily allowance of 12 annas to Shaikh Nûr Muhammad and his companions in Patîhaibatpûr, to be paid by the *fautadâr* of that town, or regarding the lease of the village of Pâdishâhpûr *alias* Kalânkhurdpûr in the *pargana* of Patîhaibatpûr, amounting to 550 rupees a year and being to be delivered to the *fautakhâna*, which need not to be further described.

I now give as a specimen the text[6] of three *sayûrghâl-sanads*, together with their English translations:—

درینوقت میمنت‌عنوان فرمان والاشان واجب‌الاذعان صادر شد که چهل بیگهٔ زمین افتادهٔ لائق زراعت
خارج جمع از پرگنهٔ چماري مضاف بصوبهٔ پنجاب در وجه مدد معاش مسمّات راج بي‌بي وغیرها حسب‌الضمن
مقرر باشد که حاصل آنرا صرف مایحتاج نموده بدعاے بقاے دولت ابدطراز مواظبت نمایند باید که حکام و عمّال
و جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و استقبال اراضی مزبوره را پیموده و چک بسته بتصرّف آنها بازگذارند و اصلاً و مطلقا

[6] I have spelt the Persian words more correctly than they appear sometimes in the originals.

تغییر و تبدیل بدان راه ندهند و بعلّت مال وجهات و اخراجات مثل قتلغه و پیشکش وجریبانه و ضابطانه و محصّلانه و مهرانه و داروغگانه و پیکار و شکار و مقدّمي و قانونگوئي و ضبط هرساله بعد تشخیص چک و تکرار زراعت و کلّ مطالبات سلطاني و تکالیف دیواني مزاحم نشوند و اندرین باب هر سال سند مجدّد نطلبند و اگر در محلّ دیگر چیزے داشته باشند آنرا اعتبار نکنند بیست و نهم شوّال سال چهلم از جلوس والا نوشته شد ٬

Translation.

"In this happy time the high order which is necessary to be heard came forth that 40 *bíg'has* of fallow land, capable of cultivation, allodial to the *pargana* of Chamârî that belongs to the *súba* of the Panjâb, according to the endorsement were bestowed as a rent-free fee upon P. P. Râj Bîbî and companions. They may spend the revenues of it for their needs, being assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire. The present and future magistrates, tax-gatherers, *jágîr*-holders and *krôrís* having surveyed the stated lands and marked their boundaries[7] should give them into their possession, and by no means allow any alteration or change. After the settlement of the boundaries and the new cultivation one should not trouble them for any demands of the Government and the levies of the court in the shape of quit-rent, taxes, and tributes, as *qutlugha*, presents, the rates of *jaríbána*,[8] *zâbitána, muhaṣṣilána, mahrána, dárôghagána*, for war and chase, the *muqaddimí* and *qánúngóyí*, and the annual sequestrations. Regarding this no new order should be yearly expected and other eventual existing appointments not considered.[9] Written on the 29th Shawwâl of the 40th year since the sublime accession to the throne (viz., *of 'Álamgír*)."

On the back the text of the *yádhásht-i wáqi'a*, dated Monday, the 13th Rabî II, of the 39th year (*21st November, 1695*) is given, and besides the dates of entry in the registers the names of Râj Bîbî's companions, *viz.*, Nûr Bîbî, Ṣâhib Khâtûn, and Sharîfa Bânû, each of them getting 10 *bíg'has*.

Another sanad concerning a re-investment runs:

خلدمنزل حضرت محمد شاه پادشاه غازي خلد ملكه ابدا

گماشتهاي جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و استقبال پرگنهٔ بنالا مضاف صوبهٔ پنجاب بدانند چون بموجب فرمانعالیشان حضرت مرقوم بتاریخ ۲ شعبان سنهٔ ۳ موازي پنجاه و نه بیگهٔ زمین از پرگنهٔ مذکور در وجه مدد معاش مسمّاة نورخاتون وغیرها شرکاي فرمان و عبدالغني وغیره ورث محمّد عاقل وغیره بتجویز صدور سابق مقرر است درینولا بتصدیق ثقات بوضوح پیوست که مشار الیهم حيّ و قائم و اراضیٔ مزبوره را قابض و متصرّف اند و از ممر دیگر وجه معیشت ندارند بنابر آن بتصدّق فرق مبارک بندگان حضرت خدیو جهان خداوند زمان باعث امن و امان ظلّ ظلیل ایزد متعال نائب نبیل دادار بیهمال مظهر اتمّ پروردگار رحمت اعمّ آفریدگار مقنّن قوانین جهانداري ممهّد مهاد کرم‌گستري خلافت‌پناه ظلّ اراضیٔ مرقومه [10] از محلّقدیم بدستور سابق بشرط فیض و تصرّف حسب‌الضمن مقرّر و مسلّم داشته‌شد مي‌باید که زمین مسطوره را در تصرّف آنها واگذاشته اصلاً و مطلقاً متعرض

[7] In other sanads the *Chaudharís* (I cannot understand for what reason Blochmann has banished this spelling into the notes of his *Áín-i Akbarí*-edition,—*f.e.* vol. I, p. 198, line 15, instead of putting it into the text), *Qânûngôis, Muqaddams* and *Mâliks* are said to have taken part and consented to this act.

[8] These technical terms are all fully explained in the dictionaries.

[9] I know that this last phrase also could be translated 'if they should have possessed something in another place (*besides the above sayûrghâl*) it should not be taken notice of,' but I have preferred the above translation as more harmonizing with the contents.

[10] Corrected from *marqûma-râ* according to other sanads.

نشوند تا حاصلات آنرا فصل بفصل و سال بسال صرف مایحتاج خودها ساخته بدعاي دوام دولت ابدطراز مواظبت میںمودہباشند و اگر در محلّدیگر چیزي داشتهباشند آنرا اعتبار نکنند شرح تحریر فی التّاریخ دویم شهر جمادي الاوّل سنۀ ۱۸ جلوس متعلّي مطابق سنۀ ۱۱۴۸ هجری المقدس شد ؛

TRANSLATION.

"Shâh 'Âlam.[11]—His Majesty Muhammad Shâh-i Ghâzî, may God perpetuate his reign for ever!

"The present and future representatives of the *Jâgîr*-holders and *Krôrîs* of the *pargana* of Batâla, belonging to the *sûba* of the Panjâb, may know: According to the high order of His Majesty, dated the 2nd Sha'bân of the third year (*i.e., of Shâh 'Âlam*), 59 *bîg'has* of the land of the *pargana* stated have been bestowed as a rent-free fee, by former *Sadrs* upon P. P. Nûr Khâtûn and companions, partners of the *farmân*, and upon P. P. 'Abd ul-Ghani and companions, heir of Muhammad 'Âqil and companions. It now being evidenced through trustworthy testimony that the above-named are alive, really own and possess the stated lands, and do not get their livelihood otherwise, on that account as an alms of the blessed head of the slave (*of God*), His Majesty the sovereign of the world, the master of the time, the author of safety and security, the covering shadow of the sublime God, the excellent viceregent of the peerless distributor of justice, the most perfect manifestation of the all-nourisher, the universal pity of the creator, the founder of the institutions of the world-possessing, who lays the foundation of the carpet of graciousness, the asylum of the khalifate,—the possession of the stated lands, in the former place and on the former conditions, according to the endorsement has been graciously ratified and intrusted. One ought to restore the described grounds into their possession, hindering them not at all, and absolutely not from spending the revenues from season to season and year to year for their own needs and to be assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the everlasting empire. If there should exist any appointment, otherwise[12] it is not to be taken notice of. Written on the 2nd *Jumâdi'l awwal* of the 18th year since the sublime accession to the throne (*i.e., of Muhammad Shâh*), corresponding to the year 1148 of the holy flight (*the 20th September, 1735*)."

On the back the endorsement of Shâh 'Âlam is written, as always in these cases. The names of Nûr Khâtûn's partners were 'Azîz Khâtûn, daughter of Shaikh Muhammad, 'Âmila, Shams Khâtûn, daughter of Ilyâs, Hayât Bânû, those of 'Abdul Ghani's Jân Bibi, Sâliha Bânû, etc.

Bâbar's sanad runs—[13]

هوالغالب

فرمان ظهیرالدّین محمّد بابر غازي

درین وقت فرمان جهان‌مطاع واجب الاتّباع شرف نفاذ یافت که چون موضع ملحهراکل بهروري از پرگنۀ وتاله که جمع رقمی ان مبلغ پنجهزار تنکۀ سیاه است برسم سیورغال تعلّق بقاضي جلال قاضئ پرگنۀ مذکور است

[11] *Khuld-manzil* was Shâh 'Âlam's *post-mortem*-name.

[12] *Cf.* note 9.

[13] This farmân is very difficult to decipher. The characters want almost all diacritical dots; they are indeed not more fluently written than those of the other sanads, but the tenor is different, so that it cannot be understood by the help of the others. I am indebted for a very few hints to Mr. Jâmî Khân Ghôrî at Berlin, who has seen the document, but notwithstanding there remain some doubtful words. My transcript of the name of the village is quite tentative.

میداشته حالا بر همان‌دستور بدر متعلّق شش سنه و بعلّت مال وجهات و سایر متوجّهات مزاحم و متعرّض مشارالیه
نشوند و بعرض شد و حوالئ تزاید می‌آمد که برین موجب معرم [؟] خاصّه بتصریح شد و هرساله بفرمان و پروانچهٔ
مجدّد محتاج ندانند در زمان [؟] بقصر هما تحریر شد فی شهر ذي قعده سنهٔ ۹۳۳

TRANSLATION.

"He (*God*) is the conqueror!

"*Farmân* of Zahîr-uddîn Muhammad Bâbar-i-Ghâzî.

"Now the order to be obeyed by all the world and necessary to be respected has the honour of setting forth that the village of Manchharâkal, belonging to *pargana* Watâla, the total register of which amounts to 5,000 copper-*tankas* (*250 Rupees*) and which as a *Sayûrghâl* has been bestowed upon Qâzî Jalâl, judge of the city named, is now granted to him on the same conditions for six years. No one should molest nor trouble the aforesaid for quit-rents, *jihât* and *sâir mutawajjihât*.[14] On request it was further enjoined that the imperial seal has been affixed for evidence, and every year a new farmân or order shall not be thought necessary. Written at . . . . in the castle 'Phoenix,' in the month Zî Qa'da, 933 (*began the 30th July, 1527*)."

On the back the following words are written:—

"Order of the chief wazîr of the cities of faithful mankind, Shaikh.............."

Unfortunately the name of the Shaikh is not legible and his seal is also very indistinct.

XXXVIII.—FURTHER PÂBHOSÂ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In addition to the three larger inscriptions, published by Dr. Führer (*ante*, p. 240ff), the Pâbhosâ cave contains a number of small and difficult ones, regarding which I offer some remarks at the request of the Editor, though I am unable to give in every case certain and complete readings or satisfactory explanations. All of them are somewhat carelessly incised on the hermit's bed and seem to belong to a period, when the cave was no longer occupied by the original donee or donees. The characters show the types of the seventh or eighth century A.D. The language is incorrect Sanskrit, occasionally, it would seem mixed with Prakrit.

No. I.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. Śrî-Prayagaṁ var[e ?]uttam(?)[p ?]odhakî(?)ḥ

L. 2. Suttadhâr[a ?] akhaṁṇḍataḥ

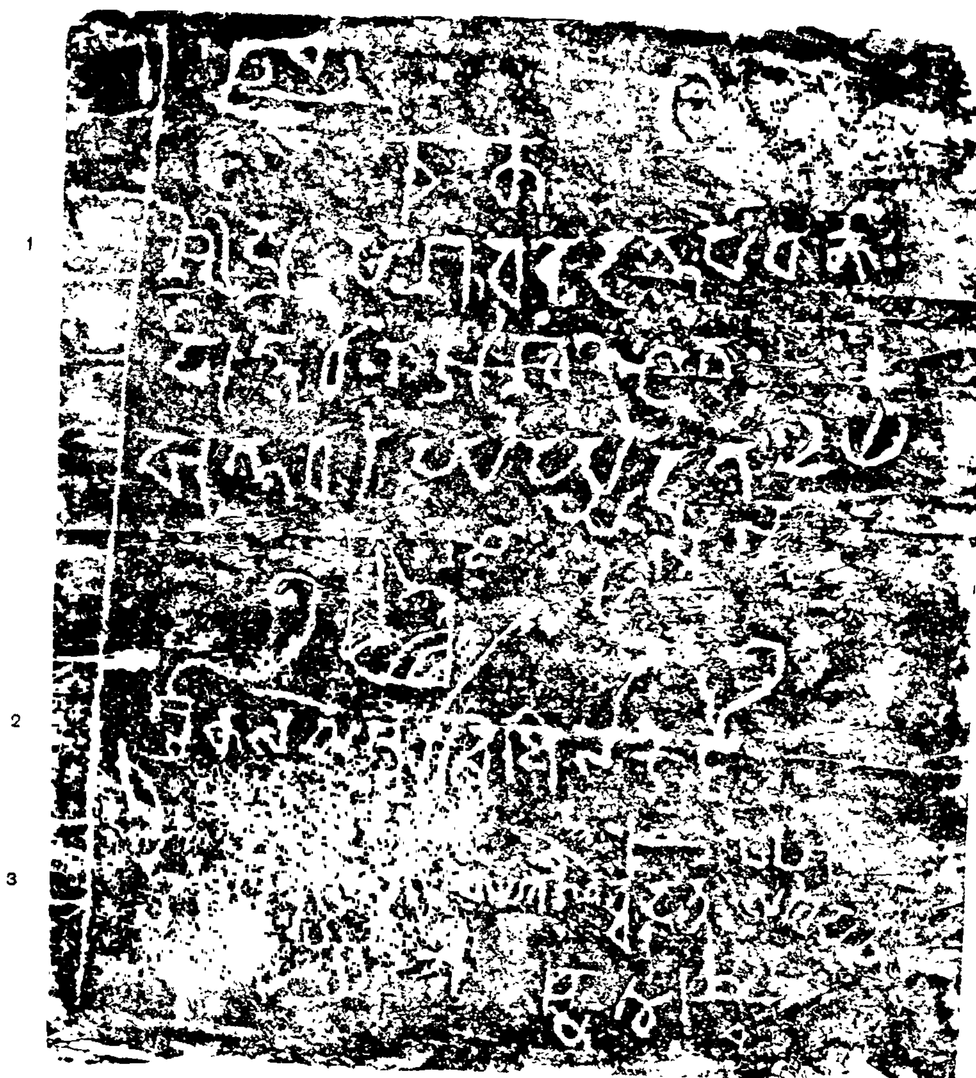
L. 3. Suttadhâr[a ?] yayyo ?[a ?] ubha ? daya [‖ *]

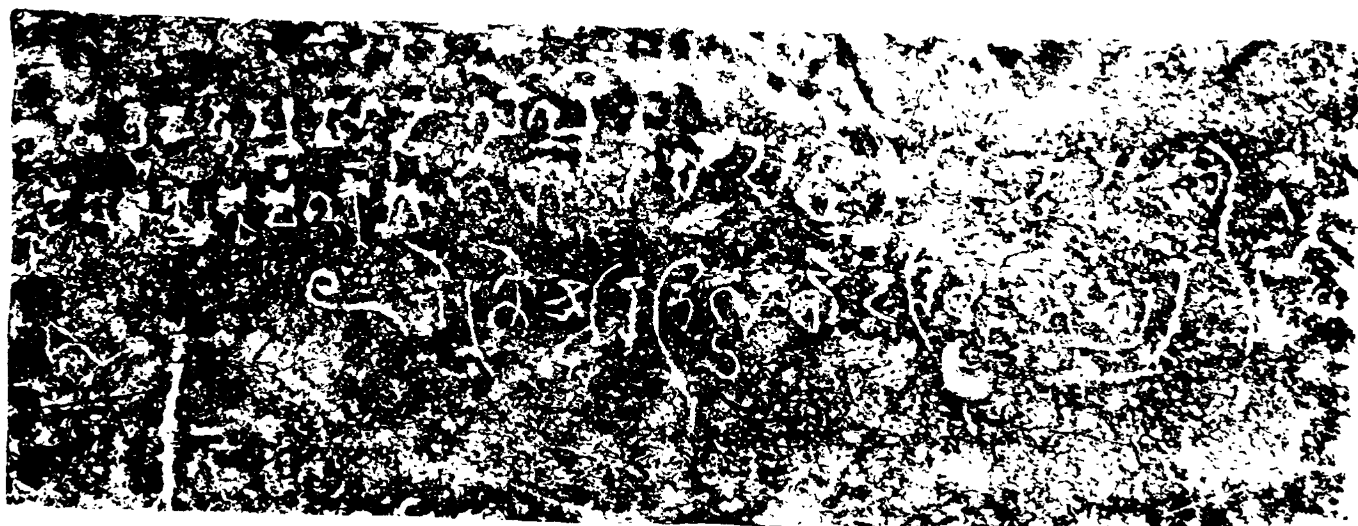
Above l. 1 stands high up in the left hand corner a large sign, which may be intended for *jñâ*, and lower above the middle of the line two letters, the second of which

[14] Otherwise *sâir jihât*.

PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.

1
2
3





Dr. A. Führer, impress.

Scale ⅛ of originals.

PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.

7

8

9

ON THE WEST WALL, INSIDE THE CAVE

10

Scale: ¼ of originals.

Dr. A. Führer impress.

is *ka*. Below l. 3 there is the representation of a conch-shell and to the right three rudely scratched illegible letters.

As regards the interpretation, the only certain facts are (1) the occurrence of the name of "glorious Pray[â*]ga" and (2) the mention of two *suttadhâra* or masons. Possibly the whole may be intended for: *Śrî-Prayâg[âd Varaputtro Modhakî* [or *Podhakî*), *sûtradhâro' khaṇḍitaḥ sûtradhâro Yayya ubha[yoḥ*] deyam* ‖ or in English "From glorious Prayâga, the unblamed mason Modhakin (or Podhakin) son of Vara, (*and*) the mason Yayya (*Jajja*),—the gift of both these." If this is correct, the inscription probably records repairs of the cave, done by the two persons mentioned.

No. II.

Transcript.

Śrî-Kalase[śe*]śvarâdiśi(?)lâ kuṭṭî ‖

The reading of the seventh and eighth consonants is uncertain; *kuṭṭî* is probably a mistake for *kuṭî*, the two dots, which I have taken for stops, may, of course, denote the *Visarga*, which however would be wrong. The translation is: "The *cella* (or temple) of glorious Kalaśeśvara and the rest." *Kalaśa* is the name of a *Nâga*, and the inscription probably refers to the legend, which makes the cave the home of an enormous Nâga, (see *ante*, p. 241).

No. III.

The only signs readable with any certainty are: *rvvadatta* towards the end of the line.

No. IV.

[Nanda]dattaprasâdo lolî . . . .

No. V.

Deva . . . .

No. VI.

Transcript.

Oṁ Ke[Ki*]raṇe[śv]arit(?)ila(?)kedali(?)va . . . sya [‖*]

The inscription seems to refer to a deity called Kiraṇeśvarî, which seems to occur again in No. VII.

No. VII.

Transcript.

Kiraṇe[śva]riśr[î*]ka[r*]ttâ [‖*]

If the restoration is correct, the translation will be, "The maker of (*the statue of*) glorious Kiraṇeśvarî" and the inscription may refer to one of the masons, mentioned in No. I, see also No. VIII.

No. VIII.

TRANSCRIPT.

Śrî-Krishṇagopîrûpakarttâ [॥]

The second *ta* of °*karttâ* looks like *va*. The translation is, "The maker of the statues of glorious Krishṇa and of the milkmaids." The inscription probably refers to one of the masons in No. I.

Nos. IX and X.

TRANSCRIPT.

Vijayasenasyaḥ[ya*] ।

Kiraṇabhojak[a?]

These two pieces may belong together and may possibly mean, "Of Vijayasena, the temple-priest of Kiraṇa (i.e. *Kiraṇeśvari*)." If this interpretation is correct, the two notes may indicate that Vijayasena visited the cave when the two masons, named in No. I, repaired it. The contents of the whole series may perhaps be connected as follows :— "Some time in the seventh or eighth century the Pâbhosâ cave was gratuitously restored by two masons of Prayâga and dedicated by Vijayasena, the *Bhojaka* of Kiraṇeśvarî, to the *Nâga* Kalaśa and other deities." This would account for the existence of the legend mentioned by Dr. Führer, according to which the cave is inhabited by an enormous Nâga.

XXXIX.—AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE BAIJNÂTH PRASASTIS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

During the Christmas vacation of 1892 Dr. M. A. Stein, the energetic and learned Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, visited the Kângrâ district and spent some days at Kiragrâma, where he studied the Baijnâth *Praśastis* on the spot and made enquiries regarding various facts they mention. After a certain show of resistance the temple-priests became communicative, no doubt, as Dr. Stein thinks, because they wanted to learn what their inscribed tablets contained. And the results of his enquiries are so valuable for the interpretation of the inscriptions that I am sure I shall render a service to the readers of the *Epigraphia Indica* if I publish here a translation of the portion of his letter, which contains them. Writing from Lahore on February 6th, 1893, he says :—

"Navagrâma, mentioned in the inscription [I, 33] is probably identical with the village of Nâur,[1] where the temple still owns $2\frac{1}{2}$ *halas* of land. Nâur lies about 3 miles west from Kîragrâma and belongs to the ancient pargaṇa of Palam, which latter word I would identify with the name of the village of Pralamba, of which the inscription speaks [II, 31]. About thirty years ago, when the introduction of tea-planting induced many Europeans to settle in Kângrâ, Palam[2] was turned into Palampur.

[1] The Sanskrit prototype of Nâur would be Navapura, which probably was another name of Navagrâma.—[G. B.]

[2] *The Kângrâ Gazetteer* still mentions Pâlam.

"In the bazar of Kîragrâma I was shown the spot where, so late as two generations ago, stood a shop, belonging to the temple and where the two pious Banians, whom the local traditions too know as the founders of the temple, are said to have lived. This is clearly the *paṇyaśâlâ* mentioned in the *Praśasti* II, 34. Regarding the oil-mill which Manyuka and Âhuka dedicated I could not hear anything; and the god has long lost the income from the *maṇḍapikâ*. But there was formerly a custom-house on the frontier of the territory of Mandi which passes close to the village. On the rocky hill which rises near the village and is now occupied by the Dâk bangalow, the Râne family is said to have had a fort. I do not dare to decide if these *Rânes*, whose descendants are still Rajput zamîndârs in the parganâ of Baijnâth, are identical with the *Râjânakas* of Kîragrâma.[3]

"But in illustration of what you have said on p. 102, vol. I, of the *Epigraphia* regarding the intermarriage of this Rajput family of Kîragrâm with the Râjâs of Traigarta, I may mention that the Râjâ of Kapurthala quite lately married a girl from the house of a bitterly poor Rajput of the Gulherian Miân clan, who lives as zamîndâr not far from Baijnâth. Though the man is so poor that his daughter, the present Râṇî, used to work for wages in the tea plantations, his countrymen have not yet pardoned him that he contracted the alliance with the Râjâ.

"Your proposed identification of Suśarmapura with Koṭ is fully confirmed by the local traditions.

"The temple [of Baijnâth] is well preserved, and in my opinion it has not undergone such very great alterations as the earlier describers state.[4] Thus, big statues of Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ, which clearly belong to the time of the inscription, are found on the gateway pillars of the *Purî*, exactly as Râma describes them in the *Praśasti*, I. 29, and his other detailed statements regarding the building fully agree with the actualities. Only the roof seems to me modern; according to the statements of the Purohitas it was renovated about one hundred years ago by Râjâ Saṁsârchand."[5]

XL.—A NOTE ON THE PRÂKRIT GRANT OF THE PALLAVA KING ŚIVASKANDAVARMAN (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10)

BY ERNST LEUMANN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

Prâkrit inscriptions always present particular difficulties. Dr. Bühler, with his usual sagacity, has removed most of those connected with Śivaskandavarman's grant, Some others of the same inscription can only be mastered when further documents of a similar type turn up. A few, however, may perhaps be dealt with now. We have

[3] I consider the identity of the *Râne* family with the *Râjânakas* to be very probable. *Râjânaka* is also the parent of the title *Râṇâ*.—[*G. B.*]

[4] Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. V., p. 179 f.

[5] I take this opportunity to note that Professor Kielhorn has published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, pp. 114 ff, certain emendations of my readings of the two *Praśastis* in accordance with rubbings made by Sir A. Cunningham. The following among Professor Kielhorn's proposals appear to me acceptable:—I. 6, *sureshu nâsthâm apareshu kurvatâm*; I. 29, *bhaktitruṭallobhamalena tena*; I. 37, *śâstradṛishṭim anusṛitya*; II. 2, *sa pâtu vo Mahâdevo Brahmâdyâ bhaktim âsthitâḥ*; and II. 9, *Kṛitârthau*. In addition, I would mention that I now translate *astrîjano* in I. 13*a* by "archers" instead of by "heroes," as *astrî* is clearly the nominative of *astrin*; note 64 must be altered accordingly.

to correct the following passages in Dr. Bühler's transcript (on pages 5—7 of volume I) :—

l. 1, Read *aggiṭṭhoma*. The irregular combination *ṭṭh* (for *ṭṭh*) is a mistake of the engraver which has crept in on account of the similarity of the signs for *th* and *ṭh*.

l. 3, Separate *visaye savattha*, i e. *vishaye sarvatra* 'everywhere in our (*amhaṁ*) country.'

l. 4, Read *mâḍabika* and restore it to *mâḍambika*. This word, which means 'chief of a *maḍamba* district' is often found in the older Jain literature;[1] its base *maḍamba* occurs in the same texts and beside in some *Niryuktis* and *Bhâshyas*.

l. 5, Read *ârakhâdhikate*, which stands for *ârakkhâdhikate* and is equivalent with *ârakkhiya* 'guard' of the Jain literature; literally it means 'employed as a guard (*ârakshâ'dhikṛita*).' As to the sign *khâ*, *cf.* lines 27 and 38. .

l. 7, Read *e* instead of *cha* and *cf.* the sign for *e* in lines 27, 30, 34. The word *ettha* (*atra* 'here') opens of course a new phrase, and we need not follow Dr. Bühler in inserting a second verb; *vitarâma* is indeed the verb wanted and closes well the preceding phrase. The first verb (*âṇaveti*), however, is certainly well supplied by Dr. Bühler; only we think its place is not before *amhaṁ* (in l. 3), but after *ppayutte* (in l. 6). At any rate we are not to combine in irregular co-ordination the accusatives of lines 3—6 with the genitive *saṁcharan-taka-bhaḍa-maṇusâṇa*.

I would then translate the whole passage thus:. . . . . "Śivaskandavarman informs (*âṇaveti*) in our country everywhere the royal princes, generals, rulers of larger and smaller districts (*raṭṭhikas* and *mâḍambikas*), local prefects and others, the freeholders of various villages, *vallavas*, *govallavas*, ministers, guards, captains[2] *tûthikas*, *neyikas* and all others employed in our service: We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *saṁcharantakas*, soldiers or other persons.[3]

l. 44, Read *vasudhâdhipataye* (acc. pl. from °*pati*).

[1] *e.g.* in the *Aupapâtika sûtra*, *Paryushaṇâkalpa* ('*Kalpasûtra*'), etc.

[2] The corrected reading *ârakhâdhikate* (in l. 5) makes it very probable that the word immediately following (*gumika*) is also a military term.

[3] In reply to Dr. Bühler's appended notes, I may remark that the persons favoured by the grant are undoubtedly "the Brahmans, who are the freeholders of the settlement (*koḍunka*) called Chillareka." The gift is therefore a Brahmaṇa *parihâra*, *i.e.* 'an immunity granted to Brahmans. Honorific allowance, as Dr. Bühler proposes, does not change the sense, but is less appropriate, *koḍunka* is apparently a contracted form of *koḍumbaka* (Sans. *kauṭumbaka*): in the same way *naiyyoka* seems to me to stand for *naiyogika*, which would be a synonym of the term *âbhiyogika*-'servant'—of the Jaina literature. The term *kumâra parihâra* similarly denotes an immunity presented to a prince; the Jâtaka phrase adduced by Dr. Bühler means— "When, afterwards they noticed that he was a prince, they no longer gave him any work to do, but spared him, so to say, by a princely immunity."

The inscription, of course, mentions, also, the persons who are to respect the grant, *i.e.* who are not allowed in any way to trouble the above-named Brahmans (by levying taxes, etc.). So the two cognate Pallava plates clearly state: *Sarvâyukṭakâḥ sarva-naiyyokâḥ râjavallabhâḥ saṁcharantakâś cha tat-sîmaṁ sarva-parihâraiḥ pariharantu parihârayantâ cha ayuttu savva-parihârehi pariharantu parihârayan* (*tu cha*). "The persons of the king's service and party must spare and cause to spare the territory (*described before*) by all the (*eighteen*) kinds of exemption. "In face of these parallel passages, the words—*saṁcharantaka-bhaḍamaṇusâṇa... parihâraṁ vitarâma*, can only have the sense which I have given them. without pretending, however, that my translation reflects accurately the grammatical construction. This latter can only be made clear when the three syllables before *parihâraṁ* are deciphered.

That *saṁcharantakas* are a nuisance to people, we learn, *e. g.* from the description of a model town given in the *Nemicharita*, l. 14 (on Hemachandra's *Bhavabhâvanâ*, v. 5): in that town no *saṁcharantakas* are allowed to stroll about (... *saṁcharantehiṁ tîrai na tattha bhamiuṁ* ....). Another Prakrit word of the Pallava Inscription (which however occurs also elsewhere) is *bappa* 'father:' this is found in *Daśavaikâlikasutra* vii, 18,— See *Zeitsch. d. Deut. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* vol. XLVI. pp. 628.

l. 45, Read *mejátáye*, i.e. *mejjátáye*. In Jaina Prâkrit ***maryádá*** becomes ***mejjá***, the last two syllables being contracted. The Sanskrit sounds *arya* in Prâkrit generally are changed to *era*, sometimes to *ejja* or *ariya* or *ajja*.

l. 46, Separate *cha si*. The word *si* refers to *mejátáye*, and therefore represents a singular case like *tasyáḥ*; it is indeed a short form for the anaphoric pronoun *se* that is often met with in the *Niryuktis* and *Bháshyas* of the Jain literature. The function and origin of *se* has been well discussed by Professor Wackernagel in the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (vol. XXIV, p. 600). Though *se* and *si* refer to *all genedrs and numbers* we find occasionally in the *Niryuktis* and *Bháshyas* a special plural form *siṁ* which, by the addition of the Anusvâra, has been formed after the fashion of plural genitives like *tesiṁ* (*teshám*), etc.

What remains to be said is of less importance; we are probably to read ***váḍaka*** for *váṭaka* (in lines 12 and 30); misprints are apparently ***hiroga*** for ***hirogo*** (10), *pali-bhágo* for ***patíbhágo*** (12), ***patíbhágo*** for ***pattíbh***-(21), *ṭṭivas*° for *ṭṭivás*° (36), *pilá* for *pílá* (40), ***dattá*** for ***datá*** (48), ***kada*** for ***kaḍa*** (51), ***bráhmaṇa*** for *brahmaṇa*. and ***lekhakha*** for *lekhaku* (52).

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE GRANT OF ŚIVASKANDA-VARMAN. (Volume I, pp. 2—10.)

The corrections of my reading and rendering of Śivaskandavarman's grant, which Professor E. Leumann has proposed above, make, I think, a few further remarks from me desirable.

(Line 1.) Professor Leumann's statement that the plates have *aggiṭṭhoma*, not *aggit-thoma*, is correct. I should say that the nonsensical form has been caused by a confusion between the two possible forms with ***ṭṭha*** and ***ttha***. Both in literary and in epigraphic Pali, Sanskrit ***shṭa*** or ***shṭha*** is represented occasionally by the dental ***tenuis*** and the ***tenuis aspirata***. Thus, we have in literary works for ***kroshṭṛi*** 'a jackal,' both ***koṭṭhuka*** and ***kotthuka***, or even ***kutthu***, as well as forms in ***ttha*** for various past participles in ***shṭa***. And the Sanchi votive inscriptions offer ***sethi*** and ***seṭhi*** for ***śreshṭhin***; Aśoka's New Edicts both ***vivutha*** and ***vyuṭha*** for ***vyushṭa***. In such words the Pali *ttha* probably goes back to originals with ***sta***, similar to those in the Shâhbâzgarhî version of the Rock Edicts, where we find ***sresta*** for ***śreshṭha***, ***dipista*** (3rd pers. sing. aor. Âtm.) equivalent to a Sanskrit form ***adipishṭa***.

(L. 3.) Professor Leumann is right in separating ***visaye savattha***, but the correction has already been given by me in the Addenda and Corrigenda to vol. I, p. 479.

(L. 4.) The plates have not ***máḍabika***, as Professor Leumann asserts. The last sign is mutilated, the crossbar of the *ka* on the right having been omitted by mistake. The sign, which has thus come out, can only be read ***nu***. Professor Leumann's restoration ***máḍaṁbika*** "governors of Maḍaṁbas," instead of ***máṁḍabika*** "custom-house officers," is possible, though, owing to the rarity of the word ***maḍaṁba*** (except in Jaina works), somewhat doubtful. I add an explanation of the term ***maḍamba***, which Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished to me from the Jaina commentaries: ***maḍambáni sarvato'rdha yojanát parato'vasthitagrámáṇi***.

(Ll. 5-7.) Professor Leumann's readings *árakhádhikate* and *ettha* for my *árapadhikate* and *chattha* are certainly correct. His translation of lines 6-7, "We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *Saṁcharantakas* (soldiers) and other persons" cannot stand, for °*bhaḍamaṇusáṇa* is separated from *parihâraṁ* by a not now readable word ending in *o*, and in all probability the two expressions do not belong together. Even supposing that *saṁcharaṁtakabhaḍamaṇusâṇa parihâraṁ vitarâma* had to be taken together, the meaning could only be, "We grant an exemption to Saṁcharantakas, etc;"[3] it is against the custom observed in the grants to name first an exemption and afterwards the object granted. I must add that my translation of *parihára* by "an mmunity" ought to be changed to 'a honorific grant.' Of late I have found in the Jâtakas several passages where *parihára* has a concrete meaning and is used for "*appanage*, honorific allowance, special grant." In several stories it is narrated how queens receive or are deprived of their *parihára*, and there is the compound *kumára-parihára* "an allowance suitable for a prince."

(L. 40.) The correct reading is *pilá* (not *pîlá*, as Professor Leumann says), the short *i* being expressed, as is done very often, by a complete circle.

(L. 45.) *Majátáye* is the reading of the plates, not, as Professor Leumann holds, *mejátáye*. The little stroke above the *ma* has been caused by a slip of the engraver's punch. A real *me* looks very different (see lines 1, 29, 41)

(L. 46.) As *siṁ* is permissible for *tesiṁ*, *etesiṁ* and *esiṁ*, according to Hemachandra *Prâkṛita Vyâkaraṇa* III, 81, and occurs, as Professor Leumann says, in Jaina works, I agree with him that its equivalent *si* in *cha si* should be written separate. *Si* refers, however, not, as Professor Leumann thinks, to *majátáye*, but to the grantees. Compare the corresponding passages in the Sanskrit grants, *e.g. Indian Antiquary*, vol. V. p. 196, l. 6; p. 207, l. 9; p. 212, l. 25; vol. XI, p. 113, l. 43; p. 159, l. 50.

TABLES FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES IN TRUE LOCAL TIME.

By Hermann Jacobi, Ph.D., Sanskrit Professor, Bonn.

In my paper on the computation of Hindu dates, etc. (vol. I, page 403 ff.), I have given rules for calculating, according to the curiously inaccurate Hindu method, the corrections which must be applied to a date, computed for mean sunrise, in order to obtain the same for true sunrise at any given place in India. As this calculation is rather tiresome, I have computed the following tables, which will make the process easy without detracting from the accuracy of the results. As the problem, to solve which these tables serve, is somewhat complicated, a few remarks on the theory of true and mean time may not be amiss.

1. Suppose the sun to move with an equal motion on the equator (instead of on the ecliptic); then this equatorial sun will exactly regulate mean time. His rising will occur at 6 o'clock for every place on the earth the whole year round, marking the mean beginning of day. The interval between his risings at two distant places will be the time-difference between these places (*see* vol. I, Table XXV).

2. Now assume a second sun to move with the same equable motion on the ecliptic This supposed sun is meant when the "mean sun" is spoken of. It is obvious that this mean sun and the first will not rise at the same time, except when they coincide at the two points of intersection of the equinoctial and the ecliptic. At every other time the second will, in places in north latitude, rise earlier than the first, when he is in the northern half of the ecliptic; and later, when he is in the southern half. Table XXVII, A-F, gives the interval in *ghaṭikás* and *vinaḍís* between the risings of both supposed suns,[1] for every degree of the ecliptic as entered in the vertical index to the left and right of each table, and for all degrees of north latitude from 10°—35° as entered in the horizontal index at the top of each table. At the intersection of the horizontal and vertical columns is given the interval of rising for the tropical longitude of the mean sun and for the terrestrial latitude in question; *e.g.*, in Table XXVII-B, we find that for 44° trop. Long. ⊙ and 20° terr. Lat. the difference in rising is 1*gh.* 22*v.* If the trop. Long. ⊙ is entered in the index to the *left*, the ecliptical mean sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; if on the index to the *right*, it rises after the mean beginning of the day.

3. We thus find the time of rising of the *mean* sun (moving on the ecliptic), but what is really wanted is the time of rising of the *true* sun. The true sun only twice in the year coincides with the mean sun; at every other time he either precedes or lags behind the mean sun. Their difference in longitude is the equation of the sun's centre, the amount of which in degrees, minutes, and seconds is furnished by Table XXIV-B. If the equation has the sign −, the true longitude of the sun is greater than his mean one, and consequently the true sun rises *later* than the mean one; if the equation in Table XXIV has the sign +, the true sun rises *before* the mean one; always by the time corresponding to the sun's equation of the centre. In order to compute the equivalent in time for the sun's equation of the centre, we must know how much time is occupied in rising by one degree of the ecliptic at the place where the sun is at the moment in question in a given latitude. The amount in *vinaḍís* is furnished by the entries immediately below the degrees of terrestrial latitude in Table XXVII. Though continually changing, it is considered by Hindu astronomers to be constant throughout each single

[1] Or between the risings of a point on the equator and one on the ecliptic, which have the same distances from the equinox.

sign, and equal to the mean.[2] As the different parts of Table XXVII represent the tropical signs, one entry serves for the whole part. Thus we find in Part B that on the 20th parallel one degree of the ecliptic (between 30° and 60° trop. Long.) takes up 8·79 *vinâḍîs* in rising. Knowing the time taken up in rising by one degree, we can easily calculate the time corresponding to any given value of the equation of the sun's centre.

4. Table XXVII refers to tropical longitude, while the other tables yield sidereal longitude. The former is found by adding to the latter the *ayanâṁśas* (or amount of the precession of the equinox) for the year in question.

The rule for calculating the *ayanâṁśas* is given in section 39 of the former paper (page 421); to find them without calculation is the object of Tables XXVIII and XXIX, *e.g.*, we find by Table XXVIII that in K. Y. 4683 the *ayanâṁśas* were—

16° 14′ 42″, *viz.*	K.Y. 4600 =	15°	0′	0″
	80 years =	1°	12′	0″
	3 „ =	0°	2′	42″
	Ayanâṁśa =	16°	14′	42″

Table XXIX serves for the *Brahma Siddhânta* and *Siddhânta Śiromaṇi*, Table XXVIII, for the other *Siddhântas*.

5. I shall now illustrate by examples the working of these tables in connection with the Special Tables; for when such accuracy is wanted, that the difference between mean and true time comes into consideration, the calculation must be made by means of the Special Tables.[3]

1st Example.—Let it be proposed to calculate the true *Tithi* for true sunrise on the 7th (solar) Jyaishṭha K.Y. 4128 at Aligarh, whose latitude is 27° 53′ (or roundly 28°) and time difference + 14 vin. We use for this and the following examples the tables for the *Sûrya Siddhânta*:—

(*a*) We calculate the elements: Distance ☾ — ☉ etc., for the year and day in question, *viz.*—

	Dist. ☾ — ☉	☾'s An.	☉'s An.	Corr.
4100 years . .	69° 48′ 0″	217° 8′ 30″	282° 44′ 16″	+ 20gh. 54v.
28 „ . .	117° 47′ 3″	58° 38′ 37″	... .	— 14gh. 43v.
7th Jyai. . .	66° 40′ 34″	97° 16′ 26″	34° 29′ 46″	
	254° 15′ 37″	13° 3′ 33″	317° 13′ 52″	+ 6gh. 11v.

(*b*) Add the time difference, with the sign changed, for the place in question, to the Corr. (+ 6*gh.* 11*v.* — 14*v.* = + 5*gh.* 57*v.*) and find by Table XXII the corresponding increase of the elements, distance, etc.—

5*gh.* =	1° 0′ 57″	1° 5′ 19″	4′ 56″
57*v.* =	11′ 35″	12′ 25″	56″
5*gh.* 57*v.* =	+ 1° 12′ 32″	+ 1° 17′ 44″	+ 5′ 52″

(*c*) Add (*or* subtract, according to the sign) the increase from the first result.—

	254° 15′ 37″	13° 3′ 33″	317° 13′ 52″
+	1° 12′ 32″	1° 17′ 44″	5′ 52″
	255° 28′ 9″	14° 21′ 17″	317° 19′ 44″

(*d*) Find the equations for the anomalies of the moon and sun by Table XXIV—

An. ☾	14°	21′	.. Eq. ☾ =	— 1°	15′	32″
An. ☉	317°	20′	.. Eq. ☉ =	— 1°	29′	12″
			Sum of eq'.s =	— 2°	44′	44″

[2] The same inaccuracy pervades all Hindu calculations of true sunrise, and makes all figures in Table XXVI wrong when compared with the true values. However, we do not require the latter, but those which the Hindus assume in their calculations.

[3] I shall indicate below §7, how these tables may be used in connection with the general tables for an estimate of the difference between mean and true local time.

(*e*) Add the sum of equations to the distance; the result is the true distance at mean sunrise for the place in question, *viz.* 255° 28′ 9″ — 2° 44′ 44″ = 252° 43′ 25″.

(*f*) Find the sidereal longitude of the sun by subtracting from the above the ⊙'s an., the same for beginning of the century. (Table XIII.)

	317°	19′	44″
—	282°	44′	16″
Sid. Long. ⊙ =	34°	35′	28″

(*g*) Find the *ayanâṁśas* for the year in question, by Table XXVIII—

K.Y. 4100 =	7°	30′	0″
28 years =		25	12″
K.Y. 4128 =	7°	55′	12

(*h*) Add the *ayanâṁśas* thus found to the sidereal longitude of the sun, the result is the tropical longitude of the sun.—

	34°	35′	28″
	7°	55′	12″
Trop. Long. ⊙ =	42°	30′	40″

(*i*) Look out in Table XXVII the "interval of rising" of the degree of trop. Long. ⊙ now found for the latitude of the given place.

If the left-hand index (0 — 180) is used, the amount is subtractive; if the index to the right (180° — 360°) the amount is additive.

In this case we get, for trop. Long. 42° on the 28th parallel, — 1*gh.* 46*v.*

(*k*) Take, from the same part of the Table just used, the time required by one degree in rising, as given there immediately below the degree of latitude in question, and calculate the equivalent in time for the sun's equation. If the equation has the sign +, the amount is subtractive; if —, it is additive.

In the present case: 1° takes up 8·24 *vinâḍis*, consequently 1° 29′ will take up 12*v.* The equation being negative, the amount is additive. We put it down as + 12*v.*

(*l*) Add (*or* subtract according to the sign) the *vinâḍîs* in (*k*) to the result in (*i*); find the increase of Dist. ☾ — ⊙ for the sum, in Table XXII; add the increase (or subtract according to the sign of the sum) to the true Dist. ☾ — ⊙ (found in *e*). The result is the true Dist. ☾ — ⊙ for true sunrise at the place in question. Here — 1*gh.* 46*v.* + 12*v.* = — 1*gh.* 34*v.*

1*gh.* =	12′	11″	
34*v.* =	6′	54″	
— 1*gh.* 34*v.* =	—19′	5″	This, added to the result in (*e*), *viz.*, 252° 43′ 52″, makes 252° 24′ 20″.

(*m*) This result is not quite correct, because we have made use of the mean increase (or decrease) of Dist. ☾ — ⊙ instead of the true, as the Hindus do. However, we may rest satisfied with this approximation when the true distance comes out larger or smaller, by 4 minutes or more, than an entire number of degrees marking the end of a *Tithi.* This is the case in the present example: 252° mark the end of the 21st tithi or the 6th tithi of the dark fortnight; but as we found the true distance to be 252° 24′ 20″, which is more than 4′ above the end of the *Tithi, viz.* 252°, the final result is not affected by the slightly incorrect calculation.

In rare cases where the strictest accuracy is required, proceed as follows:—

Add the increase (or decrease) of the distance, etc., for the sum found in (*l*) to the

result in (*e*); again, find the equations of ☾ and ⊙, as in (*d*), and add their sum to the distance, as in (*e*). The result is the true distance. In this case — 1*gh*. 34*v*.:—

	Dist. ☾—⊙	☾'s An.	⊙'s An.
1 gh.	0° 12′ 11″	0° 13′ 4″	0′ 59″
34 v.	6 54	7 24	34
— 1 gh. 34 v. . . . . —	19 5	20 28	+ 1 33
subtracted from . . .	255 28 9	14 21 17	317 19 44
makes	255 9′ 4″	14 0′ 49″	317 18′ 11″

An. ☾ 14° 1′ eq.	=	— 1° 13′ 49″
An. ⊙ 317° 18′ eq.	=	— 1 30 8
Sum of eq's.	=	— 2 43 57
Dist. ☽—⊙		+ 255 9 4
True dist.		252° 25′ 7″

This then is the strictly accurate *true* distance ☾ — ⊙. The error in the preceding method was — 47″.

It may be borne in mind, however, that it is a waste of time to attempt this degree of accuracy, unless we know the *Hindu* value of the latitude and longitude of the place for which the date is to be calculated. This uncertainty is enhanced when we have to deal with dates in inscriptions; for we never know for what place the almanac was calculated, from which the date recorded in the inscription was taken, though in most cases we shall probably be right in assuming that the almanac referred to the capital of the kingdom.

The following examples will be understood without further comment. I use the same letters as in the first example to indicate the operations to be gone through :—

Ex. 2.—K. Y. 4128, 4th Bhâdrapada; place: Ratnagiri,—17° Lat. and time difference —34 vin.

	☽—⊙			☽'s An.			⊙'s An.		
(*a*) 4100 years .	69°	48′	0″	217°	8′	30′	282°	44′	16″
28 „	117	47	3	58	38	37		...	
4th Bhâdra .	96	2	4	216	11	10	124	11	9
	283	37	7	131	58	17	46	55	25
(*c*) + 6 *gh*. .	1	13	9	1	18	23		5	55
45 *v*. .		9	9		9	48			44
	284	59	25	133	26	28	47	2	4
(*e*) . . —	2	7	39						
	282	51	46						

	Cor.	An.
	+ 20 *gh*.	54 *v*.
	— 14	43
	+ 6	11
(*b*)	+	34
	+ 6	45

(*d*) eq. ☾	=	— 3° 43′ 44″
eq. ⊙	=	+ 1 36 5
Sum	=	— 2 7 39

(*f*) 407° 2′ 4″ (an. ⊙ + 360°). (*g*) 4128 K. Y., *ayanamsa* as above 7° 55′ 12″
—282 44 16

124 17 48 (sid. Long. ⊙)
(*h*) + 7 55 12

132 13 [illegible] (trop. Long. ⊙)

(*i*) trop. Long. ⊙ = 132°, on 17° Lat., Interval . = — 32 vin.
(*k*) Eq. ⊙ = + 1° 36′ (1° = 10·97 vin.), time of rising . = — 18 vin.
Sum = — 50 vin. = — 10′ 9″......(*l*)

(*l*) 282° 51′ 46″
— 10 9

282 41 37 . Result.

Ex. 3.—K. Y. 4325, 4th Mârgaśira. Śrinagar, Lat. 34° 6′, time difference — 8 vin.

(*a*) 4300 years .	345°	24′	0″	276°	1′	30″	282°	43′	58″
25 „ . .	79	27	0	142	21	38		...	
4th Mârg. . .	137	35	2	338	9	48	214	51	41
	202	26	2	296	32	56	137	35	34

	—24 gh.	10v.
	—28	8
	—52	18
(*b*)	+	8
	—52	10

(c) 52 gh. . =	10°	33′	55″	11°	19′	23″	0°	51′	15″
10 v. . =			2		2	11			10
52 gh. 10 v. =	—10	35	57	—11	21	34		—51	25
	202	26	2	296	32	56	137	35	34
makes .	191	50	5	285	11	22	136	44	9
Sum of eq. . +	6	26	23						
(e)	198	16	28						

(d) eq. ☾ = + 4° 55′ 16″
eq. ⊙ = + 1 31 7
Sum = + 6° 26′ 23″

(f) 496° 44′ 9″ (an. ⊙ + 360°)
— 282 43 53
214 0 16 (sid. Long. ⊙)
(h) + 10 52 30
224 52 46 (trop. Long. ⊙)

(g) 4300 *ayanáṁśa* . . = 10° 30′ 0″
25 years . = 22 30
4325 K. Y. *ayanáṁśa* . = 10° 52′ 30″

(i) trop. Long. ⊙ = 225° on 34° Lat. Interval . . = + 1 gh. 32 v.
(k) Eq. „ ⊙ = + 1° 31′ (1° = 12. 18), time of rising = — 18
Sum = + 1 gh. 14 v.

(l) 1 gh. . . . = 12′ 11″
14 v. . . . = 2 51
+ 1 gh. 14 v. . . . = 15 2 (added to *e*)
198 16 28
makes . . . 198° 31′ 30″ Result.

6. In §62 of my former paper I have said: "In the *Siddhánta Śiromaṇi Goládhyáya*" IV, 20, Bhâskara states that the ancient astronomers[4] assumed that at Lankâ (or on the Equator) the zodiacal signs rise in the same time with 30 degrees of the equinoctial, while in fact they do not. The tables give the interval according to Bhâskara's theory. If the value without Bhâskara's correction is wanted, it may be elicited from the tables. For that purpose the column 0° has been added; in it are given what Bhâskara calls the *udayántara*. They must be added to, or subtracted from (according to the sign), the value in the table. Under this supposition, we shall get in (*i*) of the first example above 1*gh.* 24*v.* instead of 1*gh.* 46*v.*, and in (*k.*) we find 8·27 *vin.* instead of 8·23 as the time taken up in rising 1 degree; the latter correction does not, in this case, sensibly affect the final result, while the former will.

In calculating dates anterior to Bhâskara (K. Y. 4251) the value of the "interval" given in the table should be corrected in the way just explained.

7. The present tables may be used roughly to estimate the difference between mean Indian and true local time, as in the following example.

In §24 of my first paper we found that in K. Y. 4682 the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśâkha ended 46 ghatikas after mean sunrise in Lankâ on the 18th Vaiśâkha of the Tables. What is the corresponding local time at Purniya (26° N. Lat. and + 1*gh.* 58 *vin.* time difference)?

First add the time difference to the given Lankâ time: 46*gh.* + 1*gh.* 58*v.* = 47*gh.* 58 *vin.* Then look out in Table VIII the sidereal Long. ⊙ on the 18th Vaiśâkha: 16° 40′; add the *ayanáṁśa* for K.Y. 4682, *viz.* 16° 15′; the sum is the trop. Long. ⊙, 16° 40′ + 16° 15′ = 32° 55′ (or nearly 33°). Now look out in Table XXVII, Part B, the interval between the mean beginning of the day and sunrise on the 26th parallel and for trop. Long. ⊙ = 33′; *viz.* 1*gh.* 25*v.* The left hand index being used, the true sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; accordingly we must add the interval to mean time. 47*gh.* 58*v.* + 1*gh.* 25*v.* = 49 *gh.* 23 *v.* This is the required true local time for the end of the 11th tithi in Purniya.

[4] Our text of the *Súrya Siddhánta* III, 43, 44, is in accordance with Bhâskara's theory, and must therefore be later. From the error in the position of the Moon's node relative to that of the Sun, I am persuaded that the present text of the *Súrya Siddhánta* was fixed not before the 13th century A.D. The *bíja* is a still later addition

TABLE XXVII. (PART A.—*Trop. Long.* ⊙ = 0°—29°, 360°—331°.)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Vin.	8·58	8·51	8·43	8·37	8·29	8·21	8·15	8·07	7·99	7·92	7·84	7·76	7·68	7·60	
Long.	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	Long.
0°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	360°
1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	359
2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	358
3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 7	357
4	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	356
5	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	355
6	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	354
7	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	353
8	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	352
9	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	351
10	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	350
11	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 26	349
12	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	348
13	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 20	0 31	347
14	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	346
15	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 24	0 26	0 27	0 29	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 36	345
16	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	344
17	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 41	343
18	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 42	0 43	342
19	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	341
20	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 41	0 43	0 45	0 46	0 48	340
21	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 43	0 45	0 47	0 49	0 50	339
22	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 49	0 51	0 53	338
23	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 53	0 55	337
24	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	336
25	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 45	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	335
26	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 2	334
27	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	333
28	0 40	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 7	332
29	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 47	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 10	331

PART A,—*continued.*

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0	
Vin.	7·52	7·43	7·34	7·26	7·17	7·08	6·98	6·89	6·80	6·69	6·59	6·49	+ 0·72	
Long.	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	*gh.* *v.*	Long.
0°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	—0 0	360°
1	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 1	359
2	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 1	358
3	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 2	357
4	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 3	356
5	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	—0 4	355
6	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 20	0 21	0 4	354
7	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 5	353
8	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 6	352
9	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 7	351
10	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 34	0 35	—0 7	350
11	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 8	349
12	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 9	348
13	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 40	0 42	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 10	347
14	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 46	0 48	0 49	0 10	346
15	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	—0 11	345
16	0 40	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 56	0 12	344
17	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	0 13	343
18	0 45	0 46	0 49	0 49	0 51	0 53	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 3	0 13	342
19	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 52	0 54	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	0 14	341
20	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 57	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 8	1 10	—0 15	340
21	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 14	0 16	339
22	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 6	1 8	1 10	1 13	1 15	1 17	0 16	338
23	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 16	1 18	1 21	0 17	337
24	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 6	1 8	1 10	1 12	1 15	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 24	0 18	336
25	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 8	1 11	1 13	1 15	1 18	1 20	1 23	1 25	1 28	—0 18	335
26	1 4	1 7	1 9	1 11	1 14	1 16	1 18	1 21	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 31	0 19	334
27	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 16	1 19	1 21	1 24	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 35	0 20	333
28	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 24	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 35	1 38	0 21	332
29	1 12	1 15	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	42	0 21	331

TABLE XXVII. (PART B.—*Trop. Long.* ☉ = 30°—59°, 330°—301°.)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
n.	9·4	9·34	9·29	9·22	9·17	9·11	9·04	8·98	8·92	8·85	8·79	8 72	8·66	8 59	
Long.	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	Long.
30°	0 43	0 45	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	330°
31	0 43	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 6	1 9	1 11	1 13	329
32	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 14	328
33	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 6	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 16	327
34	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 52	0 55	0 57	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 15	1 17	326
35	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 16	1 19	325
36	0 46	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 18	1 20	324
37	0 47	0 49	0 52	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 8	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 22	323
38	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 23	322
39	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 22	1 25	321
40	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 23	1 26	320
41	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 18	1 21	1 24	1 27	319
42	0 50	0 52	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 23	1 26	1 29	318
43	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 24	1 27	1 30	317
44	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 32	316
45	0 52	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 30	1 33	315
46	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 27	1 31	1 35	314
47	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 29	1 32	1 36	313
48	0 53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 34	1 37	312
49	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 35	1 39	311
50	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 18	1 22	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 36	1 40	310
51	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 42	309
52	0 56	0 59	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 43	308
53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 21	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 40	1 44	307
54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 42	1 46	306
55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 43	1 47	305
56	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 41	1 44	1 49	304
57	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 26	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 50	303
58	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 43	1 47	1 51	302
59	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 12	1 15	1 20	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 53	301

PART B,—*continued.*

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Vin.	8·52	8·45	8·38	8·31	284	8·16	8·08	8 00	7·91	7 84	7·76	7·67	+0·03	
Long.	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	Long.
30°	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 45	—0 22	330°
31	1 16	1 19	1 21	1 24	1 27	1 29	1 32	1 35	1 38	1 41	1 45	1 48	0 22	329
32	1 17	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 40	1 44	1 47	1 50	0 22	328
33	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 52	0 22	327
34	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 35	1 38	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	0 22	326
35	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 40	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 57	—0 22	325
36	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 45	1 49	1 52	1 56	1 59	0 22	324
37	1 25	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 58	2 2	0 22	323
38	1 26	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 0	2 4	0 22	322
39	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 2	2 6	0 22	321
40	1 29	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	—0 22	320
41	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 11	0 22	319
42	1 32	1 36	1 39	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 13	0 22	318
43	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 11	2 16	0 22	317
44	1 35	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 50	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 10	2 14	2 18	0 22	316
45	1 37	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 16	2 20	—0 22	315
46	1 38	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 14	2 18	2 23	0 22	314
47	1 40	1 43	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 16	2 20	2 25	0 22	313
48	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 14	2 18	2 23	2 27	0 22	312
49	1 42	1 47	1 51	1 54	1 58	2 3	2 7	2 11	2 16	2 20	2 25	2 30	0 22	311
50	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 56	2 0	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 27	2 32	—0 22	310
51	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 58	2 2	2 6	2 11	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 29	2 34	0 22	309
52	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 37	0 22	308
53	1 48	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 6	2 10	2 15	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 34	2 39	0 22	307
54	1 50	1 54	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 36	2 41	0.22	306
55	1 51	1 56	2 0	2 4	2 9	2 14	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 44	—0 22	305
56	1 53	1 57	2 2	2 6	2 11	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 30	2 35	2 41	2 46	0 22	304
57	1 54	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 38	2 43	2 48	0 22	303
58	1 56	2 1	2 5	2 10	2 14	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 35	2 40	2 45	2 51	0 22	302
59	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 11	2 16	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 37	2 42	2 47	2 53	0 22	301

TABLE XXVII. (PART C.—*Trop. Long.* ♋ = *60°—89°, 300°—127°*)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Vin.	10·52	10·50	10·47	10·45	10·42	10·40	10·37	10·35	10·32	10·29	10·27	10·24	10·22	10·18	
Long.	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	
60°	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 41	1 46	1 49	1 54	300°
61	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 54	299
62	0 59	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 54	298
63	0 59	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 45	1 48	1 54	297
64	0 58	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 45	1 48	1 54	296
65	0 58	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 53	295
66	0 57	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 48	1 53	294
67	0 57	1 0	1 5	1 11	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 47	1 53	293
68	0 56	1 0	1 5	1 10	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 47	1 53	292
69	0 56	0 59	1 4	1 10	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 53	291
70	0 55	0 59	1 4	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 53	290
71	0 55	0 58	1 3	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 52	289
72	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 8	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 46	1 52	288
73	0 54	0 57	1 2	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 46	1 52	287
74	0 53	0 57	1 2	1 8	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 52	286
75	0 53	0 56	1 1	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 52	285
76	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 45	1 51	284
77	0 52	0 55	1 0	1 6	1 9	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 42	1 45	1 51	283
78	0 51	0 55	1 0	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	282
79	0 51	0 54	1 0	1 5	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	281
80	0 50	0 54	0 59	1 5	1 8	1 12	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	280
81	0 50	0 53	0 58	1 4	1 7	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 41	1 44	1 50	279
82	0 49	0 53	0 58	1 4	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 44	1 50	278
83	0 49	0 52	0 57	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 44	1 50	277
84	0 48	0 52	0 57	1 3	1 6	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 44	1 50	276
85	0 48	0 51	0 57	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 40	1 43	1 50	275
86	0 47	0 51	0 56	1 2	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 50	274
87	0 47	0 50	0 56	1 2	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	273
88	0 46	0 50	0 55	1 1	1 4	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	272
89	0 46	0 49	0 55	1 1	1 4	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 39	1 43	1 49	271

PART C.—*continued.*

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Vin.	10·16	10·13	10·10	10·07	10·04	10·00	9·97	9·94	9·91	9·87	9·83	9·79	−0·75	
Long.	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	Long.
60°	1 59	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 55	−0 22	300°
61	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 39	2 44	2 50	2 55	0 22	299
62	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 39	2 44	2 50	2 56	0 21	298
63	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	0 20	297
64	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	0 19	296
65	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	−0 19	295
66	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	0 18	294
67	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 57	0 17	293
68	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 57	0 16	292
69	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 51	2 57	0 16	291
70	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 45	2 51	2 57	−0 15	290
71	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 57	0 14	289
72	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 58	0 13	288
73	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 58	0 13	287
74	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 58	0 12	286
75	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 52	2 58	−0 11	285
76	1 56	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 52	2 59	0 10	284
77	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 52	2 59	0 10	283
78	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 47	2 52	2 59	0 9	282
79	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 47	2 52	2 59	0 8	281
80	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 47	2 52	2 59	−0 7	280
81	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 7	279
82	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 6	278
83	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 5	277
84	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 4	276
85	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	−0 4	275
86	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 53	3 1	0 3	274
87	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 1	0 2	273
88	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 1	0 1	272
89	1 54	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 1	0 1	271

TABLE XXVII. (PART D.—*Trop. Long.* ☉ = 90° — 119°, 270° — 241°.)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Vin.	10·98	11·01	11·03	11·05	11·08	11·10	11·13	11·15	11·18	11·21	11·23	11·26	11·28	11·32	
Long.	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	Long.
90°	0 45	0 49	0 54	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 42	1 49	270°
91	0 44	0 48	0 53	0 59	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 17	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 48	269
92	0 43	0 47	0 52	0 58	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 47	268
93	0 42	0 46	0 51	0 57	1 0	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 45	267
94	0 41	0 45	0 50	0 56	0 59	1 4	1 8	1 14	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 34	1 38	1 43	266
95	0 40	0 44	0 49	0 55	0 58	1 3	1 7	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 42	265
96	0 39	0 43	0 48	0 54	0 57	1 2	1 6	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 41	264
97	0 38	0 42	0 47	0 53	0 56	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 39	263
98	0 37	0 41	0 46	0 52	0 55	1 0	1 3	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 38	262
99	0 36	0 40	0 45	0 51	0 54	0 58	1 2	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 37	261
100	0 35	0 39	0 44	0 50	0 53	0 57	1 1	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	260
101	0 34	0 38	0 43	0 49	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 6	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 28	1 34	259
102	0 33	0 37	0 42	0 48	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 5	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 33	258
103	0 32	0 36	0 41	0 47	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	257
104	0 31	0 35	0 40	0 46	0 48	0 53	0 57	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	256
105	0 30	0 34	0 39	0 44	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 6	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	255
106	0 29	0 33	0 38	0 43	0 46	0 51	0 54	1 0	1 5	1 9	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	254
107	0 28	0 32	0 37	0 42	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 59	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	253
108	0 27	0 31	0 36	0 41	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 58	1 2	1 7	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	252
109	0 26	0 30	0 35	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 57	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 18	1 24	251
110	0 25	0 29	0 34	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 55	1 0	1 4	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	250
111	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 54	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	249
112	0 23	0 27	0 31	0 37	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 53	0 58	1 2	1 6	1 11	1 15	1 20	248
113	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 36	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 13	1 18	247
114	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 35	0 38	0 42	0 45	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 4	1 9	1 12	1 17	246
115	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 34	0 37	0 41	0 44	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 16	245
116	0 19	0 23	0 27	0 33	0 36	0 39	0 43	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 1	1 6	1 10	1 14	244
117	0 18	0 22	0 26	0 32	0 35	0 38	0 42	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 5	1 8	1 13	243
118	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 31	0 34	0 37	0 41	0 46	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 12	242
119	0 16	0 20	0 24	0 29	0 33	0 36	0 40	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 58	1 2	1 6	1 10	241

PART D,—*continued.*

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Vin.	11·34	11·37	11·40	11·43	11·46	11·50	11·53	11·56	11·60	11·63	11·67	11·71	—0·75	
Long.	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	Long
90°	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 16	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 1	+0 0	270°
91	1 53	1 59	2 4	2 10	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 54	3 0	0 1	269
92	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	2 38	2 45	2 53	2 58	0 1	268
93	1 51	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 37	2 43	2 51	2 56	0 2	267
94	1 50	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 42	2 50	2 55	0 3	266
95	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 33	2 40	2 48	2 53	+0 4	265
96	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	2 38	2 46	2 51	0 4	264
97	1 46	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 37	2 45	2 49	0 5	263
98	1 44	1 49	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 43	2 48	0 6	262
99	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 33	2 41	2 46	0 7	261
100	1 42	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 13	2 19	2 26	2 32	2 40	2 44	+0 7	260
101	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 38	2 43	0 8	259
102	1 39	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 10	2 16	2 22	2 29	2 37	2 41	0 9	258
103	1 38	1 42	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 35	2 39	0 10	257
104	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 56	2 2	2 7	2 13	2 19	2 25	2 33	2 38	0 10	256
105	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 31	2 36	+0 11	255
106	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 59	2 4	2 10	2 16	2 22	2 28	2 34	0 12	254
107	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 3	2 9	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	0 13	253
108	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 13	2 19	2 25	2 31	0 13	252
109	1 30	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	0 14	251
110	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 10	2 15	2 21	2 27	+0 15	250
111	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	0 16	249
112	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 50	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	0 16	248
113	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 11	2 16	2 22	0 17	247
114	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 58	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 20	0 18	246
115	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 51	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 13	2 18	+0 19	245
116	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 44	1 49	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	0 19	244
117	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 10	2 15	0 20	243
118	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	0 21	242
119	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 12	0 22	241

TABLE XXVII. (PART E.—*Trop. Long.* ⊙ = 120° — 149°; 240° — 211°.)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Vis.	10·54	10·60	10·66	10·71	10·78	10·84	10·91	10·97	11·03	11·09	11·16	11·22	11·29	11·36	
Long.	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	Long.
120°	0 15	0 19	0 23	0 29	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 4	1 9	240°
121	0 15	0 18	0 22	0 28	0 30	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 3	1 8	239
122	0 15	0 17	0 22	0 27	0 29	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 7	238
123	0 14	0 17	0 21	0 27	0 28	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 5	237
124	0 13	0 16	0 20	0 26	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	0 59	1 4	236
125	0 13	0 15	0 20	0 25	0 27	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	235
126	0 12	0 15	0 19	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 56	1 1	234
127	0 12	0 14	0 19	0 24	0 26	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 55	1 0	233
128	0 11	0 14	0 18	0 23	0 25	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 54	0 59	232
129	0 11	0 13	0 17	0 22	0 24	0 28	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 52	0 57	231
130	0 10	0 12	0 17	0 21	0 23	0 27	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 48	0 51	0 56	230
131	0 9	0 12	0 16	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 50	0 54	229
132	0 9	0 11	0 15	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 53	228
133	0 8	0 11	0 15	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 28	0 31	0 35	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 47	0 52	227
134	0 8	0 10	0 14	0 19	0 20	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 40	0 43	0 46	0 50	226
135	0 7	0 9	0 13	0 18	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 39	0 42	0 45	0 49	225
136	0 7	0 9	0 13	0 17	0 19	0 22	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 48	224
137	0 6	0 8	0 12	0 17	0 18	0 21	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 36	0 40	0 42	0 46	223
138	0 6	0 8	0 12	0 16	0 17	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 35	0 39	0 41	0 45	222
139	0 5	0 7	0 11	0 15	0 16	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 37	0 40	0 44	221
140	0 5	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 15	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 42	220
141	0 4	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 15	0 18	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 35	0 37	0 41	219
142	0 4	0 5	0 9	0 13	0 14	0 17	0 20	0 23	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 40	218
143	0 3	0 5	0 8	0 12	0 14	0 16	0 19	0 22	0 24	0 27	0 29	0 32	0 34	0 38	217
144	0 2	0 4	0 8	0 12	0 13	0 15	0 18	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	0 31	0 33	0 37	216
145	0 2	0 3	0 7	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	0 30	0 31	0 35	215
146	0 1	0 3	0 6	0 10	0 11	0 14	0 16	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 26	0 29	0 30	0 34	214
147	0 1	0 2	0 6	0 10	0 10	0 13	0 15	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 24	0 28	0 29	0 33	213
148	0 0	0 2	0 5	0 9	0 9	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	0 31	212
149	0 0	0 1	0 4	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	0 30	211

PART E_1—*continued.*

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Vis.	11·43	11·50	11·57	11·63	11·71	11·78	11·86	11·95	12·03	12·11	12·18	12·27	+0·03	
Long.	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	Long.
120°	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 4	2 10	+0 22	240°
121	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	0 22	239
122	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	0 22	238
123	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	0 22	237
124	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	1 56	2 1	0 22	236
125	1 7	1 12	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	1 54	1 59	+0 22	235
126	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 51	1 56	0 22	234
127	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 45	1 49	1 54	0 22	233
128	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	0 22	232
129	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	0 22	231
130	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 47	+0 22	230
131	0 59	1 3	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 45	0 22	229
132	0 57	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	0 22	228
133	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 41	0 22	227
134	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 38	0 22	226
135	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	+0 22	225
136	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 18	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 34	0 22	224
137	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 28	1 27	1 32	0 22	223
138	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 25	1 29	0 22	222
139	0 47	0 51	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	0 22	221
140	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 25	+0 22	220
141	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 22	0 22	219
142	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 16	1 20	0 22	218
143	0 42	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 18	0 22	217
144	0 46	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	0 22	216
145	0 39	0 42	0 44	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 10	1 13	+0 22	215
146	0 37	0 40	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 11	0 22	214
147	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	0 22	213
148	0 34	0 37	0 39	0 42	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 7	0 22	212
149	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 4	0 22	211

TABLE XXVII. (PART F.—*Trop. Long.* ☉ = 150° — 180°, 210° — 180°.)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Vin.	10·00	10·05	10·12	10·19	10·27	10·34	10·41	10·49	10·57	10·64	10·72	10·80	10·88	10·96	
Long.	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	Long.
150°	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 26	0 29	210°
151	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	209
152	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	208
153	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 17	0 19	0 22	0 24	0 26	207
154	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 12	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 25	206
155	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 24	205
156	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	204
157	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 20	0 22	203
158	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 19	0 21	202
159	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 20	201
160	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 4	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 19	200
161	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 17	0 18	199
162	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 17	198
163	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 16	197
164	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	196
165	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	195
166	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	194
167	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	193
168	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	192
169	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	191
170	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	190
171	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	189
172	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 8	188
173	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 7	187
174	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 6	186
175	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	185
176	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	184
177	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	183
178	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	182
179	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	181
180	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	180

PART F.—*continued.*

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Vin.	11·04	11·13	11·21	11·30	11·39	11·48	11·57	11·66	11·76	11·87	11·97	12·07	+0·73	
Long.	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	*gh. v.*	Long.
150°	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	+0 22	210°
151	0 30	0 33	0 35	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	0 21	209
152	0 29	0 32	0 34	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	0 21	208
153	0 28	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 20	207
154	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 19	206
155	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 52	+0 18	205
156	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 18	204
157	0 24	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 40	0 43	0 45	0 48	0 17	203
158	0 23	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 16	202
159	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 16	201
160	0 21	0 23	0 24	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	+0 15	200
161	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 14	199
162	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 23	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 13	198
163	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 13	197
164	0 16	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 12	196
165	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 31	+0 11	195
166	0 14	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 29	0 10	194
167	0 13	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 26	0 27	0 10	193
168	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 9	192
169	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 8	191
170	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	+0 7	190
171	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 28	0 19	0 7	189
172	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 26	0 17	0 6	188
173	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 24	0 14	0 5	187
174	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 22	0 12	0 4	186
175	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	+0 4	185
176	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 3	184
177	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 2	183
178	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 1	182
179	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 1	181
180	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	180

TABLE XXVIII.—*The Ayanâṁśa for centuries of the Kali Yuga and for odd years.**

K.Y.	Ayanâṁśa.		Years.	Ayanâṁśa.		
3600	0°	0′	1	0°	0′	54″
3700	1	30	2	0	1	48
3800	3	0	3	0	2	42
3900	4	30	4	0	3	36
			5	0	4	30
4000	6	0	6	0	5	24
4100	7	30	7	0	6	18
4200	9	0	8	0	7	12
4300	10	30	9	0	8	6
4400	12	0	10	0	9	0
4500	13	30	20	0	18	0
4600	15	0	30	0	27	0
4700	16	30	40	0	36	0
4800	18	0	50	0	45	0
4900	19	30	60	0	54	0
			70	1	3	0
5000	21	0	80	1	12	0
...	...		90	1	21	0

TABLE XXIX.—*The Ayanâṁśa according to the Siddhânta S'iromaṇi.*

K.Y.	Ayanâṁśa.			Years.	Ayanâṁśa.		
3628	0°	0′	0″	1	0°	1′	0″
3700	1	11	32	2	0	2	0
3800	2	51	22	3	0	3	0
3900	4	31	12	4	0	4	0
				5	0	5	0
4000	6	11	2	6	0	5	59
4100	7	50	52	7	0	6	59
4200	9	30	42	8	0	7	59
4300	11	10	32	9	0	8	59
4400	12	50	22	10	0	9	59
4500	14	30	12	20	0	19	58
4600	16	10	2	30	0	29	57
4700	17	49	52	40	0	39	56
4800	19	29	42	50	0	49	55
4900	21	9	32	60	0	59	54
				70	1	9	53
5000	22	49	22	80	1	19	52
...	...			90	1	29	51

* Before K.Y. 3600 the Ayanâṁśas are negative; but they were probably not yet known at that time.

INDEX.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 2, line 16, and page 7, line 16.—See page 298 note [7].

„ 7, l. 31—*for* Tohwan *read* Tolman.

„ 10, l. 3—*read* inscription.

„ 15, in note [73],—*read Śrí.*

„ 17, l. 25—*for* Tohwan *read* Tolman.
l. 35—*read Vrahmâdi-.*

„ 19, l. 5 fr. bot. *for* Aditya *read* Âditya.

„ 25, ll. 1, 2—*for* Haradâ-ajî *read* Haradâsa-jî.

„ 13, l. 2—from bottom, *for* D e v 4-k a r a ṇ a *read* D e v a k a r a ṇ a.

„ 35, foot-note, *prefix* [2].

„ 81, l. 27—*for* n a y a r a *read* n a g a r a.

„ 87, l. 6—*for* twenty, *read* nearly seventy (68).

„ „ l. 9—*for* hundred *read* hundred.

„ „ 2nd foot-note, *prefix* [2].

„ 94, l. 5—*for* D h a m a- *read* D h a m a s i v a.

„ 126, l. 7, and p. 127, l. 1.—As suggested by Prof. Aufrecht in his *Catal. Catalogorum*, the word *Śûra* of the original should be taken to be a proper name, and the two passages should therefore be transl̀ted: 'The following is a verse of Śûra's,' and 'This is (a verse of) Śûra's.'

„ 128, l. 41—*before* which *add* of.

„ 131, l. 18—*for* the pardoned deceased son of, *read* son of the deceased pardoned.

„ 133, foot-note, *prefix* [5].

„ 134, l. 1—*for* ابرة *read* ابن and l. 8, *read* I s m ' a î l, son of R â ï b.

„ 134, ll. 24 and 28, *delete* "*and.*"

„ 135, l. 18—*for* درگهل *we may read* درگه مل i.e. Durgah Mall.

„ 136, l. 11—from bottom, *dele* of *before* the renowned.

„ 148, l. 13, from bottom—*read* اغا ابن شیخ یوسف الفقیر حقیر خانیوسف *i.e.* (l. 6, from bottom) "The poor, wretched Khân Yûsuf Âghâ, son of Shaikh Yûsuf.

„ 150, l. 20—*for* تند کحضرت *read* بند گیحضرت *i.e.*, (l. 29) his Solomon-like majesty.

„ 154, lines 25, 26, 27, *for* Bohm *read* Bohar.

„ 157, l. 6—*for* غاضي *read* غازي

„ 160, l. 12, *dele* the sign of punctuation after Asiatic.

„ 161—*prefix* [2] to the first note.

Page 162, l. 13—*read* दत्ताप्य°.

„ „ l. 27— „ °त्रिपिग्निता°.

„ 175, l. 29— „ °रत्नुना°.

„ „ in note [7] —*read* been भू.

„ 176, l. 32—*read* °हुंिध.

„ 180, l. 28— „ *vâshpâmbhaḥkaṇa.*

„ 185, l. 23— „ वैकुण्ठः.

„ „ l. 25— „ सेनानो°.

„ 192, note[73] *add* :—As pointed out to me by Prof. Bühler, this verse evidently contains a reference to the towns of Kalyâṇa, Âśâvalli and Ayodhyâ; but I cannot give yet an entirely satisfactory translation.

„ 212, last foot note,—*prefix* [1], *and add* :—Dr. Fleet informs me, that these copper-plates now belong to Gaṇpatsiṅgh bin Nârâyaṇsiṅgh Paṭṭewâlâ, of Saṁgamner. He also informs me that the Garuḍa of the seal is represented as a man, squatting, with his hands joined palm to palm, and with a high tiara on his head; and that his wings are depicted in much the same way as on the Paiṭhaṇ and other Râshṭrakûṭa seals.

„ 217, note [18] *add* :—Dr. Fleet, after cleaning the original plates, has kindly furnished the following notes on the printed text:—In line 16 the inserted letters (compare note [29]) are *syâkhyâ*; the *anusvâra* is omitted.—In line 29 the reading is °*madana-mâdyanmânini*°.—In line 30 read *iha hi narendro.*—In line 31 for [*nanu*] read *atha.*—In line 31 for [*tale*] read *bhṛito.*—In line 38 the bracketed *aksharas ra* and *vvâ* are quite clear.— In line 40 read *yen=â*°.

„ 219, l. 51—*read* निषूदन°.

„ 223, l. 6— „ °प्रयच्छत.

„ „ l. 42— „ *anvitaḥ.*

„ 226, l. 3— „ °षित:

„ „ l. 24— „ कस्तुरिका°.

„ 229, l. 41— „ *Sûrya-siddhânta.*

„ 230, l. 30— „ °पुंजराज°.

„ 238, l. 32— „ व्यावर्ण्य°.

„ 240, note [2]—*for* Laskshmaṇa *read* Lakshmaṇa.

„ 255, l. 31—*for* ' *read* (*f*).

„ 265, l. 10— „ Posaha *read* Posatha.

„ 287, l. 21—*for* P a ṭ h *read* F a ṭ h.

„ 297, in note [3]—*read* Lanman.

Page 307, l. 24— *read* °सर्वेस°.
„ 334, l. 15—add the sign of *visarga* opposite the figure 8.
„ 335, l. 4—*read*°कृते.
„ „ l. 11— „ °गोविन्द°.
„ 338, l. 31—*put a comma after* was.
„ 339, l. 13—put a comma at the end of the line.
„ 343, l. 9—*for* whch *read* which.
„ 345, l. 6—*read* गोगो°.
„ „ l. 21— „ वैशाख:.
„ 361, note [36]—*for* Kielhern *read* Kielhorn.
„ 366, note [8], last line—*for* See place *read* See plate.
„ 367, l. 16 (2nd col.)—*for* odâtâ- *read* odâtâ-[4.]

Page 411, l. 7—*read* महोत्सव°.
„ „ note [14]— „ आत्येवेषु.
„ 412, l. 10— „ री म.
„ „ l. 19— „ वैभवो°.
„ 413, l. 17— „ षिधिइग्ह.°
„ „ l. 32— „ दत्तवचो.
„ 415, l. 34— „ रामघोष.
„ 416, l. 16— „ °तनुष°.
„ 420, l. 23— „ घटस्य.
„ 421, l. 23—add a comma at the end of the line.
„ 422, l. 24—*read* Râmakirti *and* Jayakirti.
„ „ l. 25 *for* a *read* any.


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